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POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

THE CENTURY SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

EDITED BY

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

University of Wisconsin

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The Century Social Science Series

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

THEIR RELIEF AND PREVENTION

BY

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SPARE TIME," AND JOINT AUTHOR OF
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PREFACE

Every year gives fresh emphasis to the importance of the problems of poverty and dependency. Definite knowledge of the amounts which the public relief authorities have to expend for dependents has shocked those who had been unaware of the burden thus imposed on the taxpayers. Recent studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States have shown an unexpected amount of poverty. We have been so obsessed by the belief that in rich America there is little poverty, except that of the inefficient, that it was startling to learn that a growing number of fairly capable, industrious and frugal people have been pushed into the quagmire. The War with its disturbance of price levels and its psychological effects has quickened our perception of such problems. The draft revealed to us the scandalous volume of physical and mental deficiency in our population. As with a magnifying glass the situation growing out of the War has shown us conditions menacing our prosperity and welfare, the maladjustments in our machinery for managing employment, stabilizing industry, caring for the dependent and preventing the propagation of the inefficient.

It seems, therefore, that the time is ripe for an appraisal of the urgent problems of poverty and dependency. In this book I have tried to present the salient facts concerning these closely related problems. Quantitative measurement of them has been attempted, so far as our present knowledge will permit. In the light of the experience of the last two centuries the methods hitherto used have been critically studied and suggestions of improvement have been made. The discussions of social workers and social philosophers in the National Conference of Social Work, the largest body of people interested in such matters in the United States, have been drawn upon extensively in its preparation. The suggestions of experts in the treatment of dependents and in the prevention of poverty have not been overlooked. My years of experience as social worker and teacher has gone into the content and method of presentation. Counsel has been taken of economics and social philosophy. Failing to find in

any one or two books the materials with which it seemed to me after teaching the subject for fifteen years in two universities a college student should become familiar, I have tried to bring together in this book the gist of discussions for which I have had to send my students to a large number of publications. Since some of these are not available in most college libraries, I have quoted extensively. I cannot hope that out of the wealth of writings upon the subject I have always chosen just those passages which another would choose, but I do cherish the hope that this attempt to survey the literature in a comprehensive way will make the teaching of this important subject easier and will inspire the students to a more serious consideration of problems of the greatest moment.

The book is intended primarily as a text book for classes giving three hours a week to class work during one semester. By using the topics for reports at the end of the chapters it would not be difficult to make it serve for a five-hour course. If the course is limited to two hours a week, certain chapters may be omitted. Since it is intended as a text book, I shall appreciate any helpful criticisms and suggestions from my fellow-teachers.

My obligations for suggestions which have borne fruit in the book are numerous beyond any possibility of mentioning or even remembering. Students and colleagues for fifteen years have been helping to shape the ideas and methods of treatment which here find expression. So far as I have gained from printed materials of sociologists and social workers, I have tried to make acknowledgments in the footnotes. I am under special obligation to my friend and colleague, Professor Edward A. Ross, who has unstintedly given of his time and energy to read the manuscript, and who has made many valuable suggestions. I have to thank also Professor F. E. Haynes of the State University of Iowa; Mr. Edward D. Lynde, Secretary of the Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work; Dr. T. U. McManus of Waterloo, Iowa; Professor John R. Commons, and Mr. J. H. Kolb, my colleagues in the University of Wisconsin, who have read parts of the manuscript and given me the benefit of their criticisms.

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POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

POVERTY and dependency did not appear as social problems until tribal society began to give place to civil society. The reason is not far to seek. As long as society was a group of blood relatives individual capacity was used for the advantage of all members, while individual incapacity, if it was not ruthlessly eliminated, shared in the welfare of all. Only by group solidarity and mutual aid could any survive in conflict with unconquered Nature and hostile groups. Moreover, wealth was largely the fruits of Nature, which the individual had not yet learned to appropriate to himself. Most goods were free. With the growth of population, with the invention of a medium of exchange, with the growth in the number of wants to be satisfied, with the domestication of animals and their appropriation by individuals, families and small groups, with the development of agriculture and the ensuing demand for fertile land, with the development of prestige and the appropriation of certain scarce articles for purposes of social distinction by individuals with prestige, and with the consequent growth of commerce, came a strain upon the old tribal relationships which in the course of time broke them down and introduced a form of social organization based upon an entirely different basis. As a result, classes developed; control not only over luxuries, but also over necessaries developed. On the one hand appeared individual wealth; on the other hand, individual poverty. The invention of methods of developing and privately controlling natural resources resulted in a greater aggregate of wealth, but interfered with the old tribal methods of distribution. Poverty and dependency appeared in quite new forms and with a changed meaning. In a word, society paid what have been called "the costs of progress." Poverty and dependency, however, are not so much "costs of progress," as "costs" of the failure of social invention

and social arrangements to keep pace with the exploitation of Nature, with economic organization, and with the development of individual initiative.

The importance of poverty and dependency lies not alone in the fact that they involve vast suffering for those immediately concerned. Their effects spread into all parts of society. They increase crime; they lessen prosperity both through the economic burden dependency involves and through the destruction of ambition and an independent spirit among the poor. They impair the health of very large numbers of people. They hamper the educational program by reason of the public money which must be spent on the care of dependents and by forcing into work children who should be in school. They lead to vice through overcrowding in houses and through the denial of the satisfaction of wants by normal means. They result in breaking up the home through desertion of families and divorce and by cutting the roots of prudential restraint on the size of the family. They prevent the development of culture, the social use of leisure time. They threaten civilization itself. Poverty and dependency must be controlled if the very foundations of democracy are not to be destroyed.

METHOD OF PRESENTATION

In treating the subject it has seemed best to attempt to measure the extent and cost of poverty and dependency. Of course no adequate measure of their blight upon ambition, independence of spirit, hope of success, etc., is possible. The most we can do is to ascertain what proportion of the population of a country is in poverty, the percentage of society which is supported by the rest. This we have tried to do in Part I, and even these figures are startling enough.

If a solution is to be found, we must know the causes of poverty and dependency. These causes are economic, social, and political. The economic causes touch income of the various classes in the population, the distribution of wealth, and the conditions in industry. The social includes habits of thrift, methods of spending money, and standards of living. The political factors are such as operate through laws and methods of administration which place unequal burdens upon different classes of the population. Some attempt has also been made to estimate the weight of each of these causes. Part II is devoted to this study.

In order to find means of lessening poverty and dependency, it seems best to review the historic methods by which society has tried

to deal with these problems. In economic and social affairs progress seems to be made most rapidly by building upon past achievements. Something certainly may be learned from the experiments of thousands of years. This historic survey is to be found in Part III.

Dependents are of various kinds and classes. While certain basic principles apply to all classes, experience shows that special principles and methods must be applied to special classes, such as the aged, widows, feeble-minded, epileptics, the sick, etc. The extent of each of these special classes, the historic methods of treating them, the principles of treatment which experience has approved, and suggestions as to improvements on present methods are set forth in Part IV.

No study of these problems would be complete without a discussion of preventive agencies and methods. If we hope to reach a reasonably adequate solution we must consider whether, in addition to the ambulance at the bottom of the precipice, we should not provide a fence at the top in order to lessen the number who fall over. Further, the kind of fence must be considered. The study shows that poverty and dependency are resultants of very diverse and complex social and economic maladjustments. Industry, legislation, social institutions, schools, churches, customs, group habits, attitudes and ideals all affect the problem. These have been considered in Part V.

These problems are problems of sociology. The principles of sociology are involved in their comprehension and in their solution. Hence, in the last chapter has been discussed briefly the relation of these problems to sociology. A study of them helps us to understand our social organization and something of the social processes, as in a cross section we see the way in which the mind of society works. Here we see the social organization in some of the products. Just as in physiology the study of pathological conditions throws light upon the functions of the healthy human body, just as in psychology we come to understand better the normal mind by exploring the abnormal mind, so in sociology the study of poverty and dependency—abnormal social phenomena—teaches something concerning the nature and functions of normal society.

PART I

THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND PAUPERISM

CHAPTER II

APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF DEPENDENCY

POVERTY as a problem for the social mind arises only in a complex civilization. As long as society was organized on the tribal basis and property was owned in common by the group or the kindred, poverty was not a problem. However, with the organization of society upon a civil basis, with the growth of individual ownership, and with the development of classes in society, exploitation of the common resources for the benefit of the few and to the disadvantage of the many occurs. Since people are unequal in capacity to produce enough for a livelihood and to care for themselves, as soon as individual ownership of property arose, economic inequalities developed. Along with the development of individual ownership of property went hand in hand the break-down of common responsibility for the welfare of all in the group. Until the State develops a consciousness of common responsibility for every member of it, the results of unequal conditions and variations in personal capacity guarantee that some should suffer.

Historical Methods of Approaching the Problem of Dependency. As soon as poverty became a problem, some people in every society gave thought to it. Sometimes these were the thinkers of the group. These endeavored to formulate a theory as to the proper way to treat the poor. In every society distress evoked response on the part of sympathetic individuals; mutual helpfulness characterized the individuals in early human society, no matter what the form of social organization. This sympathetic reaction toward distress by early groups, while having very little rationale, served nevertheless to meet the immediate need of the unfortunate. The motive that led to the relief of distress in this way might be called the sympathetic motive. It was largely an instinctive reaction to suffering made visible. If there was any rationality in it, it was imagination of the consequences to oneself of being in similar circumstances.

The religious life of primitive man was a very real and intense matter. Soon after poverty had become a problem to men's minds,

religion fastened its attention upon the relief of the unfortunate. Since the natural sympathetic reaction to distress was the impulse to help, religion readily annexed the relief of poverty to its realm, and an act of charity became an act well pleasing to God. Throughout the centuries and in all forms of social organization, therefore, the relief of distress has been a means of pleasing God. The Psalmist declares, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor," "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord." Throughout the ages of Christian history, this motive has lost nothing of its power. Saint Cyprian, among the Apostolic Fathers, could go so far as to say that almsgiving washed away sin. The giving to beggars assumed such an importance in the religious life of the Middle Ages that the Order of Begging Friars arose partly from the opportunity which they afforded pious people to do good and thus lay up a treasure of good works. Even at the present time, the idea prevails among large sections of the people that a gift to the needy covers a multitude of sins. This motive for meeting the problem of poverty is essentially selfish, and blind not only to the welfare of the individual himself but to the social consequences of such acts. The word in the first passage quoted from the Psalms—"considereth"—is overlooked. Experience has shown that giving without consideration of the character of the person or the consequences of the gift, demoralizes rather than benefits.

Another motive leading to acts of charity was the political motive. As soon as society had developed to the place where the favor of people made possible political preferment, opportunity arose for the crafty politician to win followers by means of largesses to the needy. In the decadent days of Rome, this took the shape of corn and games. Among the ward bosses of our modern cities, it takes the shape of Thanksgiving turkeys and gifts in time of need to faithful followers. This motive also is not unmixed. Doubtless the politician is sorry for the poor; but like the religious motive and the sympathetic motive, it gives no discriminating consideration to the effects of a gift upon the individual and upon society. The criterion that determines whether the gift should be given or not is not the welfare of either the individual or society, but the selfish advantage of the giver.

A fourth motive leading to almsgiving is the social motive. This motive grew out of the experience of society with indiscriminate giving. The sympathetic reaction to distress was fairly well suited to a situation in which the giver and the recipient were well known to each

other and connected either by ties of blood or long-continued fellowship in the community. It worked badly when applied to those whose circumstances and history were unknown to the giver. It produced the phenomena of confirmed beggary, because distress can be counterfeited with the result that no thoroughgoing discrimination between the person in real distress and the impostor is possible.

The religious motive resulted in sanctifying mendicancy for the sake of those who desired to do penance for their sins. The political motive corrupted the foundation of democracy. Each of these motives, in the complex conditions of society reached by modern civilization, failed to curb pauperism, to say nothing of preventing it; rather each encouraged it.

The social motive grows out of two desires, first, to promote the welfare of the individual who is given help to prevent his demoralization and to promote his independence; and, second, to promote the general welfare.

The Modern Approach to the Problem. The modern approach to the problem of poverty is based first on an investigation of the facts, not on philosophic theories or sentimental or religious appeals. If the individual is to be benefited by gifts, the circumstances of that individual must be known. This matter of investigation is an attempt to re-create, so far as possible, the same intimate knowledge of the individual as was characteristic of the simple life in which the giver knew intimately the unfortunate. Says Fairchild: "Whatever the evil attacked, and whatever the agency attacking it, the principle is now uniformly accepted by scientific social workers that prevention, to the extent that it is possible, is immeasurably preferable to relief, and decidedly more economical than cure. In fact, the whole spirit of applied sociology is the spirit of prevention, based upon the only scientific ground—a knowledge and grasp of causes."[1] Second, it is based on a careful analysis of causes and conditions of poverty. The problem cannot be solved by one who has not carefully studied the conditions on which dependency hinges. Third, it emerges out of a growing sense of social causation and social responsibility. Growing out of the theological motive was the theological explanation of poverty, namely, that the poor were poor because of their sins. The modern approach is conditioned by an appreciation of the fact that the majority of people who come to want are the victims of circumstances over which they have no control. Professor Seligman

[1] Fairchild, *Applied Sociology*, New York, 1916, p. 329.

says: "All remedies for poverty fall into one of two classes—the palliative or the curative—the endeavor to relieve poverty or the attempt to prevent poverty. The distinguishing feature of modern life is the growth of a public sentiment which seeks to cope with the evils of poverty from both points of view." [1] Fourth, the modern approach is based upon a consciousness of the close inter-relationship of individuals and social arrangements. If dependency is socially conditioned, a change in the social arrangements can cure or prevent its rise. Fifth, the trend is evermore towards remedying the conditions—political, economic, and social—that bring individuals to poverty. There is rapidly growing up the conviction that the antecedent conditions of poverty can be prevented by the attention of society to these conditions. Prevention is the note of modern charity. We appreciate as never before that every social circumstance has a bearing upon the problem. Economics, social medicine, social ideals, customs, traditions, legislation, attitude of the courts towards persons and property, the relation of capital and labor, class struggle, home conditions, factory conditions, housing,—in short, a thousand things subject to social control modifiable in almost any direction society wishes,—are the concomitant and antecedent circumstances of dependency. More and more the thinkers on these problems are attaining unto a faith that what exists in social circumstances can be changed by social determination, therefore the tendency at the present time is, while not neglecting the individual who is in need, to place the emphasis upon preventive measures designed to eliminate inequalities of opportunity and circumstances which lead the individual to poverty. As Hollander remarks, "An aroused social consciousness is extending effort from positive care to preventive foresight, and placing limitation to the increase of pauperism as social disease." [2]

Once—indeed, until quite recently—a strange fatalism marked the discussion of the problem. It was assumed that some were destined to be rich and powerful, to have leisure and culture, while others were doomed to lifelong toil, to meager culture, if any at all, to want, to haunting fear of pauperism, and to all the train of evils following in the wake of penury. This smug philosophy on the part of the fortunate on the one hand and the patient acceptance of a hard lot as a dispensation of a wise Providence or a remorseless Fate, on the other, are now being questioned. Once economics and Darwinian

[1] Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, New York, 1907, p. 687.
[2] Hollander, *Abolition of Poverty*, p. 4.

science joined hands in consecrating as a law of progress the doctrine that the poor and the weak deserve no consideration; that the struggle for existence is Nature's method of perfecting the race; and that the poor and the weak must be allowed to suffer and perish—the more quickly the better. Now, however, both economics and science have found not only their souls, but have discovered that non-interference with the social arrangements which produce weakness and want not only crush the "unfit," but also injure the potentially "fit." The great English economist, Alfred Marshall, says: "The dignity of man was proclaimed by the Christian religion; it has been asserted with increasing vehemence during the last hundred years; but it is only through the spread of education during quite recent times that we are beginning at last to feel the full import of the phrase. Now at last we are setting ourselves seriously to inquire whether it is necessary that there should be any so-called 'lower classes' at all; that is, whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life; while they are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life." [1]

Likewise, modern science recognizes that in human society other factors than "natural selection" must be considered. Thus, Thompson, the biologist, has written, "By analogy, then, it seems on *a priori* grounds legitimate to expect that biological analysis applied to the life and history of societary forms will be fruitful; . . . But the analogy also suggests that the result of analysis in terms of lower categories will in the long run be to bring the distinctively social into stronger relief, and that certain progress in the utilization of biological formulae will depend on the relative completeness with which the biological factors operative in social activity can be discovered. A chemico-physical analysis of organic processes which left out electrical factors would be inept, indeed; a biological analysis of social processes which left out, say, the 'mutual aid' instinct, would, we venture to think, be equally fallacious." [2] He further remarks: "Not a few sociological writers have echoed the warning of Herbert Spencer that modern hygienic and therapeutic methods interfere with the natural elimination of the weaklings whose survival consequently becomes a drag on the race, and there is doubtless some force in the argument, especially if we could confine ourselves to an entirely biological out-

[1] Marshall, *Principles of Economics,* London and New York, 1891, p. 3.
[2] Thompson, *Heredity,* London, 1912, p. 513.

look. It appears to us, however, that the practical corollary that we should cease from interfering with natural selection, as the phrase goes, is as fallacious as it is impossible.

1. It seems a little absurd to speak of, say, the prevention of an artificially exaggerated infantile mortality as if it were an interference with the order of nature.

2. Much weakness which may readily become fatal is simply modificational, due perhaps to lack of nutrition at a critical moment; many weakly children grow up thoroughly sound; and even if we do keep alive some whose constitutions are intrinsically bad, we are at the same time saving and strengthening many whose intrinsically good constitutions only require temporary shelter. One enthusiast over microbic selection says, 'The higher the infantile death-rate which medicine so energetically combats, the surer is the next generation of being purged of all the weakly and sickly organisms.' But he omits to record the fact that the infantile maladies also affect the intrinsically strong and capable, and often weaken them, one might say, quite gratuitously.

3. Many of the microbic agents which thin our ranks are very indiscriminate in their selection, and even if we believed that in warring against microbes we are eliminating the eliminators who have made our race what it is—as the enthusiastic apologists for Bacteria declare—it is surely open to us to put other modes of selection into operation. It were a sad confession of incapacity if man could not select better than bacteria.

4. Finally, since we cannot keep the biological outlook, is it ridiculously old-fashioned to plead that even when the physical constitution is miserable, the weakling may be a national asset worth saving, for its mental endowment, for instance, and for other reasons? *That the weakling is to be allowed to breed more weaklings if it can, is another matter.* Everyone agrees that the reproduction of weaklings should be discouraged in every feasible way—in every way compatible with rational social sentiment." [1]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Results of the Religious Motive in Almsgiving. Warner, *American Charities*, Third Edition, pages 5-8; Lecky, *History of European Morals*, Vol. II, pages 79-101.

[1] Thompson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, pp. 531, 532.

2. A Sketch of Roman Charity. Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pages 73-75. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, pages 36-39.
3. Motives and Methods in the Care of the Poor in the Book of Psalms.
4. A Sketch of Jewish Charity in the Middle Ages. *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1883*, pages 323 ff.

CHAPTER III

DEPENDENCY, PAUPERISM AND POVERTY

WHEN we hear someone say that a person is dependent what does the term "dependent" mean to us? Is he a helpless child, dependent upon his father for support? Is he a helpless cripple, dependent upon his wife? Or is he a pauperized man who could support himself, but who is so lacking in self-respect and ambition that he is willing to let the public provide for him? There are different kinds of dependents. Some furnish us no social problems; others are a challenge to our social machinery. Likewise, the terms "pauperism" and "poverty" mean one thing in the mouth of one person and quite another thing when used by someone else. As popularly used, all these terms are vague. Sometimes "dependency" and "pauperism" are used synonymously. At other times "poverty" and "pauperism" are used interchangeably. In the interest of clear thinking definite meanings should attach to these terms.

DEPENDENCY

As indicated above, there are varieties of dependency. A child supported by his father is not dependent in the same sense as a pauper in the almshouse. A wife supported by her husband is a dependent, but not in the same sense as if on the death of her husband, lacking relatives and unable by reason of sickness or a family of small children, she must be supported by the overseer of the poor, or a relief society. An aged father supported by his son is dependent, but not in the same sense as a lazy father, still able to work, who insists that his son support him because he is his son. All these are cases of dependency. What then differentiates one from the other? How shall we classify them?

There are three principal kinds of dependents besides a cross-classification. They are natural dependents, customary dependents, and legal dependents. Cutting across all these is another, normal or abnormal dependents.

Natural Dependents. Natural dependents are such by reason of

the ties of nature, filial, marital, or parental. A child is naturally dependent upon its parent. Birth makes that dependency upon the mother most direct; natural selection has determined that the young is also dependent upon the father, although to a less extent, especially in the more primitive tribes of men. The aged parent is dependent upon the child. This dependency is less directly natural than the child upon the parent, in that the child's support of the parent is not often the result of natural selection, but of social motives. However, the dependency may rather be considered natural than customary or legal. The wife also is bound to her husband by natural ties—the ties of sex. Perhaps natural selection has had something to do with the establishment of dependency, although social ideas, customs and traditions account for its continuance. So also with the support of an incapacitated husband by the wife. Again, the blood-relative is supported in certain circumstances by relatives. This dependency is more remotely natural than either that of the child or the parent. Social factors, such as intimate acquaintanceship, customary group sanctions, and fear of the gods, all enter in to produce the sense of obligation to help the unfortunate. But here again there is a natural bond between the benefactor and the beneficiary and natural selection probably has produced in some degree this dependency.

Customary Dependency. Customary dependency is that which arises by reason of social custom in the care of the unfortunate. As associations developed in social groups, such as secret societies, lodges and churches, special obligations of these groups to support an unfortunate member grew up. We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the church and the medieval guilds undertook this task. In modern society such associations recognize similar obligations. Moreover, with the development of civil society, neighborhood groups, even when kinship ties are lacking, recognize the obligation to care for unfortunate people in the neighborhood. All these are examples of customary dependency. Another is the obligation which some people have felt to help any beggar upon the street.

Legal Dependency. Legal enactments are of two sorts. Those things which have been sanctioned by custom finally are enacted into law, provided they are of such nature that they are of interest to the whole group and provided that the customary sanctions are not sufficient to compel universal obedience. After society has developed to such a degree that problems which are new to the experience of the group have risen, and for which there are no customary sanctions,

such relationships are then regulated by law. The first of these generalizations is illustrated by the legal regulation of the support of one's own kindred; the second by the enactment of laws governing the support of strangers.

A man's child is a natural dependent upon him. It is also a legal dependent, as well as a customary dependent. A man's wife is a customary dependent. However, the law in most countries has made her also a legal dependent. In some states other relatives than child and parent are a legal obligation to support; in others, other near relatives are customarily looked upon as having the duty of supporting dependents, but there is no legal obligation to do so. Thus, all natural and some customary dependents are legal dependents. The tendency is for all customary as well as natural dependents to be made the dependents of the individual obligated by nature and by custom to support them. That tendency was checked, however, in the development of the care of the unfortunate in the case of certain customary dependents, by the state taking over the functions of guild and church.

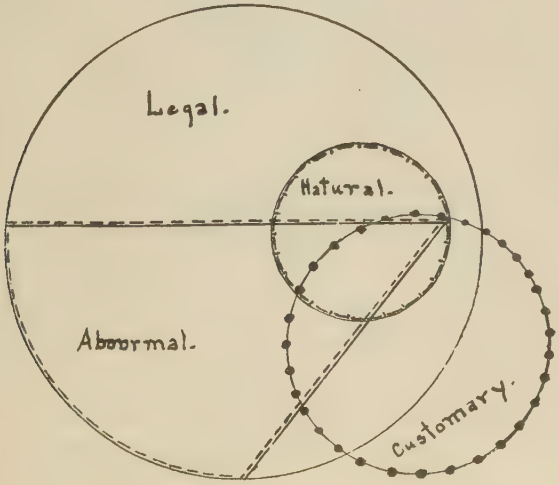
When, through the failure of the church and the guilds to meet the problem of dependency, and when the state developed a more complete sovereignty, as will be noted in a later chapter, laws were passed which, while still leaving with private individuals and private organizations the right to care for their own members, yet provided for the public support of those who were without relatives or relieving organizations. Hence, legal dependents are of two classes: (1) those dependents whose relatives or members of their families are obliged by law to support them, and (2) those persons who are without private means of support but who by law must, in the interest of the general welfare, be supported by the state.

Normal and Abnormal Dependency. Still another classification of dependents must be made. Dependents may be divided into normal and abnormal. The child supported by his parent, during the period of his childhood when unable to support himself; the wife supported by her husband, and the aged parent cared for by his child are normal dependents. In the ordinary circumstances of life such people are dependent. It is true that with the development of society it is becoming a question whether the aged parent is a normal dependent. So far, however, as the dependency is due to the infirmities of age, and by reason of the fact that up until recently the support of aged parents was considered an inevitable obligation of life, we can call

the aged parent a normal dependent. Hence, what we mean by a normal dependent is one who by reason of the ordinary incapacity of age or sex is aided by a natural supporter. Normal dependency is synonymous with natural dependency, except in such cases as parent, spouse, or child who shirks his duty to contribute what he can to his own support.

On the other hand, the abnormal dependent is represented by the pauper in the poorhouse, the child who must be supported by someone else than his own father or mother, or someone in *loco parentis,* by the widow or family supported by the Charity Organization Society. The abnormal dependent may be either willingly or unwillingly dependent upon others. The old rounder who lives off the public, as Washington Gladden said, "making a living by looking for work and successfully failing to find it," and the man who has been injured at work and has to be helped by private or public charity are both abnormal dependents. One, however, is abnormally dependent by reason of circumstances over which he has no control, while the other is such partially at least by reason of his own willingness. Hence, abnormal dependency is that which results in abnormal social relationships, whether by reason of circumstances outside or within the dependent's control.

The different varieties of dependency may, therefore, be represented by the following diagram:



This diagram is intended to indicate that a large part of the natural dependency is customary and all of it legal; part of the customary is natural and part of it legal; part of the legal is customary and part natural; while a very small portion of natural dependency is abnormal, more of the customary and a large part of the legal is abnormal.

These distinctions are not just so much logomachy. They help us to understand the dependency we observe and they indicate a basis of treatment. Natural dependency creates no social problem. It is not pauperizing in its effects. Customary dependency gives us the problem of the pauperized individual and family as soon as it exists in complex social relations where one does not know well every person he meets. Legal dependency thrusts upon the sociologist problems of technique in administering relief so that the individual and the family will not be pauperized and yet will be rehabilitated.

PAUPERISM

The terms "pauperism" and "pauper" are used vaguely. Is the person who is poor always a pauper? Is the person who is dependent always a pauper? Is the pauper only that person who is willingly supported by others, who wants the world to afford him a living without work? The term has been used in all these senses. Sometimes the person who is poor is a pauper, but not always. Sometimes the person who is dependent upon others for support is a pauper, but one's little child, though dependent upon him, is not a pauper. Certainly the person who possesses the spirit of willing dependency is a pauper, but is not that person also a pauper who however unwilling depends upon others than his natural supporters? Certainly from the point of legal definition the helpless widow, unable to support her little family by washing every day, let us say, and therefore receiving part of her support from the public relief official, is a pauper. Is she less a pauper, if she receives the help from an Associated Charities, a church relief society, or neighbors? One can dispute endlessly about definitions. For purposes of statistics of pauperism the legal definition must be used, and therefore should be extended to those receiving relief from individuals or private organizations. From the standpoint of method of treatment, of course, it makes all the difference in the world whether the person receiving aid has the pauper spirit or possesses an independent spirit. Statistics of pauperism, however, have not yet been so refined that those differences have been taken into account. Hence, we shall define pauperism as *that*

condition of life in which one depends upon someone else than his natural supporter for his sustenance either in whole or in part.[1]

Paupers may be classified in four different ways: (1) those dependent in whole or only in part; (2) temporary or permanent paupers; (3) private or public paupers; (4) willing or unwilling paupers.

Those dependent wholly for the most part are sick and aged persons and infants. All their support must be given them by others than their natural supporters. Those supported in part are those who are able to secure part of their income from their own labor or from other resources, such as savings or insurance, or from relatives who are legally liable. An example is the widow who has been left some insurance by her husband, or who is able to work for part of her support, but must be helped in addition.

A temporary pauper is one who does not receive aid all of the time. A permanent pauper is one who receives help all the time. In both cases it makes no difference as to whether the support is in whole or in part. A pauper in the almshouse is perhaps the best example of a permanent pauper. If, however, he is what is called in England an "in and out," i. e., one who comes in for a few months in the winter or when sick and then goes out and makes his way, he could not be called a permanent pauper. The term refers to one who is dependent apparently for an indefinite period. A temporary pauper is typified by the family who is self-supporting except in the winter time, or in times of sickness or at times of slack employment.

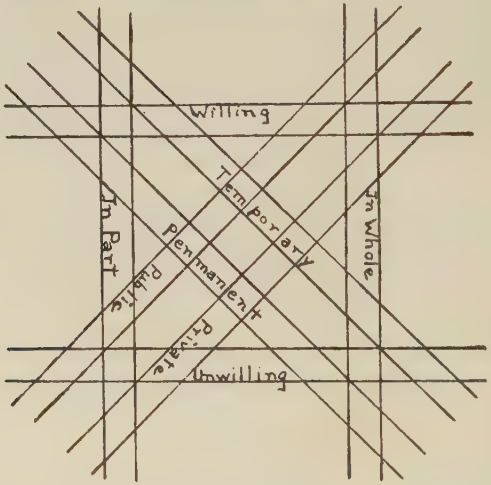
A private pauper is one who receives help from an individual or a private organization, while a public pauper is one who receives assistance from public funds. An example of the first is the beggar on the streets or a family being helped by a church relief society or an associated charities. The second is represented by one helped by the county overseer of the poor or who is relieved in the poorhouse.

A willing pauper is one who has lost his independence of spirit and would rather be supported by others than by his own efforts. Often the willing pauper pretends to be unfortunate, and to be very sorry that he is compelled to accept relief. His very spirit is corrupted. Often through the frequent exercise of self-pity he has persuaded himself that the world owes him a living. He is a fine example of one who has committed the unpardonable sin against the

[1] Hollander, *Abolition of Poverty*, p. 2. "The condition of those who are in chronic need of public aid or private relief to maintain existence is described more accurately as pauperism."

spirit of independent self-respect. The unwilling pauper is one who is in such circumstances that he must accept aid, but whose nature revolts against it and who makes every effort to restore himself to self-support. The psychological dialectic of personal development, however, is such that the pauper who unwillingly receives help often degenerates in spirit until he is a willing pauper, unless with the relief there goes along the skilful service of a trained social worker who constantly stimulates his endeavor to self-support.

These classes are not mutually exclusive. They cut across each other as represented in the following diagram:



These classifications will have to be taken into account before a proper measure of pauperism for purposes of scientific study can be made. We can never compare the pauperism of one state with another, one county with another, until we know not only the numbers who have received relief, but whether they receive it from public or private sources, whether it was received all the year round or only for a month, whether those who received it were confirmed in their pauper spirit, or whether they received it as "bitter bread," and whether they received the whole or only part of their support. Until we know these things what can we really know about the effects of the laws and customs of different countries upon the spirit of the people? Without that knowledge we are groping more or less in the dark in the enactment of laws relating to poor relief, and in the establishment of relief practices on a scientific basis.

POVERTY

Poverty is another term loosely used but which for purposes of careful thinking must be given a definite meaning. Do we mean by the term "poverty" dependency? Is it synonymous with pauperism? A few years ago in New York an old man died who had begged upon a certain street corner for a number of years. He had feigned blindness and had acquired the trick of turning his eyeballs so that the whites showed in order to appear to be blind. When he died, he was found to be worth several hundred thousand dollars. Was he in poverty? Certainly not. Was he a pauper? Just as certainly he was. On the other hand, the writer knew a man in New York City who was dying of tuberculosis. He and his family were working in every way possible to support themselves. They lived in a basement on an income insufficient to support even one person. They received no aid from any source, but were undernourished. They were not paupers. They were, however, in poverty.

Again, a family has an income which would be sufficient to support an ordinary family of similar size. Let us say that the income is $1385 a year, the minimum recently set by the President's Industrial Conference for the support of a man and wife and three children. However, because of bad management they do not have sufficient to eat, proper clothing, and a decent place to live. The result is lack of vitality, frequent sickness, the demoralization of family life and a gradual descent in the scale of family life, economic productivity and citizenship. Are these people in poverty? Yes, they are in poverty, not because of inadequate income, however, but because of inadequate expenditure. Therefore, we can say that poverty is due to one or both of two sets of conditions. It results either from inadequate income or unwise expenditure or both. Shall we not therefore define poverty as *that condition of living in which a person either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, cannot maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member?*

The Standard of Living. This definition of poverty is based upon a standard of living for the individual as a producer. The standard of living is the gauge which enables us to determine the extent of poverty.

However, in determining a standard of living it must be remembered that man does not live by bread alone. He must have something besides the bare necessities such as food, clothing, housing, heat and light, to keep himself in physical condition. He must have sufficient to enable him to keep in good mental health, for his physical efficiency is dependent not only upon a full stomach and a warm back, but upon contentment and mental development as well.[1] Moreover, he must have sufficient to enable him to keep the respect of others in the class of society in which he moves, else his ambition is strangled and the props to economic and social achievement are knocked out. Therefore, the definition includes mental and social efficiency as well as physical. This close connection of the mental and physical is pointed out by Alfred Marshall as follows: "And in addition to the Residuum, there are vast numbers of people, both in town and country, who are brought up with insufficient food, clothing, and house-room, whose education is broken off early in order that they may go to work for wages, who thenceforth are engaged during long hours in exhausting toil with insufficiently nourished bodies, and have therefore no chance of developing their higher mental faculties."

Relation of Poverty and Pauperism. It is very difficult to draw any hard and fast line between poverty and pauperism, when it comes to particular cases. Some who fall below the poverty line receive assistance from charity, while others just as necessitous do not, but struggle along in some way. Technically, the former are paupers because they are dependent for a living upon someone other than a natural supporter. Yet, if they are given the right kind of treatment they will most willingly become self-supporting. They are both in poverty and are dependent and are technically paupers, but they are not chronic paupers. Therefore, in that somewhat broad border-line between poverty and pauperism of the chronic sort there is a class of dependents who have in themselves under changed circumstances the potentiality of rising from both pauperism and poverty.

Since poverty is the main cause of pauperism, our most hopeful method of attack is upon the cure and prevention of poverty. If we could eliminate insufficiency of income and wasteful or unwise expenditure, the only residuum of pauperism would be those individuals

[1] "Nor is it (destitution) merely a physical state. It is, indeed, a special feature of destitution in modern urban communities that it means not merely a lack of food, clothing and shelter, but also a condition of mental degradation." Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Prevention of Destitution*, London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta, 1912, p. 1.

who are dependent because they have no wish to support themselves. By the abolition of the conditions which produce poverty we should not entirely eliminate pauperism, but we should go a long way in that direction. We should deprive the willing pauper of the chief justification of his dependency. We should remove from him the possibility of protesting that he is the victim of social and economic conditions. By reducing the possible causes of pauperism we should eliminate the present uncertainty in people's minds as to why he is a pauper. Then, only those would be paupers who *chose* to depend on others for their living.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. A Comparison of Various Definitions of Poverty and Pauperism. Hollander, *The Abolition of Poverty,* Chap. I. Seligman, *Principles of Economics,* New York, 1907, Secs. 255, 256. Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents,* Boston, 1901, pp. 8-11. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Prevention of Destitution,* New York, 1912, Chap. I.
2. From the Code of Your State Get the Legal Definition of a Pauper; a Dependent Child; a Neglected Child.

CHAPTER IV

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND PAUPERISM

NO exact nation-wide measurement of the volume of dependency and pauperism has been made in this country. The Census Reports state the number of inmates of almshouses, but give no figures on outdoor paupers. The difficulty of securing reports concerning even the number of indoor paupers is so great that no one in the United States has had the temerity to attempt to secure nation-wide statistics on outdoor relief.

Still greater is the difficulty of securing information concerning the number of people who are in poverty. The difficulty does not inhere in the mechanics of counting the number, but grows out of the fact that a poverty line must be established. To establish a poverty line it is necessary to determine upon a standard of living that is essential for an average family, let us say, of five people. Since prices of food and other necessaries of life vary in different parts of the country, and since the amount of clothing and fuel and the kind of houses that are demanded vary with the climate, in practice it has been necessary for societies dealing with dependent families to determine a standard of living for each locality. The difficulty of establishing such a standard of living for the entire country is very great. However, after a standard is established, there is the gigantic task of discovering how many actually fall below this standard.

Efforts to Estimate the Extent of Poverty. In spite, however, of the difficulties, various cross-sectioned studies of the population have been made which reveal in the localities where they have been made the proportion of the people in poverty. These studies are valuable as indications of the situation. They are samples with all the merits and shortcomings of samples.

1. Poverty in England. One of the first efforts on an intensive scale to measure pauperism and poverty was made by Charles Booth, in London. This study was made by Mr. Booth and a large number of assistants carefully trained for the work. It covered a number

of years and the results were finally published in seventeen volumes in 1903.

Mr. Booth's monumental study on the *Life and Labour of the People of London* was the first careful attempt to measure accurately the conditions in which the poor of that great city lived. He commenced the study in a time which has been described as one in which there was the greatest social awakening since the Chartist movement. Social unrest was rife. Sensational pamphlets such as Besant's *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* and *Children of Gideon,* as well as magazine articles describing the awful conditions among the London poor were stirring the consciences of the English people. Moreover, it was that same decade of the eighties that the English Socialist organizations came into being, that the English social settlement movement began, and that the Salvation Army under "General" Booth opened its first food and shelter depot. Even politicians like Joseph Chamberlain were declaring that never before had "the misery of the poor been more intense or their daily life more hopeless and degraded." Parliamentary investigations had been carried on in response to this unrest, and partisan spirit had been evoked both for and against the correctness of the sensational pictures of London's misery. It was in such a time that Mr. Booth, a retired merchant, decided to devote his money and energy to ascertain what were the facts by a thorough and careful study. As a result of that investigation, begun in 1886 and finished in 1902, we have the first serious and, to date, the most satisfactory survey, measuring scientifically the problems of poverty and dependency, both as to extent, causes and character.[1]

Mr. Booth divided the people he studied into eight classes as follows:

"A. The lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers and semi-criminals.

B. Casual earnings—'very poor'.

C. Intermittent earnings. } together the 'poor'.
D. Small regular earnings. }

E. Regular standard earnings—above the line of poverty.

F. Higher class labor.

G. Lower middle class.

H. Upper middle class."[2]

[1] Abbott, "Charles Booth, 1840-1916," *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. XXV (Feb., 1917), pp. 195-200.

[2] *Labour and Life of the People of East London,* London and Edinburgh, 1889, Vol. I, p. 33. He defined his terms as follows: "By the word 'poor' I

In 1901, Rowntree published his study of the poor in York, England. In both of these studies a minimum income was established below which a family could not maintain a decent standard of living. Mr. Rowntree's investigation covered 11,560 families, about two-thirds of the population of York. Mr. Booth's figures were samples from the wage-earning classes of East London. In Mr. Booth's investigations he ascertained that an income of twenty-one shillings per week was the minimum amount necessary to maintain a family of five persons. Mr. Rowntree's minimum was twenty-one shillings eight pence.

On the basis of these investigations an estimate was made of the proportions of the population of London and York below the poverty line. Mr. Booth's investigations show that those either already in distress or sinking into want constituted 30.7 per cent of the whole population of London, while the classes that were either in comfort or rising to affluence constituted 69.3 per cent of the population. Mr. Rowntree found that 15.46 per cent of the wage-earning class in York and 9.91 per cent of the entire population of that city were in "primary poverty," i. e., did not have sufficient income to maintain physical efficiency. In addition, he found that 17.39 per cent of the population were living in "secondary poverty," i. e., while the income was sufficient, it was spent either for some other useful purpose than living expenses or wasted on drink or the like. Thus, he found that 43.4 per cent of the wage-earning class and 27.84 per cent of the city's total population were poverty-stricken.[1]

These surveys are of significance because they are intensive studies, based on a house to house canvass, and a careful investigation of family budgets; also because one is from a large city of England and one from a small city. Moreover, while they were conducted some years apart, the percentages of poverty are remarkably close in the two cases.

More recently Mr. Bowley and Mr. Burnett-Hurst have published the results of their studies made in 1912 and 1913 of four different communities in England. These results were published in a book entitled *Livelihood and Poverty*. In this study they considered Mr.

mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular though bare income, such as 18 to 21 s. per week for a moderate family, and by 'very poor', those who for any cause fall much below this standard. The 'poor' are those whose means may be sufficient, but are barely sufficient for decent independent life; the 'very poor', those whose means are insufficient for this according to the usual standard of life in this country."

[1] Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, London, 1901, p. 117.

Rowntree's standard of twenty-one shillings eight pence, and established a new and more elastic standard of their own.[1] The findings of these investigations are of interest in this connection. They say: "The extent of working-class families living below either Mr. Rowntree's standard or the New Standard ranges, therefore, from (roughly) one-seventeenth in Stanley to one-twelfth in Northampton, one-eighth in Warrington, and actually just over one-fifth in Reading. It must be remembered that besides these families there are the actual paupers living in the workhouse and in other Poor Law Institutions." [2]

They continue: "An examination of this Table brings to light certain very remarkable facts. *First,* if we take the whole working class population of both sexes and all ages in each of these four towns, and ask what proportion of it is above and what proportion of it is below the minimum standard, we find that the percentage below is, in the case of Northampton, 9; in the case of Warrington, 15; in the case of Reading, 29; in the case of Stanley 60 out of 975, or 6 per cent." [3] "That in Northampton just under one-sixth of the school children and just over one-sixth of the infants; in Warrington one-quarter of the school children and almost a quarter of the infants; in Reading nearly half of the school children and 45 per cent of the infants should be living in households in primary poverty, irrespective of exceptional distress caused by bad trade or short time, is a matter to cause the gravest alarm. The proportion of children and infants who at one time or another have lived or will live below the standard taken as necessary for a healthful existence, must be much greater than these large figures show." [4]

They sum up the investigation as follows: "Let us for a moment obliterate the boundaries between the different towns which we have described, and regard them as merged into one large city. The city contains about 2,150 working-class households and 9,720 persons. Of these households 293, or 13½ per cent—of these persons, 1,567 or 16 per cent—are living in a condition of primary poverty." [5] "Out of 2,285 adult males in our composite city as to whose earnings we have definite information, 729 or 32 per cent were, at the time of our inquiry, earning less than 24s. a week." [6]

[1] For details of this standard see Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, London, 1915, pp. 79, 80.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 43, 45.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

On the basis of his findings in Reading, one of the four towns studied, and Rowntree's in York, Bowley ventured to make an estimate of the extent of poverty in Great Britain as a whole. He says, "Assuming about the same amount of poverty, due to other causes, as in Reading and York, we shall find, I think, somewhat over 13 per cent of the *industrial* working-class population of Great Britain below the standard at any one time as compared with 15½ per cent in York and 25 to 30 per cent in Reading." [1]

These findings are closely similar to those of Booth and Rowntree. Bowley and Burnett-Hurst's figures relate to primary poverty only, while Rowntree's figures include those in secondary poverty.

In 1912 Mr. Money, basing his estimate on the increased cost of living in England, estimated that Rowntree's minimum income would necessarily be increased from 21s. 8d. to 24s. 1d.,[2] and in 1914 including in his estimate allowances for dues to societies to which the workers belong, compulsory insurance, reading matter and amusements, necessary for a decent standard of living, he estimated that an income of 45s., or if the man is out of work an average of four weeks each year, 48s. a week is necessary. Since not many of the British workers earn that much—less than 750,000, he thinks—Money believes that "the great mass of the people of the United Kingdom are below" the poverty line.[3]

On the basis of these figures, we shall probably not be far wrong if we conclude that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the people in England at the time these studies were made were not able with their incomes, and taking into consideration their method of spending the money, to maintain such a state of physical efficiency as would keep them in health and constantly at work earning an income.

2. Poverty in America. In America the problem has been attacked in a number of different ways. The methods of Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree have been followed in surveys of districts in large cities and in a few cases in surveys of entire communities. In addition to these surveys, studies on a more extensive scale have been made.

During the closing years of the Nineteenth Century and the opening years of the Twentieth, a great interest was manifested in the extent of poverty. Several more or less careful estimates were made. Among these are those made by Kellogg of the Charity Organization

[1] Bowley, "Working-Class Households in Reading," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, June, 1913, pp. 672-701.
[2] Money, *Things That Matter*, London, 1912, p. 254.
[3] Money, *The Nation's Wealth*, London, 1914, p. 93.

Society of New York City, by Professor Ely of the University of Wisconsin, by Professor C. J. Bushnell, and by Robert Hunter. Charles D. Kellogg, of New York City, in 1890, estimated that about 4 per cent of the population was in poverty.[1] Professor Ely, in an article in the *North American Review* in April, 1891, arrived at practically the same figure.[2] Hunter, in his book entitled, *Poverty*, estimates four million as the lowest possible number who are in poverty, and says the figure of ten million is more probable.[3] Bushnell estimated that about 1903 one twenty-fifth, or 4 per cent, of the population of this country was in poverty.[4]

Mrs. Louise Boland More, in 1905 and 1906, made a study of 200 families in Greenwich Village, New York City. This careful study showed that among the families of that community, any family of five persons which did not have an income of $746 a year had a deficit at the end of the year. Of the 200 families studied she found that only one-fourth lived on the earnings of the father alone; that about one-fourth had a deficit at the end of the year, one-fourth had a surplus, and the remainder were just able to come out even. Of the 23 families who managed to get along without any outside help, although they had less than $600 for an average family of four, she found that the expenditures were insufficient to maintain physical efficiency, and that they suffered physically and morally because of their small expenditure.[5]

An investigation was conducted in 1907 by a special committee on standard of living of the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction. They studied 230 families with incomes between $600 and $900 per year, consisting of five persons—a husband, wife, and three children under working age. The conclusion of this committee was that "an income between $600 and $700 per annum is insufficient for a family of five to maintain a proper standard of living in the Borough of Manhattan." Leaving aside the exceptions, it is apparent that, on an income of $600 to $700, many families in Manhattan have a hard struggle for existence.[6]

Various state and federal investigations were attempted to secure a more widespread and representative set of facts bearing upon the in-

[1] Quoted in *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, p. 934.
[2] *North American Review*, April, 1891.
[3] Hunter, *Poverty*, New York, 1904, p. 21.
[4] Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, New York, 1908, p. 390.
[5] More, *Wage Earners' Budgets*, New York, 1907, p. 267.
[6] Frankel, *Preliminary Report of Special Committee on Standard of Living*, New York, Conference of Charities and Correction, 1907.

come and expenditures of working class families in the early years of this century.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1902 published figures on the budgets of 104 families whose average income was $814.01. The average size of the family was 4.8 persons. The heads of these families were skilled workmen, probably with incomes above that of the average working man. The average expenditure of these families was $797.83.[1]

The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor of the United States in 1903 published the results of a study of the incomes and expenditures of 25,440 wage earners, and other persons who had salaries not above $1,200. These figures were for the year 1901. The families were distributed over 33 states and living chiefly in the industrial centers. The total number of persons studied in these families was 124,108. The average size of family was 4.88; 16.18 per cent of them reported a deficit at the end of the year and not all of the remainder had an adequate income. Inasmuch as it is probable that it was easier to secure family accounts from the better type of wage-earning families than from those earning less than this group, this study represents an average income that is too high for wage-earning families as a whole.

The studies in this Report of the Bureau of Labor gives some indications of poverty among wage-workers at that time. Thus, of the 11,156 "normal" families—i. e., families having a husband at work, a wife, not more than five children, and none over 14 years of age, no dependents, boarders or servants—2,567 were families with an average of 5.31 persons and with an average income of $827.19 per year. Of these nearly one-fifth had a deficit. Of the whole 25,440 families almost a sixth had an average deficit of $65.68 each.[2]

Studies of the United States Bureau of Labor and the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1908, of conditions in Fall River, Massachusetts, showed that a fair standard of living in that city ranged from $690.97 for certain nationalities to $731.95, while the average wage in that city was $447.40.[3]

[1] *Thirty-Second Annual Report, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor,* Boston, 1902.

[2] *Eighteenth Annual Report, U. S. Commissioner of Labor,* 1903.

[3] F. H. Streightoff, in his study on the distribution of incomes in the United States, published in 1912, placed the cost of a minimum standard of living in cities of the northeast and west of the United States at $650, and for the cities

Parmelee estimates that, assuming that all or the great majority of the families are supported by one adult wage-earner, "at least one-half and probably more of the families of this country are in a state of poverty."[1] He arrives at this conclusion by estimating that four-fifths of the family incomes are earned by the husband, one-tenth by the children, and 1½ per cent by the wives. This is the largest estimate of the number in poverty which has come to our notice.

These figures make it probable that a large proportion of the workers in unskilled industries do not have enough to maintain an adequate standard of living. If these figures give any indication of the actual situation among the wage-earning classes of this country, the condition is serious indeed.

From the above it is apparent that Parmelee's and Hunter's figures stand very close together. Bushnell, Kellogg and Ely are very much more conservative, while the figures cited of wage-earning families show a larger proportion in poverty. Considering that the studies of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics and the United States Bureau of Labor are of working class families and that only 53 per cent of the population are in the wage-earning class,[2] it would seem that Hunter's and Parmelee's figures are too high for the entire population. Nevertheless, if 10 per cent, or even 5 per cent, of the wage-earning class has an income that is less than they should have to maintain a decent standard of living, it is not only a reflection upon the country, but a serious menace to the welfare of our population. The country cannot afford to under-feed, under-clothe, and under-shelter millions of its people. If so large a proportion do not have the bare necessities of life, how many millions more do not have a sufficient income to enable them to make the most of their lives, and rear children to be good citizens? Lack of recreation, a poverty-

of the South at $600, yet he says that there are five million industrial workmen who are earning $600 a year or less in the United States.

Nearing, in a study published in 1911, covering wages in the United States from 1908 to 1910, comes to the conclusion that the average wages in all industries for all employees are from $500 to $600 a year. He believes that in view of all the evidence, it is fair to conclude that the adult male wage-earners in the industries of that portion of the United States lying east of the Rockies and north of the Mason and Dixon Line receive an annual wage of about $600. He says: "Three-fourths of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than $600 a year." As we shall see from other figures to be given in a moment, this was an inadequate wage in consideration of the cost of living.

[1] Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, New York, 1916, p. 93.

[2] *Thirteenth Census of the United States. Occupation Statistics*, Vol. IV: *Population*, p. 30.

stricken social life that gives no outlook beyond the bare necessities, no opportunities for those social contacts that ennoble personality, create an aspiration for better things and inspire a sentiment of patriotic devotion to the country, and tend to make a useful citizenry devoted to the great democratic ideals for which America theoretically stands—such conditions are a menace to our institutions.

The Extent of Pauperism. Darker in its significance, although less widespread in its extent, is the phenomena of pauperism. Closely connected in its cause with poverty, pauperism is the term applied to those members of society who have not only fallen below the poverty line, but have become the recipients of aid from charitable organizations or from public funds. It includes the hopeless chronic pauper who is willing to fight against adverse circumstances no longer, but to eat his bread at the hands of the public or philanthropic organizations.

Pauperism, one would suppose, is much more easily measured than poverty. However, it is difficult to secure accurate figures of the extent of pauperism.

1. Pauperism in England. England makes very much more careful studies of its paupers than does America. The central government of the United Kingdom gathers statistics of the number of paupers in institutions and also the number given outdoor relief. In 1907 and 1908, 2½ per cent of the population were daily in receipt of poor relief.[1] On January 1, 1913, the rate had fallen to 2.1 per cent of the population. These were in addition to those who were in receipt of Old Age Pensions, who on March 31, 1913, numbered 967,921 or a little more than 2 per cent of the population.[2] Thus, the paupers and Old Age Pensioners together constituted over 4 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom. This percentage of paupers is based upon the average daily number of persons in receipt of poor relief during the year. It includes not only ordinary paupers, but the insane and idiot poor in England, Wales, and Scotland. In the same countries it also includes the sick poor. It does not include either the insane or idiots or sick poor in Ireland. Excluding the insane and idiot poor, the rate is 2.3 per cent of the population.

2. Pauperism in America. In America we do not have complete figures on pauperism from all the states. There is no central body in the Federal Government which gathers together from the various

[1] British Blue Book on *Public Health and Social Conditions*, 1909, p. 51.
[2] Hazell's *Annual*, London, 1914, pp. 429, 430.

states the statistics relating to the number of people relieved. Nay, more, in a large number of the states, since both indoor and outdoor relief is a matter for the counties, or, in some parts, of the townships, no figures even for all the counties of many states are to be had. Therefore, in order to arrive at an estimate of the amount of pauperism in the Uuited States, it is necessary to take some states in which the figures are available as bases on which to estimate the number of paupers in the country. The Bureau of the Census publishes each decade, and sometimes oftener, an enumeration of the paupers in almshouses. On January 1, 1910, there were in the almshouses of the United States 84,198 paupers.[1] This is about 8½ per 10,000 of the population of the United States. No figures are collected by the Bureau of the Census on outdoor relief. If the same proportions between indoor and outdoor relief prevail in the United States as in England, we could calculate the total number of paupers. In England and Wales in 1908, there were 237,549 indoor paupers to 534,797 outdoor paupers. In other words, 30.8 per cent of the paupers were cared for in institutions, while 69.2 per cent were cared for in their homes. Calculated on this basis, the total number of paupers in the United States would be 273,370, or on the basis of the population in 1910, about 2¾ per 1,000 of the population.

We have some figures from certain investigations that have been made in various cities of the Union. These figures have value since they may serve as indications of conditions in other communities of the country. In a survey made in Newburg, New York, it was found that during the four months from December, 1912, to April, 1913, 5 per cent of the population of Newburg received charitable relief.[2]

The Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, in a study of the relief situation in Springfield, Illinois, revealed the fact that in 1912, 2.8 per cent of the population of that city received relief from either public or private sources.[3]

In New York State in 1911, an aggregate of 420,546 persons were supported and relieved during the year. This number excluding the non-residents constituted 2.33 per cent of the population of the State.[4]

[1] Bureau of the Census, *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1910, Washington, 1915, p. 9.
[2] *Newburg Survey*, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, 1913, p. 71.
[3] McLean, *The Charities of Springfield, Illinois*, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1915, p. 57.
[4] *Forty-Fifth Annual Report, State Board of Charities*, Albany, 1912, Vol. I, Appendix, p. 190.

Indiana collects very useful statistics concerning the relief of the poor. On August 31, 1915, there were 3,414 inmates in the poor asylums of Indiana. During the year 1915, 97,292 persons received help from the township overseers of the poor. Omitting indigent, insane, feeble-minded, and other dependents relieved by the state and the counties and leaving aside the recipients of private charitable relief, these make a total of 105,593, or about 3.8 per cent of the estimated population of the state in January 1, 1916.[1]

Everyone has felt the difficulty of arriving at a reasonable estimate of pauperism who has attempted it. The difficulty lies partly in the lack of thoroughgoing investigations and partly in the vagueness of definition as to what is meant by the term. If by a pauper is meant anyone who receives charitable aid, then one will get a much larger figure than if only those are indicated who are either chronic paupers, or those who are dependent upon other resources than their own or of natural supporters. In a previous chapter we have given a definition which includes all who are dependent in any degree upon others than themselves or relatives who are legally liable for their support. Any other definition is very difficult for statistical purposes and because of that difficulty any other definition is eschewed in the law. Following the legal definition and extending it so that it includes those who receive any relief from whatsoever source, we shall not be above the truth if we place the number at from 2 to 3 per cent of the population of the country. Parmelee, in summarizing his discussion on this point, says: "So that so far as these census figures give any indication, the number of those receiving any charitable aid ranges from 3 per cent (which would be a very conservative estimate) to 6 per cent of the total population. But it must be remembered that these figures do not include those receiving outdoor relief from public sources, or the large number of persons receiving such relief from private charitable organizations and from individuals.

"In view of the above facts, as well as various others which might be cited, it seems reasonable to assume that the number of persons in this country receiving charitable aid ranges from 5 to 10 per cent, varying somewhat according to economic and other social conditions." [2]

A comparison between the poverty and pauperism rates of Great Britain and the United States, even though it is a comparison between

[1] *Indiana Bulletin of Charities & Correction*, Sept., 1916, p. 286; Butler, *Indiana: A Century of Progress*, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis, 1916, p. 139.

[2] Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, New York, 1916, p. 103.

estimates, may not be unprofitable. It has usually been assumed that the United States has less poverty and pauperism than Great Britain. That assumption is now seen to have no basis. As we have seen, the pauperism rate in Great Britain is about 2½ per cent of the population, while in the United States it is about the same, varying from the evidently too low estimate made on the basis of the paupers in almshouses in the United States, of not quite 1 per thousand, through 2.8 per cent for Springfield, Illinois, 2.33 per cent of the population of New York State, and 3.8 per cent in Indiana to 5 per cent in Newburg, New York. When we get more careful statistics which include not only the recipients of public poor-relief but also those receiving relief from private agencies, we shall probably find that the pauperism rate is from 5 to 8 per cent.

3. The Cost of Pauperism. Another measure of the importance of the problem of poverty is what it costs the independent members of society to care for these less fortunate ones. Only indicative figures and estimates can be given. These, however, may be helpful in giving us an approximate measure of the burden which poverty entails upon society. If emotional appeals could have solved the problem, it would have ceased to be a problem long ago. Its tragedy for the individual has long aroused humanity's pity. Such appeals have not, however, touched the business sense of the world. Men must be touched in what is said to be their most sensitive spot, the pocket-book, before many of them will give much serious attention to the matter.

No way has yet been found by which the cost of poverty can be estimated accurately. However, some figures on the cost of supporting dependents are available.

The total expenditure for the support of the poor in England and Wales in 1912 was 14,463,902 pounds sterling, or about $72,310,000. In addition, there was paid out in Old Age Pensions 12,200,000 pounds sterling, or about $61,000,000. These two items, which leave out of account all expenditures for the poor by private organizations, make a total of over $133,000,000.[1] To supply this large amount, over a pound sterling had to be levied in taxes for every man, woman and child in England and Wales. Since many of the population are able to pay little if any taxes, it is not hard to see that the burden was no small one upon the taxpayers. From 1900 to 1907 in England and Wales the cost of poor relief averaged one shilling four pence

[1] Hazell's *Annual*, 1914, pp. 429, 430.

per pound of ratable value of the property of England and Wales, or more than 5 per cent.

The cost of poor relief in America is very much more difficult to ascertain. A few of the states keep statistics of the amount expended by the public poor relief authorities on relief. In New York State in 1911 the State Board of Charities reported the total expenditures of the counties of that state for the county poor as $488,658.18. In addition to that for city poor, there was expended $568,813.09, or a total of $1,057,471.27. Expenses for the support of the poor in almshouses and in other institutions brought the total expenses in New York State for the support and relief of residents, which was paid out of the public funds, to $6,504,453.23.[1] This large figure does not take into account the interest on the money invested in institutions for the care of the poor. As it stands, however, if it had been spread out as a tax upon every inhabitant of the state, it would have amounted to $7.14 apiece. There is invested in property in institutions and societies subject to visitation by the State Board of Charities, $145,149,429.67. In almshouses alone, $35,619,460.79; in institutions and societies for general outdoor relief and for the relief of the sick poor, $81,700,000.

Indiana, in 1915, spent on indoor and outdoor relief, a total of $1,559,821.28.[2]

In Wisconsin, in 1911 and 1912 (I estimate on the basis of figures given by the Board of Control) the State and counties of the State expended $739,024.33 on outdoor and indoor relief and mothers' pensions.

In Illinois, for 1914-15, $1,500,000 was spent for the support of the poor; in almshouses, $1,150,000, or a total of $2,650,000. In addition to this amount, the State spent for mothers' pensions, $349,200; pensions for the blind, $96,900; old soldiers' relief, $24,650; dependents in hospitals, orphanages, and homes, $750,000, or a total for the public relief of the poor in Illinois of $3,870,750.[3]

It would be possible, on the basis of any one of these reports, to make an estimate of the amount expended by all of the United States by calculating the total expended on the basis of the expenditures by these states. Such a calculation, however, would have very little value. It is probable that more money is actually spent on poor relief in these

[1] *Forty-fifth Annual Report, State Board of Charities of the State of New York,* 1911, Albany, 1912, Appendix, pp. 189, 191, 193, 285, 865.
[2] *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction,* Sept., 1916, p. 289.
[3] *Illinois Institution Quarterly,* March 31, 1916, pp. 7, 15, 19 and 30.

states, which gives a good deal of attention to the matter of poor relief, than in the states in which the people have shown very little concern. Moreover, a comparison of these three states shows that the laws are so different and the methods of administration so diverse that the law and administration in any one state could not be assumed to hold in any other state. The purpose which I hope the citing of these figures will serve is to call attention to the enormous sums that are expended on the relief of pauperism. These huge expenditures in every state in the Union call for more careful administration than is being given them at the present time. They point to the necessity of so treating pauperism that this burden shall dwindle rather than grow as time goes on.

Indiana's experience has shown that careful administration reduces the expenditures and at the same time gives better service to those receiving relief than careless administration. If pauperism costs these enormous sums, why should we not give ourselves to the consideration of methods by which the making of paupers can be stopped so far as that is possible? It is to be hoped that public officials, business men, and women's organizations will give attention to this enormous drain upon the resources of the country.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Compare the Scope of Rowntree's *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* with Booth's *Life and Labor of the People of London.*
2. Review More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets.*
3. Extent of Pauperism in Massachusetts, 1918, *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts,* Part III, pages 87-91.
4. The Cost of Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1918, *Ibid.,* pages 91-115.

PART II

THE CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

AS soon as poverty became a common phenomenon it became the subject of speculation. While we can place no date for the first appearance of an explanation of poverty, it is probable that men began to speculate as to the cause of it shortly after it became common. As we have pointed out, so long as tribal life lasted as the social organization of a people, and goods were owned chiefly in common, all were poor together. We find in the early literature of almost every people references to poverty. When poverty appears in the literature, reflections on the cause of poverty also appear.

Primitive Explanations of Poverty. The ground-work of an explanation of poverty was to be found in the religious conceptions of primitive peoples. Primitive man conceived of Nature as a personalized or animized thing—a spirit like unto his own, yet more powerful and less comprehensible, inhabiting the objects of Nature. Moreover, since their god was their own peculiar possession, he must be concerned with their subsistence. This idea was strengthened by the fact that primitive people shared with their god the fruits of their flocks and fields. The relationship was so intimate and yet the nature of the god was so uncertain that any pestilence or failure of food supply was attributed to either the pettishness or the anger of the god. Hence, when a people suffered from lack of food or from disease, it was a certain sign of the displeasure of the deity. While they might not understand why he was displeased, nevertheless it must be because of some fault on their part.

Application of Religious Explanation to Individual Life. This conception was the most natural thing in the world to carry over into the explanation of individual misfortune. One of the most familiar examples of this explanation of poverty, as well as other misfortune, is to be found in the Bible. The Hebrew people, like every other primitive people, carried over from tribal life these conceptions of the close interrelation of sin and suffering. Thus the Prophets explained

the calamities that befell the *Israelites* in drouth and pestilence, locusts, blasting and mildew.[1] The Psalmist reflects this idea when he says that "I have been young and now I am old, yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread."[2] A slightly different philosophy of poverty is to be found in the poetic and wisdom literature characteristic of early peoples. It represents a common-sense reflection upon the causes of poverty. Thus a Hebrew Proverb says: "The rich ruleth over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender."[3] The connection between poverty and dissipation is indicated in: "He that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man; he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich."[4] The connection of poverty with lack of industry is indicated in another saying of the Wise: "He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread, but he that followeth after a vain person shall have poverty enough."[5] Licentiousness as a cause of poverty is indicated in this saying of the Wise: "For on account of a harlot is a man brought to a piece of bread."[6]

This pithy wisdom of primitive peoples records many similar observations that indicate the reflections of the Wise on naturalistic explanations of poverty. In the course of Hebrew history it was seen that these were inadequate explanations of poverty. With the growth of social classes, the development of rich and poor, the oppression of the poor by the rich, there grew up with the Prophets an explanation of poverty as due to social injustice. Consequently, from that time down through the remainder of Hebrew history, concurrent with the other explanations, and growing more important in the thought of the teachers of Israel, was this fruitful conception.

Survival of These Explanations. Even in more developed society many of these primitive explanations, refined, but yet essentially the same, remain. Thus the religious explanation developing from the ideas rooted in primitive conditions continues. Sin or unworthiness is the cause of poverty. This explanation has continued down even to the present time. Usually, since the birth of natural science, some attempt is made to connect the sin with the violation of some natural law.

On the other hand, the important explanation of poverty as due to

[1] Amos 4:6.
[2] Psalms 37:25.
[3] Proverbs 22:7.
[4] *Ibid.*, 21:17.
[5] *Ibid.*, 28:19.
[6] *Ibid.*, 6:26.

social injustice has developed with the evolution of society. This conception of the Hebrew Prophets has its fruits in the economic and social explanations of poverty accepted at the present time.

Explanation on the Basis of Heredity. Very early in social development the foundation was laid for a quasi-hereditary explanation of poverty. The solidarity of the tribal group was one basis of the conception that "the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children even to the third and fourth generation." Moreover, it is possible that the nomadic shepherd had developed breeding to such an extent that he understood clearly that certain characteristics were handed down by heredity.[1] It would be a most natural confirmation of his belief that the fathers transmitted their defects as well as their good qualities to their children. This conception comes out in the wisdom philosophy that "poor folks have poor ways." The belief in heredity as a cause of poverty continued intermittently all through the period of the Christian Church. On the other hand, there grew up in the Christian Church the curious notion that voluntary poverty was a peculiar sign of sanctity. The one who followed the Master most closely was he who gave up all his worldly goods and begged his living from door to door. Hence, in the Middle Ages we have the orders of Begging Friars.

With the development of modern science and the scientific theory of heredity a new impetus was given to the doctrine that explains poverty on the basis of inheritance. Emphasis was now laid, however, upon the inheritance of defects as causes of poverty. Consequently, Herbert Spencer believed that the poor should be let alone. Thus, in the struggle for existence the weak would be eliminated and the strong perpetuate themselves. He assumed that the weak were hereditarily weak and the only way to solve the problem of poverty was by their elimination.

The modern theory of the relation between hereditary defect and poverty is chiefly in the direction of more careful discrimination in the description of what is inherited. While the biologists of the present day do not assume in general terms that poverty is inherited, they have put their fingers on certain characteristics which are inherited and which tend to produce poverty. The studies have proceeded far enough in mental defect to enable us to be quite certain that the hereditary theory of poverty is *not* sufficient to explain the problem.

Modern One-sided Explanations of Poverty. Recently, since the

[1] Compare Jacob's device in Genesis 30: 37-42.

study of poverty has been more seriously undertaken, various explanations have been given. Usually, in the search for the causes of poverty some person or group has pursued a single line of inquiry. Or, attention has been directed to a certain set of facts. Hence, in the literature of the last fifty years bearing on poverty, several unilateral explanations of the problem have been offered. These explanations fall under two different classes. One class of explanations may be placed under the category of the fault of the individual himself; another under that of economic maladjustment.

EXPLANATIONS OF POVERTY ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL FAULT

1. The individual is poor because he is sinful. This is a continuance of the primitive explanation.

2. The individual is poor because he is unworthy, that is, he "does not wish to make an honest living" or "he is inefficient because of his own fault." This explanation is a modification, in more rational terms, of the first.

3. Drink is assigned as the cause of poverty. Early temperance advocates claimed that 75 per cent of the poverty was due to drink. This explanation attempted to serve as the only explanation.

4. It is claimed that the individual is poor because he is immoral. The tendency in the early discussion of the consequences of immorality was to offer that as an explanation of poverty. We have already seen that the Wise Man in the book of Proverbs assigned this as the cause of poverty.

5. Laziness is often cited in explanation of poverty in a given case. Like other causes manifested by individuals, this cause is itself a result of conditions either in the individual heritage or produced by environing conditions.

6. Drug habits often are invoked to explain poverty and pauperism. Such habits, however, can be shown to be induced by conditions outside the control of the individual himself. To invoke this kind of habit as a cause of poverty is to neglect the conditions which account for the habit by attention to a surface indication of results.

In all such explanations of poverty and pauperism there is little satisfaction to the serious student who is looking for objective conditions which explain why individuals fall into destitution. Hence, while so-called "causes in the individual himself" have been widely used as a category in the causation of poverty, in this book such explanations

are eschewed in the belief that they are unscientific makeshifts. Back of each individual failure to achieve an independence are conditions either in himself which are inherited or which are in the conditions surrounding him and so affect him that he becomes destitute. Drug habits, laziness, drink and immorality are due either to inherited weakness or to social customs, domestic, economic and political conditions which affect him adversely and induce a course of life which leads to want.

EXPLANATIONS OF POVERTY ON THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC MALADJUSTMENT

1. One of the first of these was that offered by Karl Marx, the German Socialist, who, building his economic philosophy partly on the basis of Ricardo's *Iron Law of Wages,* asserted that the tendency of the present economic system is to retain for the capitalist all but a mere subsistence wage. As one of Marx's interpreters has put it, "Labor is paid for, but not paid." That is to say, while the capitalist is willing to pay the laborer, he is not willing to give him all he produces. Consequently, poverty exists because the wages paid are only those that will enable the most hardy of the workers to subsist.

2. Henry George's theory of poverty is that land produces rent. As soon as the good land is all taken up, then land owners can live from the unearned increment of the land, while the landless man must sell his labor for what it will bring, and produce enough to keep both the landlord and himself. He advocated as a remedy for this situation the so-called "single tax." He believed that by this means the economic rent of land would be absorbed by the Government and thus there would be no object in owning land; consequently, there would be land for anyone who wished to use it.

3. The English classic economists made some very important contributions to the theory of poverty but offered no thoroughgoing explanation. Adam Smith early called attention to the part that the poor laws played in causing pauperism. He was followed by practically all of the English economists who, even more clearly than he, saw the evils of the English poor laws.

Malthus explained poverty as due to the tendency of population to outrun food supply. Poverty is the inevitable result of want of prudence in limiting the size of families. According to Malthus, poverty, therefore, is due to the lack of rational consideration by people concerning the number of children they can properly bring up.

4. Spencer shared the views of the classical economists. He also

developed a natural philosophy based upon the struggle for existence, with the resulting survival of the fittest and the elimination of the unfit. In accordance with this theory, the poor are a species of the unfit. They should be let alone and natural selection will eliminate them as soon as possible. According to this philosophy, poverty is the result of the action and reaction of natural forces which tend to evolve a type of human being ever more adapted to the circumstances of life.

The Present Tendency in the Explanation of Poverty. In all these explanations of poverty doubtless there has been some truth. Without a doubt, sins of certain kinds lead to poverty. It is also true, probably, that as economic forces operate under our present system of government and industry, the laborer does not get his just dues. There is an element of truth, also, in Henry George's assertion that because land owners take the increment of rent, which is produced not by their own improvement of the land, but by the growth of population, with an increasing demand for the land's products, people who do not own land are burdened to some degree with the support of the non-working land owners.

These explanations, however, are not adequate because cases occur where even a favored son who is charged with no rent could not make a living on the farm. It is also true that there are poor people even when labor gets its just share of the product.

The Modern Explanation of Poverty. As the result of the serious discussions regarding this question, the conviction has grown up that no one explanation of poverty is adequate. Each of the factors that make people poor must be taken into consideration. The difference in the physical environment, the difference between the natural endowments of various individuals, hereditary defects, overpopulation, maladjustment of production and distribution, social maladjustments, such as inadequate education, lack of proper hygiene, etc. —all these must be invoked in order to explain the presence of poverty. Thus, the modern theory of the causes of poverty has passed beyond any one-sided explanation to a many-sided theory. Poverty is a phenomenon much more complex than the earlier theorists imagined.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Religious Explanation of Poverty among the Hebrews. Deut. Chaps. 28-30; The Book of Proverbs.
2. The Single Tax Explanation of the Causes of Poverty. Henry

George, *Progress and Poverty,* Introduction and Bk. V. Craig, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1897, p. 272.

3. Early Attempts at the Scientific Explanation of Poverty. Lindsay, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1899, p. 369.
4. Malthus' Theory of the Cause of Poverty. *Essay on the Principle of Population,* Bk. IV, Chap. III.

CHAPTER VI

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND PAUPERISM: THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND HEREDITARY INCAPACITY

WE have already called attention to a number of explanations of poverty and pauperism; but we have seen that the search for the causes and conditions of poverty has led away from the adoption of any one theory as all-sufficient to explain these social phenomena. While sin, shiftlessness, drink, licentiousness, poor judgment, lack of thrift, etc., may each account for some of the poverty to be found in the world, no one of them is sufficient to account for all of the poverty.

Attention has been called to the attempt made in the last thirty-five years to ascertain what factors enter into the large numbers of cases that came under the attention of relief agencies. These figures give us an indication of surface causes of poverty. Serious students of the question, however, cannot be content with the case-counting method. For, back of some of these causes, as revealed by the social workers with families, lie deeper causes which perhaps cannot be treated statistically as yet, but nevertheless are important in the explanation of poverty. These causes must be understood before the battle against poverty and pauperism can be won. It is not absolutely necessary to know what part each plays before we endeavor to correct the conditions which lead to poverty, but we should at least understand them.

INFLUENCE OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

From the days of man's emergence from the animal world in the prehistoric ages he has been engaged in the task of overcoming Nature and subduing her to his service. That beautiful passage in the first chapter of the Bible describing God's blessing on man, "And God blessed them: and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens and over everything that

moveth upon the earth," reflects the Hebrew's religious conception of the greatness of the conquest already achieved when that passage was written, and his explanation of how it had been accomplished. Out of the ages long before that—the dim, prehistoric ages, restored to us only by the scientific imagination working upon chipped flint and painted cave dwelling, upon ceremonial burial, and the bones of cave bear and wild horses found in the camping places of paleolithic man in Europe—comes to us evidence of the long and painful struggle of man to subject Nature. Man has domesticated some of the animals. He has selected and developed for his use some of the plants. He has spanned the rushing rivers with boats and even bridged the seas with his floating palaces. He has leveled the hills and valleys for his highways. He has ground up the flinty rocks and out of their powder has made buildings for his shelter and use. He has brought fire, that gift of the gods, under his control, and with it has smelted for his purposes the useless ore, and with the product has built his machines and his present material civilization. At last he dominates the air to a degree, and has harnessed as his servant the very lightning of the heavens to turn his wheels and to wing his messages around the earth.

Yet, with all these triumphs of his cunning and skill, and in spite of the way in which he has begun to organize mankind so that natural calamity and change of climate shall not fall upon the immediate sufferer therefrom alone, his achievements have not been sufficient to insure that no individual shall suffer from dumb and terrible Nature. He has not yet controlled the rain, the winds and the outburst of volcano and earthquake. The gigantic forces which he has harnessed to his service still often burst forth, like only partially tamed wild animals, to maim and destroy. The sky is still often above him as brass; he cannot make it rain; or when it rains he cannot stop it. Floods and fire, tornado and lightning, earthquake and pestilence still sweep away man and his works like chaff.

No one can tell just what weight to give to the physical environment as a cause of poverty. It is a matter of common observation, however, that some people are poor because of the hostility of the natural circumstances amid which they live.

a. *Poor Natural Resources.* In the settlement of a country, people often occupied the poorer, rather than the richer, agricultural lands nearby. Sometimes it was the influence of a sheltering forest or a spring of water or a river that led them to such a choice. Moreover, with the development of a country and the appropriation of the best

land, it becomes necessary for new settlers to occupy land that formerly was on the margin of cultivation. In either case the occupant of the land of marginal productivity—that is, land that produces very little more and sometimes less than enough to pay for the labor expended upon it—is poor in comparison with his more fortunate neighbors. He may, by changing the method of cultivation, such as by engaging in truck gardening or dairying rather than extensive farming, be able to make his land produce as much as his more favored neighbors. However, if the man who settled on the poorer land had that much foresight, it might not seriously affect his economic position. Many men, however, settle upon this poor land, who are unable to use it efficiently; consequently they are in poverty. They live on the margin of subsistence as truly as the poorly paid wage worker in a city. If any disaster comes, they drop into the pauper class.

Often this factor of poor land is complicated by poor judgment on the part of the occupant. Sometimes it was poor judgment that led him to choose this land for his home. Sometimes it was merely uninstructed judgment, and he was won by the artifices of the agents for such land. Not understanding the value of land, and sometimes lacking the native ability to learn how to use such land, he goes on from year to year with a precarious existence that may be termed poverty-stricken and in the event of sickness or old age he may land in pauperism.

b. *Climate.* As influential as the soil on the economic welfare of humanity is the climate. By reason of long-continued cold, too much rain, exceeding drouth, or intense heat, an inhospitable climate may produce sickness in the inhabitants. Or a climate may not provide warmth and moisture enough to mature the crops. It may be so dry, or so cold, as in certain parts of Alaska and Canada, Northern Asia, and Northern Europe, as to interfere with the successful practice of certain occupations such as farming. In such countries hunting, fishing and mining must take the place of industries suited only to a temperate climate. Certain people cannot stand such a climate, sickness ensues, sometimes death. In either case, the family is often reduced to poverty if not to pauperism.

On the other hand, the climate may be so warm and moist as to enervate the inhabitants and cause them to lose their habits of industry, if they ever had such, and to live from hand to mouth without proper regard for times of need. In various parts of the earth where Nature has been very prolific with her gifts, we find some of the most

poverty-stricken people in the world, due to the enervating influences of the climate which inhibits the practice of thrifty, industrial habits.

c. *Sudden Changes in Climate.* Often sudden changes in the climate have an adverse influence upon the economic status of the inhabitants of a country. These sudden changes sometimes destroy the prospect of a crop. In the arid region of the Central West of the United States, for example, many times a fine prospect for a crop is blasted by two or three days of hot winds which dry out the ground and shrivel the corn and the wheat so that it is valueless. In other places a frost destroys a crop which promised thousands of dollars to the producers. These crop failures, due to sudden changes of climate, characterize every agricultural country on earth. It is no less true of India and China than of the agricultural sections of the United States.

These sudden changes in climate not only destroy the prospects of the farmer and often reduce him to poverty, but they have an indirect effect upon those who are dependent upon the farmer's crops for their livelihood, such as the merchants who handle his grain and those who sell him his goods. Very familiar in the United States was once the sight of the settler returning to his old home with all that he had in a covered wagon, because of a crop failure due to the exigencies of the season. In spite of dry farming methods and insurance, this phenomenon to some extent is still to be seen.

Over long periods of time these sudden changes in climate have affected whole peoples. Ellsworth Huntington, in his book on *Civilization and Climate,* has endeavored to explain the decay of important civilizations in Western Asia by reason of the gradual desiccation of those regions.[1] Whole populations were forced gradually to leave their homes and migrate into other parts of the earth. These changes, he believes, gave rise to the great historic migrations from Central and Western Asia into Europe.[2] In any event, they often produce serious destitution.

d. *Natural Pests.* Another factor in the natural environment, destructive of economic independence, is the natural pests which destroy crops or other natural resources. For example, the cotton boll weevil has forced some cotton-raisers into bankruptcy. The army worm, on occasion, has caused the destruction of the farmers' crops. For years the settlers in Kansas and Nebraska were brought to poverty

[1] Huntington, *Civilization and Climate,* New Haven, 1915.

[2] It is possible that they also account for the migration of prehistoric man from Asia into Europe.

by reason of the grasshoppers. The wheat smut and rust, the Hessian fly, and other natural enemies of the farmers' crops, have brought many a poor man who was struggling to make a living, to dependency. The fish diseases have much the same effect upon the lot of fishermen. Animal diseases affect very appreciably the economic welfare of the farmer in the dairy and stock business. Many young farmers have had not only their homes, but what little capital they had, wiped out by an epidemic of hog cholera. Tuberculosis in a dairy herd, until the State came to insure against tuberculosis in cattle, brought some dairymen to bankruptcy. It is unnecessary to give more than these examples to illustrate how natural pests, destroying the crops or other natural resources, may have the effect of producing poverty.

e. *Natural Cataclysms.* Everyone is familiar with the disasters due to floods, fires, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tornadoes, ocean and lake storms, etc. From time immemorial those who have gone down into the sea in ships have had their families made dependent upon neighbors and friends by the storm that wrecked the vessel, and oftentimes drowned the supporter of the family. Floods like those which occur in the Yangtse Valley of China, the Mississippi Valley, and the valleys of its tributaries, in this country, cause the loss of enormous amounts of property and necessitate relief measures not only for the supply of immediate necessities, but often also for the continued relief of those who have lost their property by the flood. In all wooded countries, forest fires have destroyed homes and entire cities and villages. A volcanic eruption overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii; more recently Mt. Pelee overwhelmed the city of Martinique, killing thousands of people and rendering homeless and property-less thousands of others. Every summer in the Mississippi Valley of the United States, tornadoes sweep away millions of dollars' worth of property. Every year crafts on the Great Lakes and ocean-going vessels are destroyed by storms. Those who lose their lives oftentimes leave utterly helpless and dependent families. It is apparent that in these natural disasters we have a cause of poverty and pauperism the extent of which has not yet been carefully estimated.

f. *Diseases.* Another adverse factor in the natural environment is the diseases, chiefly bacterial in origin, to which mankind is subject. These produce sickness, unemployment, incapacity and often the death of the worker, entailing large expenses for doctor bills and burials. An investigation of 5,000 cases by the Charity Organization Society of New York City showed that 75 per cent came to the organization

immediately because of sickness. In these cases illness was the last straw that broke the camel's back. It has been estimated that the loss to the United States from preventable diseases amounts to $2,000,000,000 a year.

Just what weight to allow these external factors of the physical environment it is impossible to say. They vary from place to place in any country, from occupation to occupation, and with the concurrence of other factors in the network of causation. Their importance varies also with the development of such devices as insurance and sanitation, safety devices and organizations for the protection of the health and safety of people. In the absence of data showing their statistical importance, we may say that common observation indicates that they play a considerable part at present in producing poverty and pauperism.

HEREDITARY FACTORS

No less important, perhaps, but more subject to man's control, are the hereditary factors which make for incapacity and therefore for poverty. Most of what we are potentially is that capacity which we inherit. With every child born there comes a heritage of abilities or incapacities which form the groundwork on which that life is built. On that foundation is reared the superstructure of achievement which makes a rich and useful personality. No less true is it that we also inherit weaknesses and tendencies which, in spite of all that can be done by society, render the individual incapable of the success possible to those with a better heritage. Enough studies have been made to prove that mental traits are hereditary. Francis Galton in his studies of the influence of heredity on men of genius, and F. A. Woods, in his study of royalty, have shown that achievement runs in families.[1]

In discussing the general results of his investigations of hereditary genius, Galton observes, "The general uniformity in the distribution of ability among kinsmen in the different groups is strikingly manifest. The eminent sons are almost invariably more numerous than the eminent brothers, and these are a trifle more numerous than the eminent fathers. On proceeding further down the table, we come

[1] Galton, *Hereditary Genius,* New York, 1871, especially Chap. XIX; *Inquiries into Human Faculty,* London, 1883 and 1907; F. A. Woods, *Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty,* New York, 1906.

to sudden dropping off of the numbers at the second grade of kinship, namely, at the grandfathers, uncles, nephews, and grandsons. . . ." [1] He concludes, "There cannot, therefore, remain a doubt as to the existence of a law of distribution of ability in families, or that it is pretty accurately expressed by the figures in Column B, under the heading of 'eminent men of all classes.'"

Remarking upon these observations of Galton, Thompson, the biologist, says: "The great generalization known as Galton's Law of Ancestral Inheritance, according to which inheritances are on the average made up of a half from the two parents, a quarter from the four grandparents, an eighth from the great-grandparents, and so on, may require some adjustment as regards the precise fractions, and in relation to cases of inter-crossing, but the general fact seems to have been well established, and it is eloquent. Taking it along with Professor Karl Pearson's evidence that the inheritance of psychical characters can be formulated like that of physical characters, we are in a better position to understand what is called 'social solidarity' and 'social inertia.' We are able to realize more vividly how the past has a living hand on and in the present, even to feel, perhaps, that there is a danger of fallacy in insisting too much on either past or future, when we have to deal with the continuous stream of life. Mr. Galton's generalization makes reversions, survivals, recapitulations, and the like, more intelligible." He adds, "Now, the differences in hereditary endowment—of strength or intelligence, of stature or longevity, of fertility or social disposition—have a certain regularity of distribution, so far as we can measure them at all." [2]

Woods, in his study of inheritance in royalty, found the parents and offspring to show even a higher coefficient of correlation of mental ability than even Galton's Law would lead one to expect. In order to test whether this similarity is due to heredity or to the influence of similar environments, he correlated the mental ability of grandparents and their grandchildren. He says: "These give a correlation coefficient of $r = .1528 \pm .0332$. This is much higher than the theoretical $r = .0750$. Here for the first time we are able to observe the intellectual achievements of two groups of human beings who lived about a century apart from each other, usually in other surroundings, and frequently in parts of Europe quite remote from each other, yet who

[1] Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, p. 318.
[2] Thompson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, pp. 522, 523.

are associated with each other in one point, and that blood connection." [1]

Certainly these studies, together with those of Karl Pearson, of the Galton Laboratory in London, do show that ability is inherited in a remarkable manner. Is lack of ability or lack of capacity for the important work of life also inherited? From all the evidence at hand now from the study of defectives of one kind or another, it seems that a categorical affirmative can be returned. It is not held that all incapacity or defect of either physical or mental nature is inherited, but that some of it is inherited. The remainder is due to the influence of damaging circumstances to the developing being either before or after birth. Every study made of chronic paupers, of inebriates and of criminals has revealed a bad heredity in many of them.

These studies of degenerate pauper families when first made confined themselves quite closely to simply pointing out that the characters of the progenitors were such and such, and that so many of their descendants had such and such similar characters. One of the first of such studies, and one which attracted wide attention both in this country and in Europe, was that of the so-called Juke family, by Dugdale, published in 1877. This study, while vitiated in some of its conclusions by the assumption that poverty and crime are inherited as such, brings out very strikingly that in the Juke family there was a weakness which was handed down in ever-increasing proportions when inbreeding occurred, and which led to a corresponding increase of pauperism. With this hereditary weakness went hand in hand the diseases entailed by vicious lives with the result of increasing dependency.[2]

Discussing his findings in the Juke family, Dugdale says, "Comparing by sexes the almshouse relief of the State at large with that of the 'Jukes,' we find seven and a half times more pauperism among their women than among the average of women for the State, among their men nine times more, while the average for both sexes of the 'Juke' and X blood (i. e., outsiders with whom the Jukes intermarried) together gives six and three-quarters times more paupers than the average for the State." [3]

In 1892, Charles Booth published his studies of pauperism in London under the title of *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age.*

[1] F. A. Woods, *Heredity in Royalty,* New York, 1906, p. 277.
[2] Dugdale, *The Jukes,* New York, 1910 pp. 28-39.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 30.

In these studies, made on the basis of records of the relieving officers of various poor-law unions in London, Booth gives a number of stories of the cases which had been relieved over a period of years. Chapter II in this book is entitled "Stories of Stepney Pauperism." These stories, which are written from the facts given in the case records of the Stepney Union Workhouse and allied institutions, reveal the interrelation of bad surrounding social conditions and bad heredity. Story after story shows how the tendency to laziness, immorality, irregular employment, drunkenness and sickness, with their resulting recourse to the public poor relief authorities, run in certain families. Incapacity runs like a thread from father to son or daughter and on down the line, as well as in the kinship. See, for example, Booth's story of the now famous Rooney family.[1]

This is only one of almost a score of families of similar history in debauchery, drunkenness and pauperism.

A recent study in Virginia by the State Board of Charities has revealed in some county poorhouses as many as four generations of the same family.[2] Other studies made in various parts of the world, such as the Zeros in Switzerland, the Tribe of Ishmael in Indiana, the Smoky Pilgrims in Kansas, and the Hill Folk and the Nam Family studied by Davenport, show how incapacity runs from generation to generation. Of the Hill Folk, one of the most recent of these studies, Davenport says, "We are dealing with a rural community such as can be found in nearly, if not quite, every county in the older states of the Union, in which nearly all of the people belong to the vague class of the 'feeble-minded'—the incapable. The individuals vary much in capacity, a result which follows from the complexity of their germ plasm. Some have capacities that can be developed under proper conditions, but for many more even the best of environmental conditions can do little." [3]

Miss Danielson says of this study, "The following report is the result of an investigation of two family trees in a small Massachusetts town. It aims to show how much crime, misery and expense may result from the union of two defective individuals—how a large number of the present court frequenters, paupers and town nuisances are connected by a significant network of relationship." [4] She adds, "Into one corner of this attractive town there came, about 1800, a

[1] Booth, *Pauperism*, pp. 14-15.
[2] *Mental Defectives in Virginia*, pp. 37-50.
[3] Davenport and Danielson, *The Hill Folk*, 1910, p. 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

shiftless basket maker. About the same time an Englishman, also from the western hills, bought a small farm in the least fertile part of the town. The progeny of these two men, old Neil Rasp, and the Englishman, Nuke, have sifted through the town and beyond it. Everywhere they have made desolate, alcoholic homes which have furnished the state wards for over fifty years, and have required town aid for a longer time." [1]

Miss Danielson studied the number and expense for the relief of the Hill people in this town for two decades. She says, "In the first decade 9.3 per cent of the town's bill for paupers was paid for the Hill families. In the second decade 29.1 per cent of the total bill was paid for the same families or their descendants. During the thirty years covered by these decades, the total aid given to paupers increased 69.4 per cent, but that given to the Hill families increased 430 per cent." [2]

In another study of a degenerate rural community, called the Nam Family, in New York State, Davenport and Estabrook investigated 1,795 persons in the kindred. They studied the trait of indolence in this group. They say concerning the results of this study, "Our data afford us a number of families where both parents are indolent, others where both are industrious. We have tabulated the fraternities, 30 in number, derived from two industrious parents, without regard to grandparents. Of a total of 82 known children from such matings, 73, or 90 per cent, are industrious. When, on the other hand, both parents are indolent, no regard being had to grandparents, then out of a total of 34 known children, 26 are unindustrious, or 76.5 per cent." [3]

In order to ascertain whether these Nams were what they were by reason of their blood or by reason of their environment, a study was made of a branch of the family which migrated to Minnesota at an early day and have lived there ever since. The authors of this study conclude as follows on this question: "What, then, has been the effect of the changed environment on these individuals? Do the individuals and their offspring, reared in a new and better environment, resemble their parents and show the characteristics of the blood? Or has a new and better environment such as exists in this county in Minnesota (where an equal chance was given to all) improved their condition? . . . The same mental traits which characterize the Nams

[1] Davenport and Danielson, *The Hill Folk,* 1910, p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.
[3] Davenport and Estabrook, *The Nam Family*, Cold Spring Harbor, 1912, pp. 66, 67.

in New York State are reported in the new home of the Minnesota Nams independently by a reputable physician and also by a field worker. Yet those who migrated were of more ambitious make-up than those who stayed behind. The data in regard to those who were born and reared in an entirely different environment from that in which their parents were born, seem to show that it is the inherent mental traits present in the germ-plasm which plays a dominant part in determining the behavior and reactions of the individual." [1]

Another family of hereditary defectives has been studied recently by Dr. H. H. Goddard, of the Vineland Training School for the Feeble-minded, at Vineland, New Jersey. The facts are these: Martin Kalikak, Sr., was a member of a good family who, just before he came of age, joined one of the companies of volunteers in the Revolutionary Army near New York City. While the company was stationed at a place near that city, he met at a tavern a feeble-minded girl and by her had a feeble-minded child, who is known as Martin Kalikak, Jr. After the close of the War, Martin Sr. returned to his home and there married a respectable Quaker girl and by her had a family, whose descendants have been traced as well as the descendants of his illegitimate son, Martin Jr. All the children on the legitimate side of Martin Sr.'s line married into respectable families. On this side Goddard says, "Indeed, in this family and its collateral branches, we find nothing but good representative citizenship. There are doctors, lawyers, judges, educators, traders, landholders; in short, respectable citizens, men and women prominent in every phase of social life. They have scattered over the United States and are prominent in their communities wherever they have gone. Half a dozen towns in New Jersey are named from the families into which Martin's descendants have married. There have been no feeble-minded among them; no illegitimate children; no immoral women; only one man was sexually loose. There has been no epilepsy, no criminals, no keepers of houses of prostitution. Only 15 children have died in infancy. There has been one 'insane,' a case of religious mania, perhaps inherited, but not from the Kalikak side. The appetite for strong drink has been present here and there in this family from the beginning. It was in Martin Sr. and was cultivated at a time when such practices were common everywhere. But while the other branch of the family has had 24 victims of habitual drunkenness, this side scores only two."

[1] Davenport and Estabrook, *The Nam Family*, Cold Spring Harbor, 1912, pp. 83, 84.

On the feeble-minded side, that is, from the illegitimate son, Martin Kalikak, Jr., have come 480 descendants; 143 of them were undoubtedly feeble-minded, and only 46 have been found to be normal, the rest being unknown or doubtful. Of the 480 descendants, 36 have been illegitimate, 33 sexually immoral, mostly prostitutes, 24 confirmed alcoholics, 3 epileptic, 82 died in infancy, 3 criminals, 8 keepers of houses of ill-fame.[1]

Speaking of the inheritability of this defect of incapacity, and contrasting this study with that of the Jukes by Dugdale, Goddard says, "In as far as the children of 'Old Max' were of normal mentality, it is not possible to say what might not have become of them, had they had good training and environment.

"Fortunately for the cause of science, the Kalikak family, in the persons of Martin Kalikak, Jr., and his descendants, are not open to this argument. They were feeble-minded, and no amount of education or good environment can change a feeble-minded individual into a normal one, any more than it can change a red-haired stock into a black-haired stock. The striking fact of the enormous proportion of feeble-minded individuals in the descendants of Martin Kalikak, Jr., and the total absence of such in the descendants of his half brothers and sisters is conclusive on this point. Clearly it was not environment that has made that good family. They made their own environment; and their own good blood, with the good blood of the families into which they married, told." [2]

Of the bearing of such inheritable defect on pauperism Goddard adds, "But even casual observation of our almshouse population shows the majority to be of decidedly low mentality, while careful tests would undoubtedly increase this percentage very materially." Did space permit, the descriptions of the visits of the field workers who investigated this family would give a vividness to the picture that no mere statistics can give. As one after the other was visited in their homes the impression of incapacity perpetuating itself from generation to generation was deepened. Poverty and filth surrounded them in their homes. Neglected childhood abounded. Dependency always attended these people of inherited defect. Why? Because they had not inherited vitality and mind of the sort to manage their own affairs in such a way that they could compete with the independent, respectable people around them. While space does not permit us to quote these

[1] Goddard, *The Kalikak Family*, New York, 1912, pp. 29, 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30.

vivid descriptions of the social and economic results of inherited incapacity, Goddard's description of the process by which such people come to pauperism cannot be omitted. He says, "Here we have a group who, when children in school, cannot learn the things that are given them to learn, because through their mental defect, they are incapable of mastering abstractions. They never learn to read sufficiently well to make reading pleasurable or of practical use to them. The same is true of number work. . . . Thus they worry along through a few grades until they are fourteen years old and then leave school, not having learned anything of value or that can help them to make even a meager living in the world. They are then turned out inevitably dependent upon others. A few have relatives who take care of them, see that they learn to do something which perhaps will help in their support, and then these relatives supplement this with enough to insure them a living.

"A great majority, however, having no such interested or capable relatives, become at once a direct burden upon society. These divide according to temperament into two groups. Those who are phlegmatic, sluggish, indolent, simply lie down and would starve to death, if someone did not help them. When they come to the attention of our charitable organizations, they are picked up and sent to the almshouse, if they cannot be made to work." [1]

The same testimony is borne by all the workers in this field of the inheritability of certain defects which make for incapacity. Thus, Rogers and Merrill in a recent study of the inhabitants of a certain remote valley among the hills of a certain section in Minnesota say, "It is not the idiot nor, to any great extent, the low grade imbecile, who is dangerous to society. In his own deplorable condition and its customarily accompanying stigmata, he is sufficiently anti-social to protect both himself and society from the results of that condition. But from the high-grade feeble-minded, the morons, are recruited the ne'er-do-wells, who, lacking the initiative and stick-to-it-iveness of energy and ambition, drift from failure to failure, spending a winter in the poorhouse, moving from shack to hovel and succeeding only in the reproduction of ill-nurtured, ill-kempt gutter brats to carry on the family traditions of dirt, disease and degeneracy." [2]

These studies certainly indicate the strong probability that inheritance plays some part in the causation of poverty and pauperism.

[1] Goddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 55.
[2] Rogers and Merrill, *Dwellers in the Vale of Siddem,* Boston, 1919.

Whether incapacity is the result of the presence of an inhibitor carried over from parent to child in the germ plasm, or whether it is the result of the absence in the germ plasm of a determiner or determiners which produce industry and thrift, may still be the subject of debate. The fact that incapacity in the parents does carry over to the children is the important fact for us.[1]

Classes of Inheritable Incapacity which Affect Poverty and Pauperism. The incapacity inherited from parents is not all of the same degree. Mental defect of the degree which produces idiocy in most cases renders the individual incapable of even the simplest care of himself. Many low-grade imbeciles are unable to do much work. The high-grade imbeciles, however, are able to work under supervision, but are not able to manage their affairs independently of direction. The highest grades of mental defectives, the so-called morons, are often capable of making a fair living if they are in surroundings where they have the advice and direction of capable people.

Physical incapacity, inherited from progenitors, also renders one unable to make a living. We may, therefore, for our purpose, divide the incapable into three different classes:

1. The hereditary incapable who is unable to make a living by reason of his incapacity to do certain kinds of work, or who has a distaste for certain kinds of work, or who has inherited bodily weakness which renders him incapable of working at certain kinds of tasks. For example, some people are born without any capacity to run machinery. If they attempt to run machinery, they break it and are constantly in trouble with it. They cannot hold a job long where machinery is involved. Again, certain individuals are born with a positive distaste for certain kinds of work. If their distaste is manifested toward any of the more highly skilled kinds of labor, inevitably the individual's range of occupations is narrowed, and he must enter a field with a large number of competitors.

On the other hand, bodily or mental weakness, certain defects and some diseases like chorea and epilepsy which are inherited, may destroy an individual's efficiency, not only in the skilled trades and professions, but even for ordinary labor. How much of poverty and

[1] For a brief but easily understood explanation of the mechanism by which a trait is inherited by a child from parents see Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, Indianapolis, 1916. Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1912, goes into the matter much more thoroughly, and has an unusually good chapter on the sociological bearings of biological findings, Chap. XIV, entitled "Social Aspects of Biological Results."

pauperism is due to this class of inherited incapacity we are unable to say. No studies have been made on which an opinion can be based. Common observation, however, among those who are constantly losing their positions and who finally come to dependency, would suggest that a larger percentage than is usually suspected are incapable of making a good living by reason of the inheritance of physical or mental defect.

2. Another class of incapacity due to inheritance is a hereditary predisposition to certain diseases which unfit one for making a livelihood, or reduces him to dependency, such as predisposition to tuberculosis, insanity, and to neuroses of various kinds, like the War-neuroses. These diseases are not inherited, but a predisposition to them, or, to put it another way, lack of immunity from them, seems to be inherited. On this point Thomson says: "From the biologist's point of view, diseases are of two sorts: (1) They are abnormal or deranged processes which have their roots in germinal peculiarities or defects (*variation,* to start with), which express themselves in the body to a greater or less degree, according to the conditions of nurture; or (2) They are abnormal or deranged processes which have been directly induced in the body by acquired *modifications, i.e.,* as the result of unnatural surroundings or habits, including the intrusion of parasites. Often, moreover, an inborn predisposition to some deranged function may be exaggerated by extrinsic stimuli, as in the case of gout, or when a phthisical tendency is aggravated by the intrusion and multiplication of the tubercle bacillus. That is to say, deranged processes which are primarily due to germinal variation often afford opportunity for equally serious disturbances which must be referred to as exogenous modifications. A rheumatic tendency may be vitally aggravated by inappropriate nutrition."

In discussing the distinction between innate disease and acquired disease, Thomson says: "What, then, is the distinction? It is the old distinction between a variation and a modification. An innate disease presupposes some germinal variation to start with, some germinal peculiarities to continue with. It is there, whether it finds expression or not. If it does not find any appropriate nutrition, it will not express itself in development, but neither will the normal processes of thinking find expression without the appropriate liberating stimuli. If an indispensable process, the structural rudiment of which is a component part of the normal inheritance, finds no nurture, the organism of course dies. If a dispensable process, such as an innate disease—the structural rudiment of which is also a part of the in-

heritance—finds no nurture, the organism may, of course, survive, if otherwise normal; but the rudiment of the disease may simply lie latent, and may be expressed in the next generation." [1]

On many of these diseases to which certain individuals are heir, by reason of their inherited predisposition, we have no information as to the family histories of the persons attacked by them. It is quite possible that tuberculosis attacks people who do not have any special predisposition to the disease, but who live under conditions so bad that the tubercle bacillus finds no resistance in their organism.

On the other hand, with epilepsy it is probable that a larger percentage of those who are attacked by this disease, have an innate tendency thereto. The same is true of chorea and insanity, and perhaps also of the various neuroses. Under favorable conditions many of these innate tendencies will not manifest themselves in an outbreak of the disease. Incapacity under those conditions will not appear.

The proportion of these diseases that are due to inheritance has not been definitely measured. Some of them, like tuberculosis, oftentimes result from poor nutrition, over-fatigue, and other conditions which devitalize the body. It is probable that the war-neuroses manifested themselves only because of the excessive strain that war threw upon the men's organisms. It is possible that the diseases like epilepsy and chorea seldom, if ever, manifest themselves because of external circumstances apart from a defective germ plasm.

3. A third class of hereditary incapacity is due to the inheritance of a definite defect so pronounced in character that the individual cannot support himself in the competitive struggle of modern life. Such inheritable defect is the mental defect known as feeble-mindedness. Varying as it does from idiocy to a slight mental defect shown in the high-grade moron, with an intellect of not more than 12 years of age, it is inherited in about two-thirds of the cases. The other one-third of the cases is due to diseases affecting the unborn infant, accidents at birth, or post-natal diseases preventing the normal development of the brain.[2]

Extent of Pauperism Due to Inherited Defect. In recent years studies have been made to ascertain the portion of pauperism which is due to mental defect. Mr. Amos W. Butler, Secretary of the Board

[1] Thomson, *Heredity*, London, pp. 252, 258.
[2] Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, Indianapolis, 1916, pp. 245, 246; Rogers and Merrill, *Dwellers in the Vale of Siddem*, Boston, 1916, pp. 11 and 12.

of State Charities in Indiana, says that 26.9 per cent of the paupers in the poor asylums of Indiana are feeble-minded, while 43 per cent of them are either feeble-minded, insane, or epileptic.[1]

Professor Elwood, of the University of Missouri, found that nearly half the almshouse population in that State was mentally defective. In a study made of the almshouse population of Iowa in 1911, the author found that 57.7 per cent of the inmates were defective in some way, while 21.1 per cent were distinctly feeble-minded. Therefore we can probably say that 25 per cent of the almshouse paupers are mentally defective in one way or another.[2]

The recipients of outdoor relief show a smaller percentage of defect. In 5,000 cases from the Charity Organization Society of New York City studied by Dr. Devine, 5 per cent were found affected with mental disease, defect, or deficiency.[3]

In a study of the outdoor relief in Newburg, New York, 4 per cent of the recipients were found to be feeble-minded.

Summarizing this point, I venture to quote what I have said in another connection: "We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we estimate that 25 per cent of the cost of supporting the poor in almshouses is due to feeble-mindedness and that 10 per cent of the cost of public outdoor relief is due to the same factor. Perhaps 5 per cent of the pauperism met by private organizations is due to feeble-mindedness."[4]

While these figures are only indicative, perhaps they suggest that inherited incapacity is a factor in the production of poverty and pauperism to an extent which the public has not yet appreciated. When we begin to get abroad among the people a knowledge of the laws of inheritance, public sentiment will demand that greater care be given to prevent the perpetuation of defective stock. Normal people who carry the defective strain themselves, it is hoped, will be led to consider the effect of their having children who will probably develop such incapacity that they cannot properly care for themselves. Certainly we cannot believe in the fundamental soundness of our democracy without having an abiding faith that the people of this country, once they know the menace of inheritable defect, will

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, pp. 358, 359.
[2] *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 42, 43.
[3] Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, p. 207.
[4] Gillin, *Some Aspects of Feeblemindedness in Wisconsin*, Madison, 1918, p. 16.

take steps to prevent the perpetuation of such defects as exist in their own blood, and to restrain those who are incapable of appreciating the importance of the matter for themselves. When that is done, pauper families from inherited defect will be very much less numerous. Incapacity there will still be from other causes, but the increasing strain of pauper degenerates and poverty-stricken incapables will be cut off at its source.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Relation of Physical Conditions to Poverty. Buckle, quoted in Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress,* pp. 174-243.
2. Disease and Pauperism. Folks, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1903, pp. 334 ff; Devine, *Misery and Its Causes,* Chap. II.
3. Losses Due to Pests and Animal Diseases. *Report, National Conservation Commission,* Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd session, Washington, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 81, 82; Vol. III, pp. 301-316, 341.
4. Drought and the Corn-Crop. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 227.
5. Damage from Forest Fires. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 394.
6. Heredity and Pauperism. Warner, *American Charities,* 3rd ed., Chap. V.

CHAPTER VII

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

MORE important by far than the physical environment or hereditary influences are the socio-economic factors, some of which affect the income, others the expenditure, while still others are connected with the distribution of wealth and the relations between population and natural resources.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE INCOME

Unless there is a proper income so that a decent standard of living can be maintained, poverty is sure to ensue. Anything which affects the income of a family inevitably has a bearing upon the welfare of the family. The influences which affect the income may be classified as those connected with the individual himself, such as incapacity or disability, and those which are due to economic conditions resulting in too small an income for a normal life.

1. Death or Disability of the Bread-earner not Directly Due to Industrial Conditions. The factors which make for death or disability are in part to be found in the home and neighborhood, and in part in the working establishment in which the bread-earner makes his living.

In 1916 there were 386,000 deaths from all causes in the working ages, i. e., between 15 and 59 inclusive. Deaths by violence in the same year numbered 65,121 or 90.9 per 100,000 population.[1]

Says the Massachusetts Report on the Cost of Living, "At the lowest estimate, 600,000 die in the United States every year of diseases that could be prevented by public action. Upwards of 4,000,000 people in the United States are suffering from sickness, one-half of which is unnecessary. The resulting waste, not including the misery and death cost, is moderately estimated at $3,000,000,000 each year. . . .

[1] *Mortality Statistics, 1916,* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1918, pp. 55, 177.

It is estimated that there are about 4 per cent of the population of Massachusetts on the sick list all the time, which is equivalent to 13 days per capita a year."[1]

Mr. Yale Smiley, on the basis of Irving Fisher's figures in his *Report on National Vitality* for the United States Conservation Commission, said that the loss to the state of Massachusetts from the preventable deaths which occurred in 1909 in that state amounted to $37,240,200.[2]

Mr. Smiley also estimated that in 1908 about 25,893 working people in that state were needlessly sick throughout the year. Estimating their average earnings at $525 each, the loss from serious illness during the year from earnings alone amounted to $13,593,825.

On the basis of the estimate of the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1903 that the annual cost to the workingman for illness and death in the family is $27, Smiley estimates that since there were 600,000 such families in Massachusetts in 1908, the minimum loss from this source amounted to $16,200,000. These last two sums amount to $29,793,825. Since 50 per cent of it is preventable, the loss to the state which is needless amounts to nearly $15,000,000.[3] Total loss from postponable deaths and preventable sickness in 1908 for Massachusetts he estimates at $52,137,112.50.[4]

Professor Irving Fisher of Yale made an estimate of the loss to the people of the United States from death and disease. He says that there are a million and a half deaths in the United States each year, 42 per cent of which are preventable or postponable. He calculated that the average economic value of each person in the United States is $2,900 or, considering the age distribution and the per cent of preventability of these deaths, the average economic value of each preventable death is $1,700. On this basis he arrived at the conclusion that there is a preventable loss from death and sickness in the United States each year of one and a half billion dollars.[5]

In the State of Wisconsin alone, according to the statement of the State Board of Health to the author, the loss from postponable death and preventable disease is $30,068,100 annually. This is one-third of the value of all the animals in Wisconsin in 1910. What if some

[1] *The Cost of Living: Massachusetts, 1910,* p. 224.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 616.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 616.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 617.
[5] Fisher, "Report on National Vitality," *Report of National Conservation Commission,* Senate Document 676, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III, p. 742.

pestilence swept off in the State each year one-third of the animals? The value of the crops in Wisconsin each year is about $148,359,216, according to the 1910 census. What if some event destroyed nearly one-fifth of the crops of that State each year?

Seventy-five per cent of the distress which comes to the Charity Organization Society of New York City is caused immediately by sickness.[1]

Both the preventable and unpreventable sickness and death affect the income of the families concerned. The large percentage of this premature death by preventable sickness is ground for hope that this cause of poverty and dependency will yield itself to social measures.

2. **Adverse Industrial Conditions Such as Disease, Accident, and Fatigue Due to Improperly Managed Factory or Store.** What was just said applies to conditions in society in general which affect the income of a family. Now let us look at the conditions in industry alone. Conditions under which people work affect their health and vitality and thus their efficiency. What are some of the working conditions which adversely affect them and thus their income?

1. *Accidents.* In 1917 there were 53,544 deaths from industrial accidents in the registration area of the United States. This was a decrease from the previous year of 6,500. Since the registration area of the United States comprises only 70 per cent of its territory, it is apparent that there must have been about 75,000 deaths from accident.[2]

As to industrial accidents alone, a special committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, in a recent report, estimates that there are 500,000 workers annually incapacitated or killed in the United States, half of whom might be saved by such preventive measures as were in general use in the industries in Germany before the War; and that the unnecessary loss to the nation from such accidents is not less than $125,000,000 annually.[3]

2. *Disease and Death.* The death rate in occupations is higher than the rate for the whole population of the same age group. A study made by the Bureau of Labor of the United States shows that comparing the death rate of the Metropolitan and Prudential Insur-

[1] Devine, *Misery and Its Causes,* New York, 1909, p. 54.

[2] Falls account for 14.8 per 100,000 population; railway accidents, 11.5; burns, 9.1; auto accidents and injuries, 8.9; drowning, 7.4; mine accidents, and injuries resulting in death, 3.5; injuries by vehicles other than railways, street cars and autos, 3.1; street cars, 3; machinery, 2.8.

[3] *Massachusetts' Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living,* Boston, 1910, p. 222.

ance Companies' insured workers with that of the general population of the same age groups, at ages of 15 and over, the male rate is 5 per cent higher than that of the general population, probably because these insured persons do not include many of the professional classes or of the better paid and skilled workers. "The maximum difference between the population and industrial insurance mortality rates is found in the age period 35 to 44, when the rate for males is 47 per cent higher than the corresponding rate for males in the population. . . . The higher rates for the insured persons may well be expected in view of the general and special hazards to which working men and women of the country are exposed." [1]

It is difficult to arrive at the amount of poverty caused by preventable death and disease in workingmen's families apart from other families. Fisher estimates the cost for illness and death in workingmen's families alone in the United States as $460,000,000, or, including loss of wages and care of the sick and burial of the dead, it amounts to $960,000,000.[2]

Naturally we should expect that the amount of preventable death and disease would be greater in the workingmen's families than in the general population.

How much economic efficiency is reduced by unwholesome conditions in the factory and in the homes of workingmen we have no means of computing.

3. *Fatigue.* The British Health of Munitions Workers' Committee made a study of conditions in the munition factories of Great Britain in order to ascertain the effects of the conditions therein on the output of the workers. It throws light on the relation of fatigue to efficiency and to health, and thus on the conditions of poverty and pauperism. "Here it is only necessary to draw attention to the primary and fundamental importance of maintaining a high state of health in the industrial worker. For without health there is no energy, and without energy there is no output. . . . Moreover, health bears a direct relation to contentment, alertness and the absence of lassitude and boredom, conditions bearing directly upon industrial efficiency," and they might have added, upon the problem of poverty.[3]

According to this report, under war conditions about 40 per cent

[1] *Causes of Death by Occupation,* Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Whole No. 207, Appendix A.

[2] Fisher, *Report on National Vitality,* pp. 117-120.

[3] *Industrial Health and Efficiency,* Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. No. 249, p. 44.

of the women exhibited definite signs of fatigue. The report adds, however, that this percentage does not represent the full number of those who are fatigued because much early fatigue is latent and objectively unrecognizable, because the women most seriously affected tend to drop out and therefore are not counted. Moreover, some women who knew they were fatigued were unwilling to subject themselves to examination. Consequently, only definite and obvious fatigue which could be recognized by superficial methods of examination was detected. "It is evident that while, physiologically, fatigue may be measured by a diminution in the capacity for doing work, it may easily increase to such a degree that it affects the health of the worker." [1]

"The committee takes the view that to use up or damage its women by overstrain in factory work is one of the most serious and far-reaching forms of human waste which a nation can practise or permit." [2]

Concerning the effect of factory overstrain on the men, the report says, ". . . the workers become exhausted and take a rest; sickness tends to increase, at any rate among the older men and those of weak constitution. . . . The fatigue entailed increases the temptation of men to indulge in the consumption of alcohol; they are too tired to eat and therefore seek a stimulant." [3]

In the same report mention is made of the study by Professor Loveday on "Conditions of Lost Time" in these munition factories. The report says: "In the first place, he points out that the proportion of lost time that is due to sickness and other unavoidable causes is, as a rule, greatly underestimated in factory records, and the proportion due to slackness consequently overestimated. In the second place, he expresses the view that long hours, much overtime, and especially Sunday labor, exert a pernicious effect upon health, particularly of persons occupied in heavy trades." [4]

Says the report: "'You will find,' writes Sir James Paget, 'that fatigue has a larger share in the promotion or transmission of disease than any other single casual condition you can name.'" [5]

"The influence of fatigue on accidents to women was strikingly

[1] *Industrial Health and Efficiency,* Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 249, p. 50.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 63.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 66.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 80.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 129.

shown at the fuse factory when the operatives were working a 12-hour day, or 75 hours a week. The women's accidents were two and a half times more numerous than in the subsequent 10-hour day period, but the men's accidents were not affected." [1]

The British studies in the munition factories show without a doubt that long hours and unusually heavy work, unsuited to the capacity of the individual employed, result in fatigue and that fatigue results not only in lowered production but in lost time and sickness. Lost time and sickness directly and loss of tone indirectly result in lowering the productivity and therefore the income of the worker.[2]

3. Unemployment. Says Mr. Frank B. Sargent, of the United States Bureau of Labor, "The amount of unemployment reported at the beginning of the period covered by the table was very high, and during the four years from 1897 to 1900, the reported percentage of unemployment fell below 10 per cent only once. From 1901 to 1906 it was below 10 per cent at the end of each September, and it was above that mark at the end of March, except in 1906. Since September, 1906, it has not fallen below 10 per cent." [3] In an investigation in Massachusetts the percentage of the labor organization members out of work from 1908 to 1911 varied from 4.98 per cent for the quarter ending September 30, 1909, to 17.9 per cent for the quarter ending March 31, 1908.[4] Both these findings probably understate the amount of unemployment because, "union men capable of performing high-grade skilled labor are much more likely to be employed than unskilled workmen, and that therefore the percentage idle among union men is much lower than among industrial workers as a whole." [5]

The *American Federationist* has published data showing the amount of unemployment among the members of the American Federation of Labor from 1902 to 1909. It says, "It is noteworthy that the amount of unemployment as here reported has at no time, even during the industrial depression of 1907-8, reached 10 per cent, and several times it has gone below 1 per cent.[6]

[1] *Industrial Health and Efficiency,* Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 249, p. 139.
[2] *Hours, Fatigue and Health in the British Munition Factories,* Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 221; *Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue in British Munition Factories,* Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 230.
[3] *Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Labor,* No. 109, p. 19.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 25.

"In March, 1908, 7.8 per cent of the wage-earners in the cities of Rhode Island were unemployed.[1]

"During the best years coal mines are idle about one-fourth of the time, and both anthracite and bituminous mines have often averaged less than 200 days each year. The amount of enforced idleness varied, therefore, on the assumption that there are 300 working days in the year, from 22 to 43 per cent of the working time of employees annually in the bituminous mines, and from 23.7 to 50 per cent, disregarding the year 1902, in anthracite mines." [2]

In the United States as a whole the Census figures show that of all persons engaged in gainful occupations 22.3 per cent were unemployed at some time during the census year. (1900.) [3]

Of all employed for gain in 1900, 10.9 per cent were unemployed from 1 to 3 months, and 8.8 per cent from 4 to 6 months. [4]

In the investigation of 25,440 families, in 1901, to study the cost of living, covering 124,108 persons in 33 states, composed of persons with wages and salaries not exceeding $1200 per year, figures concerning unemployment were given covering 24,402 of these families. 49.81 per cent of the heads of families were idle during some portion of the year. During the year their unemployment averaged 9.43 weeks.[5]

These figures, while not satisfactory as a measure of the burden unemployment places upon the worker and his family, give us some indication that in those families whose incomes are only just enough for a decent standard of living if they work all the time, unemployment will mean want and the first step to poverty if not to pauperism.

Later studies made either by the Bureau of Labor or under its direction by the Metropolitan Insurance Company showed that in 16 cities of the East and Middle West during March and April, 1915, in 401,548 families investigated containing 1,694,895 persons, in which there were 647,394 wage earners, 11.5 per cent were out of work, or of the families canvassed 15 per cent had one or more members out of work.[6]

4. Adverse Surroundings of Children. The causes of poverty and pauperism go farther back than the circumstances which surround

[1] *Bulletin U. S. Bureau of Labor,* No. 109, p. 26.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 28.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 30.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 30.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 12.
[6] *Ibid.,* No. 195, pp. 6, 7.

the working adult population of a country. Many of these adults are what they are because of conditions which surrounded them in childhood. Some of those without the physical stamina to withstand the strain of industry are weak and unfitted by reason of heredity, as we have seen. Some of them with good heredity are incapable because of bad circumstances. Adverse circumstances—pre-natal, natal and post-natal—explain in some measure their inability to fight the battle of life successfully. What are these conditions and what is the measure of their influence?

Poverty sets up a train of circumstances which sap the vitality of the mother and developing child. In the next generation the child now developed into the adult is incapable of withstanding the strain of life. He is unable to make a living such as will insure his children a good physique and the vigor necessary to make a success of life.

In addition, the poverty-stricken home is most often the ignorant home, modern science and skill is not available or is not used in providing the conditions which before, at, and after birth will give the child the best possible chance in life without the handicap of undernourishment before and after birth and of weakness or defect due to accident at birth or neglect after birth.

In the birth-registration area of the United States, 46 per cent of the infant deaths occur during the first month of life. Either the conditions before birth or at birth, or immediately following birth, must have been very bad to cause this enormous loss. Miss Lathrop says that "many of these children fail to survive because of conditions antedating birth." [1]

What are some of the conditions which cause this enormous loss of life in the first month after birth? Lack of proper care of the mother during pregnancy without a doubt accounts for much.

The Children's Bureau has made some studies that throw light upon conditions which endanger infant development. A study made by the Children's Bureau in Manchester, New Hampshire, shows that infant mortality rates decrease as housing conditions improve; for example, where the rent paid was less than $7.50 a month, the rate was 211.4, or more than twice that in the registration areas of the United States in 1915. In the homes where the rent was from $7.50 up to $12.49 per month, the rate of infant mortality was 172.1, while

[1] *Reprint from American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. IX, No. 4, April, 1919, pp. 270-274.

when the rate was from $12.50 to $17.49, the infant mortality rate was only 156.7.

Over-crowding in the houses has a very direct relation to infant mortality. At Manchester, New Hampshire, the rate was 123.3 where the average was less than one to a room, 178.8 where the average was between one and two to a room, and 261.7 where the average number of occupants was between two and three.

The mortality rate for infants is higher among the babies of wage-earning women than among others in the ratio of 188 to 117.6, as shown by the investigation of the Children's Bureau at Johnstown, Pennsylvania.[1]

If these conditions affect adversely the infant's welfare in the first month of life, it is also probable that the same conditions have an adverse effect upon the children who survive.

5. Lack of Proper Wages. More important than any of these causes is the low wage which so many of our workers receive. Large numbers of our population have an income that is insufficient, even with the very best management, to keep them from poverty at least when a crisis comes in their affairs, and inevitably makes it impossible to save a sufficient amount to enable them to tide over the crisis or to support them in disability or old age. Says Miss Lathrop: "We still cling to the shaken, but not shattered, belief that this free country gives every man his chance and that an income sufficient to bring up a family decently is attainable by all honest people who are not hopelessly stupid or incorrigibly lazy. The fathers of 88 per cent of the babies included in the Bureau's studies earned less than $1250 a year; 27 per cent earned less than $550. As the income doubled, the mortality rate was more than halved. Which is the more safe and sane conclusion, that 88 per cent of all these fathers were incorrigibly indolent or below normal mentality, or that sound public economy demands an irreducible minimum living standard to be sustained by a minimum wage and such other expedients as may be developed in a determined effort to give every child a fair chance?" [2]

FACTORS AFFECTING BOTH INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Some of the influences which we have named as affecting income also affect expenditure. For example, *disease* and *death* not only in-

[1] "Income and Infant Mortality," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 9, No. 4, April, 1919, pp. 270-274.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

terfere with a normal income, but cause unusual expense. *Congestion of population on a given area* not only produces neighborhood and housing conditions which affect the health and thus the income, but inevitably result in the raising of rents and therefore affect the expenditure. Wherever the population is congested in a given area, *bad housing* is sure to result unless the community carefully regulates housing conditions. Bad housing is always expensive housing. While it may seem cheap from the standpoint of the amount of money actually paid as rent, where the housing is bad, the family budget will show increased expenditures for sickness and death. *Unsanitary conditions* in community, home, and factory, have a similar effect upon undue expenditures for such extraordinary reasons.

Then there are other factors affecting adversely both income and outgo.

1. **The labor of women and children** is supposed to increase the income. As a matter of fact, however, the labor of women and children is frequently a sign of inadequate income. It indicates either that the normal wage-earner is lacking, or else that he has an inadequate wage. Moreover, when large numbers of women and children are engaged in labor, it usually means that men have either been displaced in industry, or that the competition of women and children has so reduced their wages that they no longer are adequate for the support of a family. Furthermore, the labor of women and children has a bad effect upon their physical fitness and ultimately affects their earning capacity and independence. Frequently it leads to sickness and at other times to fatigue, the precursor of incapacity. So far as it results in sickness it means increased expenditure.

2. **Faulty Education.** A curriculum that is so unsuited to the needs and interests of children that 90 per cent of them never finish high school certainly is not adapted to fit children to make a livelihood. Many of the children remain in school no longer than the law requires, then they immediately find a job. This job may be a "blind alley" job, i. e., one without a future. In many cases it has not prepared them to make a livelihood, and as a consequence they are handicapped for life with a small income. Unguided they choose the first job that offers, while even with limited education there are other positions open to them, did they but know it, which have greater promise.

Faulty education at home and in school not only fails to impart earning capacity, but does not prepare the children to spend their money properly. How few are the homes and how much fewer the

schools in which habits of thrift are taught! To be sure, an increasing number of schools are teaching the girls the elements of domestic economy and the most economical use of foods and clothing, and other household necessities. In too many cases, however, the girls quit school and home without having learned to spend wisely in the household. If that is true of the girls, how much more true is it of the boys! Not only do the schools neglect to teach them thrift and sound expenditure, but usually very little advice is given as to saving, the use of banks, and the investment of savings. No wonder that many of them come to want!

FACTORS AFFECTING EXPENDITURES

Certain other factors affect the expenditures of a family. No matter what the income, if the family does not expend it wisely, in many cases it will be impossible to maintain a proper standard of living.

1. Traditions, Customs and Habits Affecting Taste in Food and Dress, Thrift and Standard of Living. Among these factors affecting expenditures are traditions, customs and individual habits which relate to taste in food, dress, thrift and standards of living.

Taste in food is partly a matter of inheritance and partly a matter of education and habits of living. For an American example of the influence of habit, because it has been cheap in America, sugar and sweets were consumed by the people of the United States before the War in quantities surpassed only in Great Britain. Thus, the people of this country consumed an average of 86.85 pounds per annum in 1914, while the French consumed only 37 pounds.[1] Within the last year the amount available in this country has diminished and the price has quadrupled. Now, if with limited income, a family pursues its customary consumption of sugar and sweets, while the actual requirements for health and efficiency are much less, a serious inroad is made upon the income and less can be spent for necessities.

Or, if Italians insist on having imported macaroni and olive oil in America, just because they are used to those articles in their diet in Italy, they may suffer because too much is expended on these items of food.

Or, folly may manifest itself, not in demand for excessive quantity

[1] *International Year Book*, 1914, New York, 1915, p. 675; *The Americana*, New York, 1912, Art. "Sugar."

of a staple, like sugar, but in preference for traditional quality, such as tenderloin rather than pot roast.

Moreover, it has been found that in the poorer sections of large cities, especially when women and children work, tinned goods and cooked foods are resorted to by the housekeeper in order to save time in preparation of the meals. If such a practice becomes a family custom it is quite likely to continue even when rising prices make it advisable to save by preparation of the food in the home.

A similar situation exists with reference to *dress*. Dress is largely a customary matter. It is governed partly by tradition and partly by fashion. The proper amount of clothing for protection of the body is one thing. The kinds of clothing which shall furnish that protection is another. Once homespun was the best that was to be had. Later, with the coming in of the factory-woven cloth, homespun came to be looked upon as out of style. Once the men wore no overshoes, and were quite satisfied with a cloth overcoat. The women were content with simple cotton waists and cloth coats. Now the men and women must have fur coats, the men silk shirts costing from $6 up, and the women georgette waists. In other words, tastes have not only been refined, but they have been cultivated to more expensive articles. This was true to a degree even before the War sent all prices soaring. Now, unless a change in habits and customs and fashions takes place to meet the increasing prices, those with low incomes will feel the pinch which increased expenditures for dress in accordance with the fashions demand.

Habits of Thrift. Habits of thrift affect expenditure. If the income is low, compared with the scale of expenditure necessary to maintain health and efficiency, thrift or saving is difficult. As a result in large sections of the poorer population of our cities, the habit of saving a part of each week's wages perforce is abandoned. On the other hand, people from frugal families in the country or from abroad, accustomed to save, continue to do so even at the expense of their own welfare. Often as a result, the standard of living is lowered to a point which results inevitably in sickness or decrease of earning power. Or, those from families always struggling to make ends meet never develop the habit of saving, and consequently spend all their income. Consequently they are unprepared to meet from savings any crisis in the affairs of the family. The balance between wise saving and wise expenditure is difficult to determine. But habit and custom have much to do with it. What is done affects expenditure very di-

rectly, and in the end has a very decisive result upon the family welfare.

Standards of Living. We have seen that the standard of living has much to do with the welfare of the family. It is the minimum below which the consumption of the family must not fall, if that family is to function properly as an independent and useful group in the community. It is the measure of consumption which supplies enough to enable each individual in that family to sustain himself in health and efficiency as a producer, and so be independent of the help of others. That standard is a community average, to be adjusted to each individual in conformity with any special circumstances affecting him, such as infancy, requiring special feeding, or sickness, requiring certain more expensive food.

Each family has a standard of living acquired from its social heritage, whether from a foreign country or from another community, and determined by the customs of that community and of its peculiar stratum of society. It is a customary standard. While it may be based upon empirical observations of what was necessary in the community where it prevailed, it is in no sense a scientific standard. Such customary racial and family standards differ much. Hence, foreigners from South Europe coming to America are able to live here in the United States for less than the natives. Sometimes they are tougher in fiber than their competitors here, and survive. Often, however, their customary standard of living is adapted to quite other conditions than those under which they live here. As a consequence they die off in large numbers. Thus, the peasants from Southeastern Europe, used to living much out in the open air, come to America, crowd into our noisome tenements, work in our crowded factories, do not raise their customary standard of food and clothing, and as a consequence a tremendous infant mortality and tuberculosis rate appears among them. Thus, customs sometimes prevent the adoption of a standard of living suited to the new environment.

On the other hand, the imitation by the lower income classes of the expenditures of the rich often results in just the opposite effect. In discussing extravagance as a cause for the high cost of living, a recent reporter said: "In all ages of the world social standards have been set from above; and so long as those whose wealth or social prominence forces the newspapers to make them objects of public notice, continue to wallow in their wealth, salaried persons, from the highest to the lowest, down to the wage-earners, follow the bad ex-

ample."[1] The children of the poor attend the same schools as those of the rich. Through imitation of their companions they are led to form habits and ideals of expenditure which have effect when these children grow up. The same thing happens with the adults themselves in many cases. Hence, "Conventionality imitation," as Ross calls it, works its full consequences in increasing expenditure for display often to the detriment of the family expenditures on essentials or to the destruction of a desire to save.

2. Ignorance of the Elements of Domestic Economy. Ignorance of food, clothing, and furniture values, and of a balanced household budget often increases expenditure without a corresponding increase in welfare.

Waste of income from ignorance is common among all classes. Until a few years ago few stopped to consider whether the food they ate, the clothes they wore, or the way in which they furnished their homes, gave the best results in health, efficiency or comfort. They bought what they liked, if they felt that they could afford it. Now, with rising costs, attention is being given to the question of the most economical expenditure of income. Domestic science has shown that the food habits of many are not economical. For example, it has been found that there are only about five different things which the body requires to keep it in health from the standpoint of food. It must have a certain amount of fat and carbohydrates to supply heat, a certain amount of protein to build tissue, body builders and regulators like mineral salts and the substances called vitamines which in some way promote growth, such as green vegetables and milk.

"Qualitative standards to measure the efficiency of the family food budget have been worked out tentatively in dietary studies. We do not eat or wear or burn dollars and cents. If the price of beef goes up we can eat less beef and more of some other protein-rich food, and perhaps keep our money expenses for food constant, but if the price of all foods increases 100 per cent we cannot cut down our consumption of all food one-half so as to keep our food budget expense undamaged. To speak with scientific accuracy man does not live by loaves of bread, pounds of meat, pecks of potatoes, quarts of milk, etc. He lives by the energy stored in food, which energy is measured in heat units called calories. There must be a proper balance between proteins, fats, starches, cellulose, fruit acids, and mineral salts. The

[1] Massachusetts *Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living*, Boston, 1910, p. 498.

last three classes of food furnish us no calories at all, but they are just as essential to a healthful diet as are the fats, sugars, and starches which furnish a large quantity of calories. By far the best measure of the sufficiency of a diet is, however, the calories. Unless the average active worker consumes and assimilates from 3,000 to 3,500 calories per day he will inevitably either lose weight or efficiency as a worker, or both, and this regardless of the number of dollars he spends for food, or even of the number of pounds of bread, beans, and beef he eats. Unfortunately, bread, beef, pork, and even eggs and potatoes vary considerably in the calory content per pound.

"By the time people become educated to the point where they recognize that the important thing in regard to food is not its price per pound or quart; that often the cheapest food per pound is the most expensive per unit of nourishment, they will no doubt have learned also that man cannot live by bread alone or even by calories alone. Fruits and vegetables must be used largely in a proper diet, even though the calory content is low. A proper balance between proteins, fats, starches, sugars, cellulose tissue, minerals, and acids is necessary for the maintenance of health." [1]

This ignorance of food and clothing values leads often to unwise expenditures. Families with small incomes attempt to buy cheaper foods and clothing without reference to the important consideration of the value of the things purchased. Consequently foods are often used which do not furnish the required nourishment which other things no dearer and sometimes even cheaper would furnish, did the housewife know how to judge the value of foods.

Similarly, expenditures are affected by household waste. Says Professor Ellen H. Richards, "Domestic waste may be either destruction without profitable result, or misuse, the latter taking the form of extravagances. Families with incomes below $800 a year waste very little food materials. They may suffer from illness due to poor food, and thus waste income. United States Government investigations show waste of edible material amounting to not more than 3 or 4 per cent in this class." [2] The family with small income does waste by buying in small quantities, in buying inedible or innutritious materials, in buying for flavor and tenderness rather than for nutrition, often in

[1] Royal Meeker, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 3 and 4.
[2] Massachusetts *Report of the Commission on Cost of Living*, Boston, 1910, p. 250.

preparation by poor cooking or wrong methods of cooking, and sometimes in garbage.

Again, the *improper balancing of the elements in the household budget affects* the welfare of the family. In the investigation made by the commissioner of labor of the United States and published in 1903, a special study was made of 11,156 "normal" families, that is, "families that had certain characteristics for which they were classed as normal families. Each family so classed had a husband and a wife; not more than five children, no one of whom was over fourteen years of age; no dependent, boarder, lodger or servant; occupied a rented house; and had expenditures for fuel, lighting, food, clothing and sundries."[1] In these families having incomes from under $200 up to about $1,200 a year, 18.12 per cent was expended for rent, 4.5 per cent for fuel, 1.12 per cent for lighting, 43.13 per cent for food, 12.95 per cent for clothing and 20.11 per cent for sundries.[2] This study shows that with an increased income families do not increase the percentage of it spent for rent, that with increasing income there is a decrease in the proportion which is spent for fuel, lighting, and food, while the proportion spent for both clothing and sundries increases.[3]

From common observation it is not impossible to suppose that some of those who had expenditures for liquor may have had to reduce the amount expended on clothing and food. It is also quite possible that some of these families did not have a budget balanced as to its expenditures so that each element in the budget got just that proportion which was necessary for the healthy and efficiency of the family. Without knowledge of how to buy wisely, of how much should be

[1] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903: Cost of Living and Retail Prices of Foods,* Washington, 1904, p. 20.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 101.

[3] It is interesting to notice what were the things which entered into budgets of these families. The accounts of 2,567 of these 25,400 families were in such condition that such a detailed study was possible. For example 65.8 per cent of them were paying for life insurance; 35.7 per cent paid dues to labor organizations; and 43.75 per cent dues to other organizations; 80.33 per cent made contributions to religion, and 51.07 per cent to charity; 94.74 per cent spent money on books and newspapers, while 50.72 per cent spent money on intoxicating liquors, and 79.2 per cent on tobacco. The sums spent on many of these items, however, were rather small. Thus an average, for families having such expenditures, of $29.55 for life insurance, $10.52 for labor organizations, $11.84 for other organizations, $9.49 to religion, $4.68 for charity, $8.82 for books and newspapers, $24.53 on intoxicating liquors and $13.80 on tobacco, was spent by these families. It is impossible to tell from the report whether the families who spent for liquor were the same as those who spent for life insurance, religion and charity. *Ibid.,* pp. 503-511.

spent approximately on rent, food, clothing, amusements, etc., there is bound to be some waste, some unwise expenditures, and consequently some poverty and ultimately some pauperism. How much it is impossible to say. Concerning the latest investigation made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the cost of living, Royal Meeker, the Commissioner, says: "The family food budgets are now being analyzed. We can say with confidence that it requires to-day an expenditure of from 50 to 60 cents per man per day for food to secure a well balanced diet sufficient in the number of calories and in variety. This means that American families consisting of husband, wife and three children below the age of 15 years, living in large and medium sized cities must spend about $610 per annum for food to keep themselves properly nourished for health and efficiency. This expenditure for food goes with incomes of from $1,800 to $1,850, so we may say that American families on the average are not fully nourished until their yearly income reaches $1,800. . . . The average income and the modal income both fall well below $1,600. The mode is about $1,350, and the average not greatly higher. Conclusions must not be too hastily drawn from these figures. They do not mean that our working population is dying of slow starvation; nothing of the sort. But they do indicate that the workers of America are obliged to live on a diet too restricted and monotonous for the maintenance of as high a degree of efficiency and health as ought to be maintained as a reasonable minimum. I am of the opinion that the most efficacious remedy is not higher wages but rather improved systems for distributing and marketing foodstuffs, and the education of housekeepers in the art of keeping house, with emphasis on diets." [1]

Finally, *lack of provision against the crises of life,* whether it is due to shiftlessness or to too meager a wage to permit such provision, is the immediate cause of many people coming into distress. Only a trifle over one-third of the 2,567 families were paying taxes and not quite a third carrying property insurance. Only 65.8 per cent were carrying life insurance of any sort. The 11,156 normal families expended 95 per cent of their total income. Of the 2,567 families whose expenditures could be analyzed, 1,480 families had a surplus, 507 had a deficit and 580 just came out even.[2] Of the whole 25,440 families, a trifle over half (12,816) had a surplus averaging $120.84 per family,

[1] Meeker, "What is the American Standard of Living?" *Monthly Labor Review,* Vol. IX, No. 1, July, 1919, p. 5. (An address delivered before the National Conference of Social Work at Atlantic City, New Jersey, June 7, 1919.)

[2] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903,* pp. 515, 581.

while not quite one-sixth of them had a deficit (4,117), averaging $65.58, while just about one-third of them came out even.[1]

As we have noticed, 1,480 of the 2,567 families had a surplus; 491 of these kept a surplus on hand, 682 in the bank; 63 had it invested in a building and loan association, 42 in real estate; 5 had shares of stock, and 3 had loaned money, while 60 used it to pay previous debts. Of the 507 families which had a deficit, 244 obtained credit, 94 used former savings, 13 borrowed money.

It is not difficult to imagine that many of these families had considerable difficulty in making any provision against "a rainy day." There were others, perhaps, who could have done so, but failed to do so. Both were on "the ragged edge of poverty." Many of them did not have a standard of living that their welfare demanded.

SUMMARY

Thus, socio-economic factors affect vitally the welfare of the family. Factors affecting the income—death or disability of the breadearner, whether due to industrial or community conditions; adverse industrial conditions, such as accidents, or occupational diseases and fatigue; unemployment, pre-natal, natal, or post-natal conditions adversely affecting children, and lack of proper wage—render the family incapable both directly and indirectly of meeting the economic and social responsibility of life, and create poverty and pauperism.

These are supplemented by factors affecting both the income and expenditure, such as congestion of population on a given area, and housing, unsanitary conditions in the home, community and factory, the labor of women and children, and faulty education resulting in reduced income and unwise expenditure. Again, in the complex of conditions, appearing now as cause and then as effect, are certain factors tending toward poverty and pauperism through their effect upon the expenditures of the family. Among these are traditions, customs, and habits touching taste in food and dress, thrift and standards of living; lack of proper training in household economy—food and clothing values, and the proportioning of the budget so as to secure the most value for the expenditure—and inadequate provision against crises, such as sickness, unemployment, old age, etc., by means of insurance, savings and investments.

[1] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1903*, p. 369.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Disease and Dependency. Fisher in *Report of National Conservation Commission,* Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. III, p. 742.
2. Accidents and Poverty. Hoffman, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bul. 157.
3. Unemployment and Poverty. Lescohier, *The Labor Market,* pp. 102-110.
4. Income and Infant Mortality. *Infant Mortality,* Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau Publication, Nos. 9, 20, 29, 37, 52.
5. Income and Poverty among American Families. Meeker, "What Is the American Standard of Living," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1919, pp. 164 ff; or, *Monthly Labor Review,* U. S. Dept. of Labor, Vol. IX, No. 1, July, 1919, p. 5 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (Continued)

OF more fundamental importance are the economic and social relationships which prevent the lower economic classes from having an adequate income. Some of these are remediable, as society is at present organized, while others will require somewhat radical social reconstruction in order to eliminate them.

MALADJUSTMENTS IN THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME

Even if all born into the world were of good native ability; even with a perfect educational system training children and youth to make a living, to save and to spend wisely; if by means of workman's compensation or social insurance we should be able to spread over society the economic results of the death or disability of the bread-earner; if we should provide work for every man who desires a job; and should we by means of preventive medicine obviate the evil conditions which affect children and adults adversely, we might still have poverty. All these things are necessary, but insufficient; they do not go to the root of the economic causes of poverty. As was indicated in the previous chapter, the most widespread cause of dependency and poverty is inadequate income. Often this inadequate income is due to the conditions enumerated. However, other causes which affect wages are of more fundamental importance.

1. Sudden Fluctuations in Prices. Fluctuation in prices disturbs the relationship between the income and need. Wages and prices do not vary in direct ratio. Many families, able to get along without distress under static conditions, find themselves reduced to dependency, or even to destitution, by reason of the rapid changes in prices.

The last fifteen years have seen a remarkable change in the prices of products. Part of this change was due to the increasing amount

of gold and the multiplication of paper money and credits which take the place of money. Part of it was due to the lessened production and part to American exports for the world's markets. A department of the United States Government is authority for the statement that the price of twenty-two staple articles of food more than doubled from 1913 to January, 1920.[1] On the other hand, from 1913 to the spring of 1919, the earnings of cigar makers had increased 51 per cent, and of men in the clothing industry 71 per cent.[2]

In any period of rapidly increasing prices, wages lag behind an increase in the price of commodities, as shown by an investigation by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The report of this investigation, comparing the index numbers of average weekly earnings in the New York State factories and of retail prices in the United States from 1914 to 1919, shows this tendency. Wages and prices were nearest together in 1915 when the index number for earnings was 101 and for prices was 102; the greatest divergence was in 1917 when the index number for wages was 129, while that for prices was 147. In 1918 they were as 160 to 170.[3]

2. Under-Production. Under-production creates a maladjustment which reacts unfavorably for some of the poor. Under-production may be due either to attempts of entrepreneurs to control the supply and thus the price, or to attempts of labor to control the output and thus "make work." In either case, the limitation of output has the effect of increasing prices. It is claimed that this does not affect the wage-worker adversely because it leaves more work to be done, and therefore creates demand for more workers. Since there are fewer workers than there are customers of the product, the workman profits, in spite of the fact that he must pay higher prices for the particular product upon which he is engaged. That, however, is a very selfish view. In the face of a plea for social justice, it has no ground to stand upon. The longer it takes to produce a given article, the higher must be its price, and any limitation of the output, except that in the interest of the worker's health and efficiency, inevitably raises the price of the product and bears harshly upon the person with small income who must buy.

[1] *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. X, No. 3, March, 1920, p. 35.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 1, July, 1919, p. 148.

Likewise, the attempt of the entrepreneur to limit the output in the interests of monopoly price, that is, the price which, all things considered, gives him the largest net profit, is a species of under-production that results in raising the price to the poor as well as to the rich, and causes poverty.

The recent coal strike illustrates the possibility of evil in both these directions, if the charges of the operators and miners are both true. It is reported that in the twelve weeks of February, March and April (1919) the working time of the bituminous coal miners was only a fraction over 24 hours per week. Dr. Garfield is quoted as authority for the statement that miners work on an average of only 200 days per year. An official of the United Mine Workers of America is quoted as saying that the average working time of the miners since 1902 has been only 206 days a year. The coal operators during the controversy issued a statement that, on the basis of figures published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States, the pick miners in 1919 were earning only 84.5 per cent of the wages that they could earn had they worked steadily during the days the mines offered them work. On the other hand, the miners claim that they want to work more days but that the mines close down often so that they can work only an average of 200 days per year. The mines claim that the cars are not to be had for the loading of the coal. No matter who is to blame in the controversy, the fact is that there is a reduction of output, with a result that the price goes up.

3. **Inequitable Distribution of Wealth and Income.** Students of the problem of poverty agree with Dr. King that "the problem of the poor is the vital point of the whole question of distribution." The distribution of wealth has a very direct bearing upon the problem of poverty. If a large proportion of the population has very little chance to accumulate sufficient fortune to tide them over crises, like sickness or unemployment, or to keep them in old age, numbers will fall into poverty when such crises arise.

Moreover, the hopelessness which such a situation engenders renders such people less ambitious, less efficient producers in many cases, and makes them less regardful of their responsibility to their children's future.

Dr. Ely has called attention to the fact that in none of the countries studied by him, Massachusetts, the United Kingdom, France and Prussia, "does a larger fraction than two-fifths of the people possess any

considerable amount of property. In England, in fact, nearly four-fifths of the families own less than £100, and Mr. Chiozza Money would make the percentage of propertyless families even greater. The small property owners constitute nearly a fourth of the families of France, but only about a tenth of the families of other nations." [1]

Dr. Ely further says: "The tables previously quoted reveal the fact that a surprisingly large share of the wealth of the world is collected into a few hands. The percentages of the families owning one-half of the wealth of the respective states and countries are about as follows:

Massachusetts	1.0
Wisconsin	1.2
United Kingdom	0.4
France	0.8
Prussia	1.7

"The above figures show a striking degree of concentration of private property in the hands of a very small fraction of the population. This is not in itself a desirable distribution of property." [2]

Dr. King made a study, published in 1915, of the wealth and income of the people of the United States. In that study a comparison was made between the wealth and income of the people of two states in the United States: Massachusetts and Wisconsin, based on the value of the estates of decedents, and of the estates of people in Prussia, France and the United Kingdom. The population of all these states was divided into four classes: the poor, comprising 65 per cent; the lower middle class, composed of the next 15 per cent; the upper middle class, composed of the next 18 per cent of the population; and the rich, comprising the next 2 per cent of the population.

Of the situation in Massachusetts and Wisconsin, he remarks, "The poorest two-thirds of the people own but a petty 5 or 6 per cent of the wealth, and the lower middle class possesses a still smaller share. Thus, the poorest four-fifths of the population own scarcely 10 per cent of the total wealth of the land." [3]

"The richest class, despite the fact that it includes but 2 per cent of the population, possesses the lion's share of accumulated wealth. More than half—in fact, almost three-fifths—of the property is pos-

[1] Ely, *Property and Contract*, New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 318.
[2] Ely, *Ibid.*, p. 319.
[3] King, *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, New York, 1915, p. 80.

sessed by this fiftieth part of the people. A reference to Fig. 5 shows us that the richest 1 per cent of the men dying owned almost one-half of the value of all the estates, while one-fourth of the entire property was in the hands of one-four-hundredth part of the people. This means that each of these men in the richest four-hundredth part of the population possessed a hundred times the wealth of the average citizen." [1]

Sufficient has been said to indicate that the wealth of most of the countries of the western world is concentrated in comparatively few hands. Since it is upon the saved income from wealth that people must depend when an event like sickness or the death of the wage-earner, or disability from any cause occurs to interfere with the earning power, and since so small a number of people have wealth of any appreciable amount from which they can expect an income in case of any event which interferes with earning, they either must become dependent or rely upon some form of insurance. Such concentration of wealth, from some points of view, directly causes poverty.

Dr. King made a similar study with reference to the income of the different classes in the population of the United States. He found that 51.54 per cent of the families of the United States received 27.86 per cent of the income of the country and that the income of this half of the families of the country was less than $800 per annum. He found that slightly more than two-thirds (69.43 per cent) of the families of the country received a little over two-fifths of the income of the United States (42.48 per cent).[2]

He compared the results of his study with that of Dr. Charles B. Spahr, published in 1896, as follows: "Dr. Spahr believed that 1.6 per cent of the richest families secured 10.8 per cent of the income, while Fig. 27 would indicate that the same fraction of the population now controls some 19 per cent of the income." [3]

Thus, both from the standpoint of wealth and income we find that a few of our people enjoy control over a large part of the wealth of the nation and that a similarly small proportion enjoy large incomes. A great middle class have comparatively good incomes, and control some wealth. The two lower classes, however, are not so fortunately situated. The lower middle class, as King calls it, and the poor class

[1] King, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[2] King, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
[3] King, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 231.

are the ones from which the most of the dependents and the poverty-stricken people come. It is this lowest class in the income and wealth scales that constitute our problem. While the unequal distribution of wealth and income is not alone in the causation of their conditions, it is one of the important factors in immediately producing want and, more remotely, destroying ambition, preventing proper education of children, forcing them to live under conditions that bring in their train the problems of infant mortality, depletion of vitality, sickness, unemployment, and all the rest of the links in the chain leading to poverty.

4. Pressure of Population on Natural Resources. Another of the maladjustments which inevitably result in lessened production and therefore lessened income is the pressure of population on the natural resources. Dr. King, in discussing the relation of average income to population density, after showing that when a country is new, its resources undeveloped and its population scattered as in frontier communities, increase of population means increased welfare for all, says: "When, however, the most fertile lands have been largely occupied; when mines are being operated by most modern methods; when magnificent canals and railways make easy the interchanging of the various products necessary for civilized comfort; when huge factories, equipped with the latest inventions, turn out multitudinous products; when the government is strong and powerful enough to afford protection against foreign foes; then, an increase of population merely means a decrease in the general welfare. If more people must be supported, poorer lands must be utilized; mines must be dug deeper and poorer grades of ore extracted; the cities become more and more crowded; and, in accordance with the well-known law of diminishing returns, less and less real income is obtained in exchange for an hour's labor by the average man." [1]

There is a good deal of evidence that the point of population-saturation has been reached in the economic development of the United States. The great fertile expanses of this country have been occupied. The poorer lands, requiring greater expenditure of capital and labor, are being called upon to produce. We are at the point of diminishing returns. It takes more capital and labor to produce the marginal bushel of wheat to-day than ever before in the history of the country.

The importance of limiting the population after it has reached a

[1] King, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

certain density is indicated by King in the following words: "Within reasonable limits, a nation's permanent economic welfare, then, depends but little on whether the soil is rich or sterile, the mines productive or exhausted; but, on the contrary, it is based almost wholly upon the question as to whether the masses of the people have passed over the deep but narrow gulf which separates the control of population by a standard of living from that condition in which it is limited only by the means of subsistence, for it is the crossing of this gulf which substitutes reason in place of the animal instincts. . . .

"And the degree to which a nation has progressed may easily be measured by the poverty or affluence of the common people. China and India, with their fertile plains and valleys, retain their high birth rate, and the masses are never far from starvation. In most of Europe the birth rate is somewhat lower, and the people are beginning to enjoy a few comforts. In the United States, Canada and Australia, the native-born population has a rigorously controlled birth rate, and the people are the most prosperous of the world." [1]

There are two sources from which the population increases, i. e., the preponderance of immigration over emigration, and the natural increase of birth rate over death rate. From both of these sources the population of this country has been increasing from decade to decade.

While it is impossible to say exactly what is the natural increase due to immigration, there is little doubt that during the decade previous to the outbreak of the War, immigrants increased the population annually by not less than 700,000, while in the last few years of the decade they came at the rate of a million and over a year. The immigration figures indicate that a considerable number of these immigrants returned each year. These people came from countries where the standard of living was very much lower than that prevailing among our native-born workers, and they found a rate of wages here in the United States that enabled them to live better than they had lived before, and yet competitively drive out from certain occupations the Americans. Moreover, the new immigrant, if he brings his family, has a very high birth rate. Hence, the influence of the immigrant is felt in three different ways:

a. He contributes an added number to the workers and considerable increase in competition with the workers already here.

[1] King, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 247.

b. Coming with a lower standard of living, he is able to live and produce on an income which is impossible for the American workers.

c. He adds a larger number of children than the American worker to the forces which in the next generation will compete with the children of the native-born American.

Without a doubt, after a certain point has been reached in the development of the country, any considerable additional number of laborers results in the lowering of wages. If, however, this tendency is prevented by the unionization of labor, or by the enactment of a minimum wage, then the result is increased prices for the product, to the disadvantage of the consumer of goods, and the non-union labor is crowded into the more poorly paid occupations.

The other method by which the pressure of population is augmented is the birth rate. With the development of science, and with our knowledge of the conditions of health and disease, the infant mortality rate has been greatly decreased. The age of death has been postponed so that the difference between birth-rates and death-rates, had not other conditions interfered, would in the last fifty years have been increasingly greater. However, influences have been at work which decreased the birth-rate. This has been especially true in American families and also in the immigrant families of the second and third generations. In these classes the size of the family in the last fifty years has diminished, through decreasc of the birth-rate. Nevertheless, through preventive medicine, destructive diseases have been checked, and mortality declines yet faster than fecundity. The result has been a rapid growth in the population of the country.

Whenever the population becomes too great for the natural resources of the country, wages must begin to decrease, the standard of living will be lowered, and poverty and pauperism will spread in the lowest economic classes. Among students of the question the feeling grows that the pressure of population is beginning to show itself among the poorer paid wage-earners.

"It has been shown that the per capita income of the American people has been increasing steadily and rapidly during the period covered by our study; that it now amounts to the comfortable sum of $1,500 per family, but that is very unequally distributed; that fairly equal distribution is at present impracticable because the lower classes of our population have, as yet, failed to substitute preventive for positive checks in controlling the population supply and the general eleva-

tion of the standard of living of these lower classes has been prevented by the rapid multiplication of the defective and incompetent and still more rapid influx of the ignorant and unprogressive classes of Europeans; that, as a result, a large section of our people still remains in poverty; that the members of the unskilled wage-earning class have, during the last two decades, been compelled to satisfy their needs with a lower rather than a higher real wage; and that, in the meantime, the property-holding classes have seen their income in purchasing power continue to increase at a satisfactory rate. And what of the future? Do the coming years promise more and more bounteous returns to the average American? Will our people continue to grow more and more rich and opulent, or are there ominous portents of economic disaster ahead?" [1]

"But, it must again be remembered that we cannot afford to allow our prosperity to wait until the whole world has advanced to a high plane. This would sacrifice the tremendous advantage which we have already gained and would postpone all real economic progress to some remote future date. We cannot at once educate and reform the benighted of all nations and we cannot reasonably hope to make any progress in draining the swamp of poverty and incompetence in our own land if we continue to pass unnoticed the break in the levee through which is pouring a constant river of illiterate and submerged humanity. True, we have done wonders in uplifting the immigrants of past years, but the soaring prices of food products, the falling real wages, the growing industrial unrest, all tell us that we are tempting fate too far.

"It is time to heed the warnings and take proper measures to guard the citadel of American prosperity against the subtle assaults of the low-standard alien invaders. With American problems alone to solve, there seems to be no apparent reason why we cannot so adjust our population to our resources as to continually increase the average real income of the American citizen and eventually to make want a word unknown in the land. But, if we attempt to uplift the down-trodden of the whole earth by sharing with them the food and raiment belonging to our children, we can look for nothing better than the gradual disappearance of our widespread comfort and a slow reëntrance into those sloughs of want and misery from which our ancestors escaped

[1] King, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

with such great difficulty and from which it may again require many generations of patient effort to emerge. It is ours to decide. Which path will we choose?" [1]

Inadequate Machinery for the Adjustment of Economic and Social Relationships in Society. There are five different maladjustments to-day which have a more or less direct bearing upon the production of poverty and dependency. They are domestic disharmony, political maladjustments, unwise philanthropy, lack of adequate means of settling industrial disputes, and an educational system ill adapted to prepare for life and livelihood.

All of these grow out of want of consciousness in society of its responsibility for the welfare of all its members. They are partly the fruit of a non-socialized, individualistic theory of social relationships known by the old formula as *laissez faire,* characterizing the social philosophy which came to its height in the latter half of the last century.

On the other hand, a part of them are simply due to our inability to keep pace in the development of our social machinery with the progress of events in our highly dynamic society. Our best knowledge has not yet got itself incarnated in social arrangements.

MARITAL RELATIONS

There are six conditions in family life which have potentialities for poverty and pauperism. They are: widowhood, "single blessedness," divorce, desertion, illegitimacy, and disharmony in the family without separation.

1. Widowhood. Widowhood as a cause of poverty and dependency operates chiefly in the case of women and children.

In the United States in 1910, 4.5 per cent of the men above 15 years were widowed and 10.6 per cent of the women.[2] Of these 3,176,426 widows, more than three-fourths were over 45 years of age, while only a tenth were from 25 to 45. Hence, widowhood as a cause of poverty and dependency operates probably with more force for women than for children. Widowhood is more frequent in urban than in rural communities. It is higher for native white of native

[1] King, *op. cit.,* pp. 254, 255.
[2] *Abstract of the Census,* 1910, Washington, 1913, p. 146.

parentage than for native white of foreign or mixed parentage. It is greater for the foreign born and for the negro than for any of the other classes, in both urban and rural communities.[1] It would be illuminating to know what percentage of these widows and widowers had children living at the time of widowhood.

The widowhood rate is lower for the United States than for any of the other countries for which we have figures, except Cuba, Natal and all of Australia except Victoria.[2]

While we cannot state just what proportion of the dependency among children and women is due to widowhood, we can be sure that a certain fairly large percentage owe their dependency to widowhood. Had we any adequate statistics of dependency and of the number granted so-called mothers' pensions, we should have some basis of a more or less approximate estimate.[3]

Whatever dependency is caused by widowhood, it is certain that not all the results are economic. A child needs the influence of two parents in his development. The loss of the influence of his father, if that father is a real father, is a great misfortune. Moreover, the struggle for a living forces the mother out of the home and causes neglect of the children under her care. So, indirectly, widowhood often has results socially bad as well as economically disastrous.

2. "Single Blessedness." The Census statistics on females in almshouses in the United States are of very little significance for our study because they do not represent in any adequate way dependency in this country. However, of the females in poorhouses on January 1, 1910, about two-fifths were widowed.[4] This volume remarks: "If in each age group the percentage single for the male paupers in almshouses on January 1, 1910, had been the same as it was for the total male population of the same age, the total number of single males among the paupers would have been 7,749 instead of 30,689, and the percentage single would have been 13.6 instead of 53.8. This measures roughly the difference between male almshouse paupers and men on the outside in regard to marital condition; the contrast is not quite so pronounced for the females; but even among female paupers in

[1] Abstract of the Census, 1910, Washington, 1913, p. 163.
[2] *Thirteenth Census of the United States,* 1910, Vol. I, p. 516.
[3] Of 5,000 cases which came to the Charity Organization Society of New York City, 1906-1908, 29.44 per cent were widows. One-half of them had small children dependent on them. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes,* pp. 187, 188, 204.
[4] *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910,* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1915, p. 31.

almshouses the proportion single would have been 14.7 per cent if the normal ratio had prevailed in each age group, while, in fact, the percentage was 42.8.

"The fact that an unduly large proportion of the adult almshouse paupers have never married indicates that pauperism is, to some degree at least, associated with the lack of normal family life. A large proportion of the inmates are persons who have had no husbands or wives and no children who might help support them in old age or misfortune." [1]

3. Divorce. With our present knowledge it is impossible to say definitely how much dependency is the result of divorce. Only one-sixth of one per cent of the females 15 years old and over who have been divorced remain unmarried. Probably this small number in the Census figures is due to a tendency to report themselves as single or widowed. However, since three-fifths of the divorcees have no children, it is probable that many of them remarry and thus save themselves from dependency. Others are granted alimony—how many we do not know since these figures do not appear in the statistics of divorce. From all the facts known it is impossible to think that divorce is a very important condition of dependency.[2]

4. Desertion. Much more important as a cause of poverty is desertion. Of the 900,584 divorce cases investigated by the Bureau of the Census, 43.4 per cent were granted for desertion and neglect to provide, 39.6 per cent for desertion alone.[3] In an investigation by the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, of 1,184 cases of divorce in Jackson County in 1915, 46 per cent of them were granted in cases in which desertion of the family by the husband had occurred.[4] This same study shows that during that year more than 1,863 persons became dependent upon that community because of the desertion of the

[1] Similar reasoning with respect to the widowed might be made. It is impossible, however, to draw such conclusions because we do not know how many of the widowed had children and yet went to the poorhouse. However, 38.2 per cent of the female paupers had borne children. *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1915, p. 31.

[2] For details on the subject see *Marriage and Divorce, 1867-1906:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1908, 1909, Vol. I, p. 41; Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1916, Chap. VI.

[3] *Marriage and Divorce, 1867-1906:* Special Reports of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1909, Vol. I, p. 39.

[4] Marquis, *A Survey of the Extent, Financial and Social Cost of Desertion and Artificially Broken Homes in Kansas City, Missouri, 1915*, p. 37.

husband and father. To support these persons in whole or in part cost the community $66,065.16.[1]

Of the cases which the various relief agencies cared for, the proportion due to desertion of the husband and father varied from 10 per cent for the Provident Association to 50 per cent at the day nursery at the Institution Church.[2]

"In New York City, Dr. Devine made a study of 5,000 cases known to the Charity Organization Society in the years 1906 to 1908, and of this number exactly 10 per cent were deserted wives. Ten years later, in 1916, a somewhat similar study was made of 3,000 families known to the same society in the course of that year. The percentage of deserted wives was found to be almost the same, namely, 9.9 per cent. The statistics of the New York Charity Organization Society for the last year show 492 deserted wives out of 4,024, or about 11.7 per cent." [3]

Miss Lilian Brandt finds that the reports of charitable societies show that of the total number of families in their charge, from 7 to 13 per cent are deserted families, that one-fourth of the commitments of children to institutions in New York City are attributed to desertion.[4] It is clear that in desertion we have a very important cause of dependency.

5. Illegitimacy. Closely connected with desertion and divorce in producing poverty and pauperism is illegitimacy. The mother of the child is usually young; she bears in her condition and in her child the badge of her social delinquency. Many doors of employment open to other women are closed to her. Moreover, if, obeying her maternal instinct, she keeps her child, she is further handicapped in making a living. Not only does the care of her child prevent her from engaging in industry, but the stigma she bears often shuts her out from employment like housework which she could follow with a child. Hence, she must get rid of her child or she must find the unusual housewife who will be willing to accept her with her child and disgrace, or she must find someone who will care for her child while she works to make a living for both. She is a sorely handicapped woman in the industrial world.

[1] Marquis, *A Survey of the Extent, Financial and Social Cost of Desertion and Artificially Broken Homes in Kansas City, Missouri, 1915*, p. 37.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8-34.

[3] Joanna C. Colcord, "Desertion and Non-Support in Family Case Work," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1918, p. 101.

[4] Lilian Brandt, *Five Hundred and Seventy Four Deserters and their Families*, New York, 1905, p. 10.

How great weight has illegitimacy in pushing people below the threshold of self-support? Would that we knew! We can only say that it is much less influential in causing poverty than in producing dependency among women and children.[1]

[1] The extent of illegitimacy is indicated by a comparison of the legitimate birth-rates and the illegitimate birth-rates per thousand of babies born. A more refined method of comparing the birth-rates of legitimates and illegitimates is to compare them with reference to their ratio to a thousand women between the ages of 15 and 49. The following table will indicate the situation with regard to illegitimacy on the latter basis just before the outbreak of the Great War.

American Journal of Anthropology, Vol. I, No. 3, July-September, 1918, pp. 342-343. (Adapted from a table prepared by Emma O. Lundberg in an article called "The Illegitimate Child and War Conditions," based upon the *Annuaire International de Statistique*, publie par l'Office Permanent de l'Institut International de Statistique. Partie II. Mouvement de la population (Europe), pp. 54-56; La Haye, 1917.)

Number of Births in Proportion to the Number of Women from 15 to 49 Years. Annual Average, Infants Born Living.

Countries	Legitimate Infants to 1,000 Married Women, 15 to 49 Years	Illegitimate Infants to 1,000 Unmarried, Widowed or Divorced (15 to 49 Years)
Austria-Hungary		
Austria: 1908-1913	219	30
Hungary: 1906-1915	198	38
Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1907-1914	247	5
Belgium: 1908--1913	161	12
Bulgaria: 1910-1911	280	4
Denmark: 1906-1915	191	24
Finland: 1906-1915	230	17
France: 1910-1911	114	16
Scotland: 1906-1915	202	13
Italy: 1907-1914	226	14
Netherlands: 1905-1914	233	5
Norway: 1907-1914	224	13
Portugal: 1896-1905	228	28
German Empire: 1907-1914	196	23
Prussia: 1907-1914	204	21
Bavaria: 1907-1914	214	31
Saxony: 1907-1914	153	36
Wurtemburg: 1907-1914	211	21
Great Britain		
England and Wales: 1906-1915	171	7
Ireland: 1909-1912	250	4
Roumania: 1896-1903	223	48
Russia in Europe: 1896-1897	299	17
Serbia: 1896-1897	236	7
Spain: 1906-1915	218	14
Sweden: 1908-1913	196	26
Switzerland: 1906-1915	184	8

The figures for the United States are very much less accurate than those for Europe because of our backwardness in birth registration. The following table, prepared by Mangold and Essex, indicates the situation in the United States just before the War:

Illegitimacy in Various Cities and States[1]

Year	City or State	Total Births	Illegitimate Births	
			Total	Ratio to All Births
1910	Detroit	12,662	383	3.03 per cent
1912	Milwaukee	12,172	303	2.48
1910	Cleveland	13,596	273	2.01
1911	Washington,			
	White	4.943	105	2.1
	Colored	2,524	557	22.1
1911-1913				
Average per	St. Louis,			
year	White	14,234	555	3.9
	Colored	844	143	16.9
1910	Michigan	66,313	1,054	1.6
1912	Wisconsin	54,493	841	1.54
1912	Ohio ..... (Excluding still-births)	85,679	1,646	1.92

Mrs. Bowen made a study from the records of the Court of Domestic Relations in Chicago for the Juvenile Protective Association of that city, published in 1914, of 419 cases of mothers of illegitimate children. About seven-eighths of the girls were under 25 years of age. No comment is necessary upon the relative helplessness of women of that age under the circumstances. Of these girls, one-third were housekeepers, one-fifth factory workers, one-tenth hotel workers, one-tenth tailoresses, seamstresses, or milliners, and 6 per cent were laundresses. In other words, in over two-thirds of the cases, unless the girl changed her occupation, it would have been impossible for her to have kept her child with her and have made a living.

Before they got into trouble, in 216 cases investigated, less than 3 per cent received $12 a week, and 92 per cent less than $12 a week. The average wage among these 216 girls was $6.75.

[1] Kammerer, *The Unmarried Mother*, p. 6.

One hundred and sixty-three cases were studied to ascertain what responsibility was placed upon the man in the case for the support of the girl and child. In spite of the fact that the Illinois law provides that in a case of bastardy the father can be made to pay $100 for the first year of the child's life, and $50 for each of the succeeding nine years, amounting to $550 in all, yet out of the 163 cases studied this maximum payment of $550 was ordered in only seventeen cases, and in only twelve cases was it lived up to.[1]

It is a well-known fact that the mortality rate of illegitimate children is two or three times that of the legitimate.[2] The following table

[1] Louise De Koven Bowen, *A Study of Bastardy Cases,* Chicago, 1914, pp. 10, 22.
[2] "The infant mortality of illegitimate babies is three times that of legitimate." Amey Eaton Watson, "The Illegitimate Family," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Philadelphia, May, 1918, p. 110. In England and Wales the birth rate of illegitimate children has shown a very decided decrease from 1876 when it was 14.6 per 1000 unmarried and widowed women of conceptive age to 7.8 per 1000 in 1907. *Blue Book on Public Health and Social Conditions,* London, 1909, p. 5.

In 1893 there died for every legitimate child which died

In Frankfurt	2.23 illegitimate children
Hamburg	2.17 " "
Breslau	1.40 " "
Leipzig	1.54 " "
München	1.06 " "

Deaths per 100 births of each kind

	Year	Legitimate	Illegitimate
In Germany	1903	19.3	32.7
	1904	18.6	31.4
	1905	19.4	32.6
	1906	17.5	29.4
In Prussia	....	18.4	33.7
In Posen	....	19.7	40.0

The situation in England is indicated by the following table:

Deaths per 1000 births of each kind

	Illegitimate	Legitimate
Brighton, 1908	202	97
Lester, average 1901-1904	305	158
" " 1905-1908	257	135

will indicate the relative number of deaths in illegitimate infants and legitimate infants:

Mortality Rate Among Legitimate and Illegitimate Children [1]

	Legitimate	Illegitimate
1901	19.4	33.9
1902	17.3	29.3
1903	19.3	32.7

While the death of the illegitimate child relieves the mother of the burden of its support, and in many cases prevents the mother becoming a pauper, and so from this point of view a high illegitimate death-rate may seem to be an offset to illegitimacy as a cause of poverty and pauperism, nevertheless the high mortality rate of an infant whether legitimate or illegitimate is a burden on community resources and a tax upon the hospitals and the strength of the woman that means social waste. Many of these children are potentially capable of developing into strong, efficient citizens if society gives them the proper care. The influence of illegitimacy in making paupers or criminals out of these unfortunate mothers, while not so important as some economic causes in the production of pauperism, bears with heavy weight upon a class of people who are least able to bear the burden.

A report on a study of unmarried mothers coming to the Cincinnati General Hospital by Dr. Helen Thompson Wooley and Jean Weidensall, and reported at the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Pittsburg in 1917, says: "The combined results of the twc systems of tests lead to the conclusion that not more than 20 per cent of the unmarried mothers can be safely pronounced normal. Of the married mothers, about 50 per cent may be so considered. *From 40 to 45 per cent of the unmarried mothers are also without question so low grade mentally as to make life under institution care the only happy one for themselves and the most economical and the only safe arrangement for society.*" [2]

These facts indicate that, as a group, unmarried mothers are less able than girls with normal mentality under similar hard conditions to make a living for themselves and their babies.

5. **Disharmony in the Unbroken Family.** Divorce, desertion and

[1] Kammerer, *The Unmarried Mother,* Boston, 1918, pp. 10, 11.
[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1917, p. 294.

unmarried parenthood are only surface symptoms of deep-lying conditions which, often breaking forth in the disruption of the family, yet many times do not so manifest themselves. The heads of a family may not get a divorce. They may not even separate. Yet their family life is often one long disharmony. They may not agree on the way in which the income should be spent. They may wrangle over investments of funds. Ambition may be slain by the constant nagging of the other partner.

The family is the unit in society in the expenditure of the income of its members. The economic future of that family is quite dependent upon the active coöperation of the members of it. This is especially true of the husband and wife. The husband in most cases earns the income; the wife spends it. Unless these two work together harmoniously in this important partnership, economic as well as other forms of disaster will inevitably overtake the family.

The wisdom of the ages has recognized the importance of harmony in this relationship. While the Biblical description of the Ideal Wife [1] in some of her productive activities will no longer hold in a world in which machine and factory production have displaced household production, yet the picture of her interest in the economic affairs of the family and of the results of her sympathy with the economic life of her husband upon the welfare of the family still holds good. That attitude is reflected in the saying that "Some women can throw more out of the window with a teaspoon than a man can bring in with a scoop shovel."

It must not be forgotten in this connection that domestic harmony is important not only directly for the welfare of the family, but that the future of the children is affected by the relationships of the partners. It is quite possible that the man and the woman who will not agree about the expenditure of money and the earning of money will not agree in the training of the children and therefore there will neither be united guidance for the child nor whole-hearted backing in his preparation for life. Domestic disharmony results often in poor work in school, early leaving school and early marriage, with all the attendant evils already discussed. In these indirect ways domestic disharmony reacts unfavorably upon its members and produces poverty and pauperism.

[1] *Proverbs*, 31 : 10-31.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. A Comparison of Wages and Cost of Living. *Monthly Labor Review,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1920, 1921.
2. Widowhood and Poverty. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes,* pp. 187-191.
3. Family Desertion and Poverty. Colcord, *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science,* May, 1918. Eubank, *A Study of Family Desertion,* Dept. Pub. Welfare, Chicago. Brandt, *574 Deserters and Their Families,* Charity Organization Society of New York, 1905.
4. Illegitimacy and Poverty. *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem,* Children's Bureau, Publication, No. 66 and No. 75.

CHAPTER IX

CONDITIONS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS (Continued)

CERTAIN other factors in social life must be studied to make the account complete. These may be subsumed under political maladjustment, unwise philanthropy and a faulty educational system.

POLITICAL MALADJUSTMENTS

Government in modern democracies is supposed to be in the interests of all the people. Originally devised to procure release from political tyranny which refused permission to people to exercise what they felt were their rights in religious and political self-expression, but suggested also by reason of the denial of their economic rights, democracy has come to mean the protection of all the people in every right—political, religious, educational and economic.

Now, democracy did not spring into being full grown, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. As we know from our study of English history, the feudal barons had no adequate idea of the implications of what they did, when they wrested Magna Charta from King John. Our revolutionary forefathers had not thought out the logical implications of their declaration that "all men are created free and equal," else they would have provided for the suffrage of negroes and women. Step by step in all modern democracies increasingly have the political implications of democracy been realized. The end is not yet. We are still insisting that democracy means more than the mere right to vote, important as that is. It means that special interests shall not have privileges denied to all other interests. It implies that the rich shall not have an undue advantage over the poor, the educated over the ignorant, in substantial equality before the law, in the legislature, and in industrial life so far as that is affected by law and administration.

Defective government is potent in affecting poverty chiefly in the economic phases of life. How potent it is we have no means of measuring. Yet, the instances which come under common observation show that it is by no means a negligible matter.

1. **Corruption and Influence.** Perhaps not so much by money as by influence is effected the corruption of the lawmaker, of the judge, and of the executive, whereby certain individuals and classes or corporations obtain the advantage over others, with the result that the burdens of society are not equally distributed. The legislator elected to represent all the people of a district may be moved by financial support from a certain interest to legislate for that interest to the prejudice of the rest of the constituency, or he may favor his own interests as against the public interest. Occasionally the judge allows the bribe to blind his eyes to justice. More often he may allow the influence of his friends or his own interests to warp his judgment. Or he may belong to a class whose interests he will favor at the expense of public policy and to the hurt of other classes of the people. The executive whose business it is to enforce the law, because of pressure or bribe, direct or indirect, sometimes enforces the law unequally, winking at violations by certain individuals and classes, while severely punishing others. Police favoritism is one of the best illustrations of the latter. One can usually be sure, however, that back of the corrupt policeman there is some one more guilty "higher up." Thus, by either direct or indirect corruption of the public officials, injustice is done those least able to protect themselves, and their economic independence is undermined.

2. **Outgrown Laws and Methods of Administration.** Outgrown laws and methods of administration often work hardship to certain classes. For example, a tariff law which was intended to protect an infant industry while it was being established, often remains after that purpose has been accomplished, and puts an unjust tax upon the consumer. Once the tax upon realty, small holdings as well as large, according to a more or less equal assessment, was the chief reliance for local revenues. With the growth of cities and the disappearance of free land, with the possibility of hiding corporate or personal property and thus escaping just taxation, the load bears unequally upon the small home-owner. In some states improved land is taxed much more heavily than unimproved land on the theory that land shall be taxed upon its present value. However, when vacant land is held for speculative values, and it is not taxed equally with other land that has been improved, the small home-owner is taxed unequally and the renter must pay a higher rent because the speculative owner prevents the building of more houses and thus reduced rents. A land policy which is intended to encourage the development of natural resources,

such as timber lands and mineral lands, may, when these lands become scarce, work to the detriment of the public and the increase of prices of commodities. Private interests which own them may decide that it is better to hold them undeveloped rather than to develop them, and thus keep the price of coal, lumber, or oil up. Or, on the other hand, they may exploit the resources in a wasteful manner, which will mean want to the next generation. Again, laws giving a monopoly to certain people may be quite legal, but may mean the deprivation of the masses of the people of the benefits of such monopolies. Other monopolies may not be properly regulated. New conditions may have rendered socially hurtful the laws regulating certain industries, like the coal mines or the oil industry, which, under earlier conditions, were well adapted to secure the best use of those industries for all concerned.

Under present judicial procedure, which usually consists of a legal battle between lawyers, and which is often subject to interminable delays, postponements and appeals, the poor man does not have an equal chance with the rich man before the law, except in those cases which have modified procedure by the establishment of Courts of Small Claims, the Public Defender, and similar devices in the interests of substantial justice speedily and cheaply secured.[1]

3. A Negative rather than a Positive Attitude towards Delinquents and Unfortunates. The idler, so long as he does not transgress some law, may continue a course which is quite likely to end in delinquency or dependency. The state says nothing to him until he commits a crime or becomes dependent. It makes no positive attempt to stay him on a course which is sure to end in trouble. During the War the idler of certain ages was told he must either fight or work. While such a policy could not be put into operation without limitations in peace, it suggests that many a young man would be saved from criminality or from dependency in later life if society could put some pressure upon him at certain stages in his career. Practically the only place in which such positive and constructive measures have been introduced is in our juvenile court practice.

The government seldom has a positive policy with respect to such questions as the combinations of capital in large corporations. Such corporations do not know until they try what they will be permitted to do.

In public poor relief, under the laws of most of our states, a poor

[1] See Smith, *Justice and the Poor,* New York, 1919.

person who applies for relief is not given help so long as he has any property. How often it would save the family from that hopelessness which is characteristic of those who have spent all, had the public poor official been able to use his discretion as to whether the property should be saved while the public supplied the necessities of life until the children are grown up and are prepared for life and the support of the mother!

4. Wastefulness in Government Expenditures. Wastefulness in Government expenditures increases taxes and bears heavily upon the classes upon whom the incidence of taxation is heaviest. Since it is the rich which most often succeed in escaping taxation, the burden bears most heavily upon the small merchant, the small landowner, and the workman dependent upon his wages. The waste occurs chiefly in the appointment to office of inefficient and mechanical men who have put the politicians under obligations. Such men have no imagination and no basis of experience in business management adequate to enable them to save the public money. Nationally millions are squandered each year in the notorious "pork barrel" for rivers and harbors and for postoffices designed to please local vanity and to insure the re-election of the congressman who secured the appropriation. A national budget system has great difficulty in making headway because it interferes with patronage of the legislators. Millions more are spent each year than ever before in pensions to soldiers of the Civil War and their dependents, in spite of the fact that the old soldiers are rapidly dwindling in numbers. The amount spent for the relief of the poor in most of our states is rapidly mounting because the relief authorities insist in appointing some old man who needs a job, as relief official, or in having each county supervisor give the relief himself in his district, rather than hire an expert in relief-giving to administer that important work and thus save the public's money, as well as prevent the pauperization of more and more of the people. We build jails of which the counties "can be proud," and in them throw the misdemeanant no matter what his mental or moral condition, board him at county expense while he is "laying out" his fine or sentence, meanwhile supporting his family from public or private funds. We do that to the same individual not only once but as many as seventy-five times, without once asking the question as to whether such a use of public money is worth while from any point of view. Says the Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910: "It is probable that if precise computation were possible, it would

show that about 10 per cent of all the expenditures of a Massachusetts citizen sooner or later finds its way into the public treasury. Nobody can escape this, whether rich or poor, high or low; and the serious phase of it is, that the percentage of contribution must, on the whole, be at least as large for the poor as for the rich. If that be true, then the actual sacrifice in the cost of government falls most heavily on the shoulders least able to bear it." [1]

5. International Maladjustments. International maladjustments produce poverty, sometimes in a whole nation, and often in a class. Tariff barriers to the flow of international trade often not only raise the price of consumers' goods in a country, but prevent the development of industry by interfering with a flow of goods out of the country. If a high tariff wall is raised against the goods of other countries, how shall they pay for the goods which we wish to send them? Exports must be paid for either in imports, or in investments by the importing country in the exporting country, or by the shipment of gold. In any case prices rise in the high-tariff country and the consumer suffers.

Moreover, trade wars between different countries work disaster to many. Our history shows that tariff walls are not a monopoly of any one nation. Failure to adjust the interests of competing nations often crushes a class or injures the whole population of one country.

War itself is a dreadful waste and cause of poverty. From 1879 to 1909, out of our National Treasury was expended for Army, Navy, Pensions and Interest charges, $12,210,499,778, or 71.5 per cent of our total expenditures from the National Treasury during those thirty-one years.[2]

Certainly this point does not need elaboration with the results of the World War in all Europe just before our eyes. Consider the terrific burden which the people of all the nations engaged in that struggle will have to bear for the rest of their natural lives and, in many cases, during the lives of their children and their grandchildren. Even the people of the United States are bearing taxes never before known in the history of our country. While for a time the country may be prosperous as never before, the war so upsets industry and disturbs prices and wages that myriads are suffering from the economic maladjustments brought about by this great international disturbance. Untold billions of treasure have been wasted, millions of men have been turned from production to destruction, ten millions

[1] *Massachusetts' Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910*, p. 217.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

have been killed or wounded so as never to be able to contribute very much to the productive force of their respective nations, and fields and factories, as well as homes and orchards and forests, have been destroyed. We stand before an impoverished world. Millions have been made poor—yea, paupers. Upon the charity of the world for the next generation will be millions whose all has been destroyed and whose hopes have been dashed forever. Children, stunted in their bodies and minds, will never be what they might have been as self-supporters had this terrible war never been. And it all occurred because in our international relations the nations of the Western World have not yet learned to make adjustments of mutual benefit.

UNWISE PHILANTHROPY

As a factor in the production of pauperism, this condition has often been overstated. Says Seligman concerning the English Poor Law, "The English system was undeniably a direct premium on improvident marriage and a lack of frugality. But the oft-repeated assertion that it impoverished the comfortable and perpetuated the miserable is clearly an exaggeration. The situation at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries was indeed deplorable; but, as we know, it was largely the result of the abuses connected with the transition from the domestic to the factory system. The poor law played its part, but, after all, a relatively inconspicuous part, in maintaining the degradation of the working classes. In the same way the great reform of the poor law in 1834, by which outdoor relief was abolished, was only one of the many ameliorative movements which revolutionized the condition of the laborers in the second quarter of the century, such as the abolition of the conspiracy acts, the passage of the factory laws, the repeal of the corn laws, the reform of taxation, and the growth of democracy. The old poor law did not create English poverty and the new poor law did not abolish it." [1]

Similar observations may be made with reference to the part which unwise philanthropy has played in fostering pauperism in America. While it is not wholly to blame, it has exercised an influence that is important and must be considered, since the reform of philanthropy, private and public, has a very direct bearing upon the other causes of poverty and pauperism.

1. Extent of Poverty and Pauperism Caused by Indiscriminate Giving. No one knows how much is spent in the United States

[1] Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, New York, 1917, pp. 689, 690.

on the relief of the poor. Manifestly, therefore, it is impossible to say how much is unwisely spent with the consequence of pauperism. Common observation, however, in public poor relief, would lead us to suppose that much of what is given by public poor relief officials pauperizes in its effects. This is substantiated by the experience of Indiana. In 1895, before the reform of the Indiana public poor relief system, the overseers of the poor in the townships of Indiana spent $630,168. In 1907, 12 years later, after modern methods of poor relief along the lines laid down by private agencies had been adopted in the public outdoor relief system of Indiana, the same overseers were spending but $227,304. In 1897, 1 out of every 31 of the inhabitants of the State were receiving public poor relief; 10 years later only 1 out of 71. In 1897 there were 38 counties in the State in which 1 out of every 30 or less inhabitants were receiving aid, while 10 years later there was not a county in the State where 1 in 30 of the inhabitants were receiving relief. I think it will not be too much to say that at least half of the public outdoor poor relief in the United States is worse than wasted in that it pauperizes the recipients.

2. The Economic Burden of Unwise Philanthropy. From the estimates given in a previous chapter, it is evident that the financial burden of the support of the poor is great. It is not here claimed that the amount is too large. It is probably too small. It is, however, probable that a large part of it is spent unwisely. If it were spent in service, rather than in merely relief, it would do good rather than harm, cure pauperism rather than produce it, and greatly lessen the burden of the next generation. As administered, however, it is simply relief and neither cures nor prevents pauperism, but rather increases it. This waste not only increases poverty directly, but is a heavy charge upon the taxes, and prevents the spending of public money for other and more constructive purposes.

The Massachusetts Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910, estimates that the number of criminals, vagrants, paupers and insane in that State is 126,631. It says: "The elimination of an army of 126,631 persons from the economic life of a community is a serious handicap to industry; and it must be remembered that almost as many more are existent who are unrecorded and untabulated in the official statistics of the State. If we assume this army of inefficiency to number 150,000, and estimate the annual loss for each of this number to be $525—a fair estimate of average individual earnings—the total yearly loss from this source alone would amount to $78,750,000. When

to this we add the sum of $19,000,000 spent in the State on delinquents, dependents and defectives, we have an annual loss of $97,750,000 that must be credited to crime, pauperism and insanity, or about $30 per capita for the population of the Commonwealth." [1]

This Report, commenting on the $19,000,000 expended on crime, insanity and pauperism, says that a large part of it is wasted, beyond question, and adds, "If a quarter of the sum were expended in a serious attempt to reduce these evils by sane and scientific methods, much of this inefficiency would be removed. Yet, as a matter of fact, the percentage of this social waste appears to be constantly increasing with the passage of time and the growth of population. It is an enormous burden on the productive energies of the State, and an item of importance in producing the high cost of living." [2]

Moreover, since taxes are especially heavy upon the lower economic classes, the heavier the burden of taxation due to the support of dependents, the more depressed are those who are struggling to make a living. Therefore, like any other waste from the public funds, this waste adds a greater burden to society and to that degree depresses those near the poverty line, without curing the evil.

3. The Pauperizing Influence of a Bad Example. Wasteful and unwise relief, that is, relief to those who could otherwise subsist, sets a bad example for those who are struggling to maintain their independence at or near the poverty line. Often it leads them to give up the fight for independence and become the recipients of relief. How often investigations have shown that people have been receiving relief who could support themselves. Yet, when faced with the question as to whether they need relief, these people have replied: "Yes, I need this just as much as So and So," or, "If So and So can receive free coal, why cannot I?" The history of indiscriminate relief, both in England, on the Continent, and in this country, shows that unwise giving of relief always creates more demand. Any community can have as many paupers as it is willing to support. The example of giving up the struggle and receiving public aid spreads like a contagion to those whose moral stamina is none too great at the best and is undermined by an intensive struggle with adverse circumstances.

4. Public Support of Defective Classes. The usual policy of providing outdoor relief to defective families directly produces pauperism. Of course, society cannot let them suffer for want of the

[1] *Massachusetts' Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910,* p. 221.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 221.

necessities of life. On the other hand, society has the duty of breaking up such families or at least of preventing the procreation of children in defective families. Our marriage laws everywhere deny the right to marry to certain classes of defectives. Public sentiment has upheld the right of all men and women, if they were not positively insane or idiotic, to marry and have families. Defectives are the people who, even under rather good conditions, first come to want. By providing them relief in their homes, the propagation of children is made possible, the burden on society for their support increases with no other result than to perpetuate the defective stock and hand on the heritage of defective pauperism to the next generation.

5. Beggars and Vagrants. The feeding of beggars and vagrants and indiscriminate giving to street beggars only encourages the habit and confirms these men in their hope that they can make a living without work. In a later chapter, attention will be given to a method whereby these paupers may be cared for without encouraging them in their idleness. Experience enough has been had by communities in this country to demonstrate that a community will have just as much begging and vagrancy as it deserves by its treatment of the beggar and vagrant. The indiscriminate giving to these classes in the hope that there may be among them some worthy man who, if the gift were not made, would suffer, is a cause of the large number of beggars and tramps even in prosperous times.

6. Effect of Indiscriminate Giving on the Public. Indiscriminate giving injures not only the recipient and those influenced by the ease with which the recipients feed from the public crib, but it prevents the establishment of methods of discriminate and constructive giving designed to cure pauperism and, with the establishment of constructive service, to prevent as well as to cure.

Thus, from every point of view, the influence of unwise philanthropy, in that it establishes a state of mind which is either indifferent or uncritical of both the methods employed to relieve distress, and of the conditions, economic and social, is both indirect and immediate in producing poverty and dependency.

LACK OF ADEQUATE METHODS OF SETTLING INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Strikes and lockouts interfere with production and cause loss both to manufacturer and worker. Indirectly these disturbances increase the cost of the product. In both these ways, industrial instability induces poverty in some cases. While some steps, such as conciliation

and arbitration, have been taken to reduce the enormous waste of strikes and lockouts, these measures have not solved the problem.

From 1881 to 1905 there were in the United States 36,757 strikes affecting 181,407 establishments, resulting in the throwing out of work 8,703,824 workers. During the same period there were 1,546 lockouts in 18,547 establishments and involving 825,610 workers. Of the 181,407 establishments affected by strikes, the average duration of the strike was 25.4 days. In the 111,343 establishments closed by strikes the duration of the time they were closed averaged 20.1 days each. Of the 18,547 establishments in which lockouts occurred during these years, the average duration per establishment was 84.6 days, and of the 12,658 establishments closed by the lockouts, the average days closed was 40.4; 40.72 per cent of the strikes were caused by demands in whole or in part for an increase of wages, while in 23.35 per cent demand for recognition of the union was at least one element. These two demands were the two major causes of strikes.

During this period in nearly half of the strikes the strikers won their demands (47.94 per cent); they won them in part in 15.28 per cent, and they failed in 36.78 per cent. In only 5.75 per cent of the strikes did settlement by joint agreement occur, while in 1.6 per cent settlement was by arbitration.[1]

No figures are available showing the loss to employees or establishments because of these strikes and lockouts.

According to newspaper reports, the coal strike in 1919 resulted in a loss of $40,000,000 in production, $60,000,000 in wages to miners, part of which is made up by yearly wage increases amounting to $70,000,000, and $12,000,000 in loss to the operators, great losses to manufacturers and other business concerns through lack of coal, loss in wages in an amount unknown to others than miners thrown out of work by the coal shortage, and an unknown loss to the public.

AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM ILL ADAPTED TO PREPARE FOR LIFE AND LIVELIHOOD

Modern industry has destroyed the family as a place of training for a trade. The factory apprenticeship system is by no means universal and seems to be disappearing with the better organization of factories and the subdivision of labor within the factory. Consequently, upon the school falls the responsibility not only to prevent illiteracy, but

[1] *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, Washington, 1907, pp. 1-104.

also to give such training as is needed to prepare children for life. The school must take the place of the home and the shop of former days to a considerable degree.

1. **Abbreviated School Life of American Children.** At the present time our schools do not, to as great a degree as they should, hold the children for the length of time necessary to fit them for a useful career. "Much of the failure and disappointment in life, and possibly much of the crime, that abounds may be attributed to the fact that so large a proportion of our youth go out from our public schools imperfectly prepared to meet the demands of the world in which they find themselves compelled to make some kind of a living." [1]

"From 50 to 75 per cent of the pupils leave high school before finishing. Fifty per cent of those who finish the eighth grade or reach the end of the time for which they are subject to the compulsory attendance laws never enter the high school." [2]

"With approximately 90 per cent of those who enter the first grade dropping out before the year of graduation from the high school, there must be some real and practical reason for their deliberate action. While many of them leave for causes beyond their control, my observation and investigation show that fully 60 per cent of those who leave the high school do so because it does not offer them what, in their opinion and experience, they need for the work that they desire to enter or feel that they are called to do." [3]

The consequences of this short term of years in the schools are to be seen in the useless lives so frequently found among our working classes, for it is chiefly the working class children who do not continue in school.

This throws light upon why students drop out of school. While some of them drop out because of the need for their earnings by their families, many others drop out because they are not interested in the subjects that are taught them. A part of this probably is unavoidable; much of it, however, is due to the fact that the subjects taught have no relationship to the interests of the children—they can see no value in what they are doing, and hence they leave school at the age when there is stirring in their minds an appreciation of the great world in the midst of which they live.

2. **Inadequate Education.** Schools too often do not offer an

[1] Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, Boston, 1914, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 8 and 9.

education that helps the student much in making a living, to say nothing of making a life.

"About half of America's school children quit school for work before they have even finished the grades of the elementary school. These children usually decide to leave of their own accord; they alone make the momentous decisions as to why and when they will leave school, what job they will go into, and how soon they will quit one job for another." [1]

Says Davis: "Not having been given a vocational aim, they drift into the first job that offers, and in the school of 'hard knocks' they stand or fall without the aid that the schools should have given them." [2]

3. Blind Alley Jobs. Uneducated for a livelihood, and unguided as to occupation, these children, after dropping out of the schools, drift into blind alley occupations in which there is no future. They are making their highest wages at from 20 to 25 years of age, they marry early, have families, and then drift from job to job or remain in poorly paid positions and, finally, if the family is large, or when sickness comes, fall into poverty and often become dependent.

In Massachusetts, a few years ago, three-fourths of the boy pupils in the elementary schools did not finish the seventh grade, and five-sixths did not complete the grammar school. Of those boys who dropped out of school, over half became office boys and messengers, and 45 per cent went into the mills, with a wage seldom more than $5 a week, before they were 17 years old. They were at the height of their earning power at 20, with a wage of $8 or $10 a week.[3]

Says Professor Bonser, of Teachers College, Columbia: "There are hundreds of jobs that offer wages alluringly high for boys in their early teens—16, 18 or even 20 cents an hour; but there is nothing in the work save the easily attained maximum of the 20 cents an hour. The end of the blind alley is reached. When manhood overtakes the worker in such a calling, he either morosely submits to a life sentence of dulling, monotonous drudgery, with all that this implies, or he changes to some other occupation, rarely finding one with much more chance of growth or advancement than the first. Dissatisfaction leads him again to change, and the probability is strong that he will soon become a permanent member of the class of 'job floaters' or 'hoboes.'" [4]

[1] Bloomfield, *Readings in Vocational Guidance*, Boston, 1915, p. vi.
[2] Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, Boston, 1914, pp. 8, 9.
[3] *Charities*, 19:808, 811.
[4] Bonser, in Bloomfield, *Readings in Vocational Guidance*, Boston, 1915, p. 111.

Without a doubt, we have here in the lack of proper education for that large number of boys who leave school before they have a chance to prepare in some measure for an occupation, and after they leave school failing to follow them up with a chance to acquire an education for the vocation they have entered, as well as in the lack of much effort to advise them as to the occupations which offer a future that will give them a living and the chance to make a useful life in connection with the peculiar abilities which each of them possesses, a cause of the failure of many of them to escape poverty for themselves and their families and a reason for their becoming dependent at some later time in their careers.

Thus, in domestic disharmony, political maladjustments, unwise philanthropy, lack of proper machinery for settling industrial disputes, and in a school system poorly adjusted to modern conditions, we have a series of circumstances which tend to produce poverty and often result in dependency. These conditions, growing out of an undeveloped consciousness on the part of society of its responsibility for the welfare of all its members, I have ventured to call maladjustments. In part, they are the result of rapidly changing conditions with which adjustments in social machinery have not been able to keep pace. In other cases they grow out of the fact that material development and economic production outrun new social arrangements designed to take up the slack.

In this survey of the conditions of poverty and pauperism, an endeavor has been made to look all the important facts in the face, both social and economic. I sympathize with Professor Seligman's statement that "to select any characteristic feature of the present industrial system and to single it out as responsible for poverty is naïve, but worthless. The Malthusian seizes upon redundant population, the communist upon private property, the socialist upon property in means of production, the single taxer upon property in land, the coöperator upon competition, the anarchist upon government, the anti-optionist upon speculation, the currency reformer upon metallic money, and so on. They all forget that widespread poverty has existed in the absence of each one of these alleged causes. Density of population, private property, competition, government, speculation, and money have been absent at various stages of history without exempting society from the curse of poverty. Each stage has had a poverty of its own." [1]

[1] Seligman, *Principles of Economics,* New York, 1907, pp. 686, 687.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Political Maladjustments and Dependency. Jenks, *Governmental Action for Social Welfare,* Chap. II.
2. Inequitable Taxation and Dependency. Harrison, "The Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburg," in *The Pittsburg District: Civic Frontage,* Pittsburg Survey, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1914, pp. 156-213.
3. The Results of Defective Poor Laws and Administration in England. Aschrott and Prescott-Thomas, *The English Poor Law System,* London, 1902, pp. 26-37.
4. The Denial of Justice and Poverty. Smith, *Justice and the Poor,* Bul. No. 13, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York, 1919, pp. 1-34.

CHAPTER X

ARE THE CONDITIONS REMOVABLE?

MOST of the conditions of poverty and pauperism named in the previous chapters are subject, more or less, to human control. Some are less amenable to human effort than others. All are modifiable to a certain degree. More and more, man, in coöperation with his fellows, is the master of his fate.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

The physical conditions discussed in a previous chapter are brought into subjection to the human will increasingly with the development of science and its practical application.

Modification of Physical Conditions. At one time in the United States there were millions of acres of swamp land unsuitable for cultivation. As the country became populated and the demand for arable land increased, these swamp lands were taken up by settlers and have since been drained. Now great areas once unsuitable for the raising of crops are cultivated. Centuries ago the so-called fens of England were useful only for raising wild fowl. Says Cheney concerning the period of England's expansion from 1603 to 1760, "Much new land came into cultivation or into use for pasture through the draining of marshes and fens and the clearing of forests. This work had been begun for the extensive swampy tracts in the east of England in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign by private purchasers assisted by an Act of Parliament passed in 1601, intended to remove legal difficulties. It proceeded slowly, partly because of the expense and difficulties of putting up lasting embankments, and partly because of the opposition of the fenmen or dwellers in the marshy districts, whose livelihood was obtained by catching the fish and waterfowl that the improvements would drive away. With the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, largely through the skill of Dutch engineers and laborers, many thousands of acres of fertile land were reclaimed and devoted to grazing and even grain raising." [1]

[1] Cheney, *Industrial and Social History of England,* New York, 1906, p. 184.

Arid districts are irrigated or cultivated by dry farming, and thus production is increased. In the last quarter of a century great areas have been brought under cultivation in arid and semi-arid districts of our own West. However, there remain vast arid areas which are so situated that water cannot be diverted to them either because of their height above the water supply or because the supply of water is insufficient. However, in the last few years large areas formerly devoted only to grazing have been plowed up and cultivated by "dry farming." By summer fallowing and cultivating the soil for two years, and sowing a crop only every alternate year, sufficient moisture is conserved to produce a crop. In this way large areas have been converted to raising foodstuffs in a more effective way than by grazing.

Natural calamities cannot be directly controlled, but through insurance their loss is distributed over large numbers, or, through mutual aid, the results of disaster are shared by others than the immediate sufferers.

The pests which interfere with the farmer's crops and with stored goods are gradually coming under the control of science. Modern agriculture is giving increasing attention to economic entomology. Fruit trees are now sprayed for the control of insects and diseases which destroy the trees and injure the fruit. Various other agricultural pests, such as the boll weevil in cotton and some of the plant diseases, are being studied with the hope that they also may be brought under control.

Many of the agricultural experiment stations of the world are searching the whole earth for new varieties of plants and animals adapted to local conditions which now render impossible or difficult the production of food. The diseases of men and of animals are one by one yielding to scientific research. Hence, in all these ways the physical conditions which produce poverty and pauperism are being modified by man to his advantage.

Hereditary Defects. Hereditary defects that incapacitate man for self-support can be eliminated. This can be accomplished partly through the segregation of the defectives or their sterilization. By careful supervision and direction such defectives can be made comfortable while protected from social and economic conditions with which they are not fitted to cope, and can be made nearly self-supporting. Other incapables who are educable can be trained for a more or less useful life by well-directed efforts on the part of society. A campaign of education will fix in the public mind such conceptions

of the menace of the defective as will support a policy which in the course of a generation or two will eliminate much of the defective stock now contributing so many paupers.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Those conditions productive of poverty and pauperism, socio-economic in their origin, can be modified by social action in many cases. They are the result of our economic and social arrangements. These arrangements have been made by man and therefore can be altered by man.

1. **Death or Disability of the Bread-earner.** Untimely death or disability of the bread-earner can be averted in part by attention to the prevention of accidents and by education in community and personal hygiene. What cannot be prevented can be relieved by health, accident and life insurance. While nothing can wholly repair the family results of death or disability, their importance for poverty and pauperism can be very materially lessened.

2. **Adverse Industrial Conditions.** Adverse industrial conditions are not irremediable. These evils can be lessened if not entirely removed, while the burden of the obdurate evils by compensation and insurance can be shifted from the unfortunate individual to the industry as a whole.

3. **Unemployment.** Such devices as widespread employment agencies, such changes in industry as will spread out the productive load over all seasons to a degree, and unemployment insurance, will materially lessen the volume and the results of unemployment as a cause of poverty and pauperism. No scheme of society yet suggested could utterly do away with unemployment at all times. As a factor in our problem, however, such devices would very materially lessen its importance.

4. **Factors Affecting Childhood.** The factors which affect childhood adversely rendering the adults so affected in childhood incapable of self-support, can be altered by the dissemination of information among parents concerning pre-natal, natal, and post-natal care of mothers and proper care of infants and children. Public health information, widely disseminated, teaching in the public schools, visiting nurses, health clinics, exhibits, and health instructors will do much to lessen the evil results of neglect of children through ignorance.

5. **Income and Expenditures.** The factors affecting both income and expenditures, such as the congestion of population in restricted

areas, bad housing, insanitary conditions in community, home and factory, the labor of women and children, the faulty education can be changed for the better to some extent by legislation and information widely disseminated. A sound social policy which would address itself to curing the ignorance largely accountable for these conditions would very materially decrease the part that these conditions play in the causation of poverty and dependency.

6. Factors Affecting Expenditures. The poverty and pauperism caused by unwise expenditure due to national traditions, a poorly balanced budget, poor household management, and lack of thrift are modifiable by education of the children in the schools, by classes for mothers, publicity in the newspapers, visiting housekeepers, and other methods of publicity, and by devising plans which will enlist the active sympathy of the classes affected. While entire removal of these causes is not to be hoped for in the immediate future, a beginning should be made and a program earnestly pursued.

7. The Maladjustments in the Production and Distribution of Wealth and Income. Serious as these factors are, and difficult as is the remedy they are subject to modification. Many of them did not exist 150 years ago, and probably many of them will not remain 100 years hence. They are the products of social organization, consciously evolved with reference only to their bearing upon economic efficiency and with very little regard to social results. While they are not so easy to deal with as some just mentioned, they are difficulties which are not insuperable as shown by what has already been accomplished. Through the regulation of immigration, careful dissemination of information on the relation of population to natural resources and economic development, through inculcation of moral restraints on the size of the family, and the education of the lower economic classes, pressure of population can be somewhat reduced. By the regulation of industry and commerce, the inculcation of a sense of responsibility for the use of wealth and of a sense of social responsibility for one's labor, some of the inequitable distribution of wealth and income can be adjusted and the tendency to control the output in the interest of either producer or laborer can be limited. Sudden fluctuation in prices with their resulting hardships on individuals and classes, can be modified partly by government regulation, and partly by international provisions for promoting freedom of trade and the prevention of war, one of the greatest causes of price fluctuation.

8. Lack of Adequate Machinery for the Adjustment of Economic and Social Relations. So far as this condition affects the problem of poverty and pauperism, their correction waits on the development of a social consciousness of society's responsibility for these maladjustments. Society has not yet appreciated its responsibility for the welfare of the family. It has not educated men and women for family life. It has left the preparation for family life to chance. The results are even less disastrous than we might have expected. Legislation and education in the broader sense are needed to develop an appreciation of our mutual interrelationships and a conscience as to the duty of the individual to other individuals and to society at large. This same consciousness of social responsibility will displace unwise philanthropy with wiser methods, will improve our political machinery, and will adjust our educational system to our needs. When the mass of our people once comes to understand the wastefulness of our present methods of settling industrial disputes, and their attendant strikes and lockouts, they will demand that the warfare at the expense ultimately of society shall cease.

I do not blink the fact that society has a long way to go before such ideal arrangements will be actually realized, but I believe that such methods mark the way which we must travel. Only as society becomes rational, rather than instinctive or merely sympathetic, in its reactions to its situations, only as the development of a sense of responsibility for each other and for the other classes in society takes the place of a selfish struggle for rights alone, will justice come for all. Only as a passion for social righteousness takes the place of an imperative desire for selfish advantage, either in the individual or in the nation, will society do away with the conditions that now depress some classes of the population and exalt others. Only thus shall we cure poverty entirely, but step by step as we proceed along that road, we may eliminate some of the present causes of misery and by degrees we shall raise the level of life for an increasing number. The change will come by no one method, but by attention to all of our social machinery—industrial, political, educational, religious, and ethical. All the social agencies must coöperate in the struggle for the final goal, if it is to be reached. In order to reach it, an increasing number of individuals must thrill with such a passion for justice that they shall be willing to curb the evil propensities not only of others, but of themselves as well.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Forest-Fire Prevention and Control. *Report of the National Conservation Commission,* Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 418-438.
2. Reduction of Individual Loss from Fire. Willett, "Function of Fire Insurance," in Zartman and Price, *Yale Readings in Insurance: Property Insurance,* New Haven, 1914, Chap. V.
3. Prevention of Poverty Through Life Insurance. Fisher, "Economic Aspects of Lengthening Human Life," in Zartman and Price, *Yale Readings in Insurance: Life Insurance,* New Haven, 1914, Chap. II.
4. Methods of Conserving Human Life. Fisher, "National Vitality, Its Wastes and Conservation," Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, 1909, Vol. III, pp. 671-723.

PART III

HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONS AND METHODS OF DEALING WITH DEPENDENTS

CHAPTER XI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIEF OF THE POOR

1. Charity among the Jews. For ages men have been reflecting upon the problem of the poor. In Hebrew society, as soon as tribal life had given place to agriculture and commerce, social classes began to develop. Rich and poor appeared. The prophets and the sages of Hebrew history gave attention to the problem of the poor. Their chief emphasis was upon the importance of giving to the destitute. Job's claim to mercy at the hands of God was that he had "not withheld his hands from the poor." [1] Even in the days of Jesus, the rich young ruler who would inherit eternal life, was told to "sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." [2] Among the Jews and the Christians of New Testament times, concern for the poverty-stricken had got no further than care for them in the household or by individual gifts. There were no community efforts by the Jews and early Christians for the care of this class.

2. Charity among the Romans. The care of the unfortunate was not entirely neglected among the Romans. While it is probably true, as Lecky says, that "The difference between Pagan and Christian societies in this matter is very profound," nevertheless the circumstances in society in the days before the introduction of Christianity into the Roman Empire were quite different from those prevailing afterwards. Lecky points out that "In the ancient societies slavery in a great measure replaced pauperism and by securing the subsistence of a very large proportion of the poor, contracted the sphere of charity. And what slavery did at Rome for the very poor, the system of clientage did for those of a somewhat higher rank. The existence of these two institutions is sufficient to show the injustice of judging the two systems by mere comparison of their charitable institutions, and we must also remember that among the ancients the relief of the indigent was one of the more important functions of the State." [3]

[1] Job 31 : 16-23.
[2] Matthew 19 : 21.
[3] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 73; see also Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, New York, 1913, pp. 36-39.

The most widely known method of caring for the poor in the Roman State was that practised for several centuries by the gratuitous distribution of grain. In the early Roman period there appears to have been occasional instances of such distribution. A law, however, was not passed until A. U. C. 630, when Caius Gracchus (158-121 B. C.) caused the enactment of a law supplying the poor with grain at a nominal price. After two years the law was revoked due to the influence of the nobles, but was finally reënacted in A. U. C. 679. In A. U. C. 695, even this nominal payment for the grain was abolished and it was made entirely gratuitous. The distribution took place once a month, and consisted of a little more than 4 bushels per head. The motive back of this was largely political. It served as a means of securing political popularity. In the time of Julius Cæsar Lecky says that 320,000 persons were inscribed as recipients. This number was reduced later by Cæsar one half. Under Augustus it again rose to 200,000. Numerous officers were appointed to look after the distribution and from this time forth it became one of the leading characteristics, says Lecky, of Roman life. Under the Antonines, the number of recipients greatly increased, at certain times exceeding 500,000. Septimus Severus added to the grain a ration of oil. Aurelian substituted daily distribution of corn and added a portion of pork. Charity and selfishness were here closely mingled.

On the results of this indiscriminate charity, Lecky remarks: "It was one of the chief demoralizing influences of the Empire." He thinks that the most injudicious charity, however pernicious to the classes it is intended to relieve, has usually operated to soften the character of the donor and thus had a beneficial effect upon society. "But the Roman distribution of corn," he remarks, "being merely a political device, had no humanizing influence upon the people, while being regulated only by the indigence and not at all by the infirmities or character of the recipient, it was a direct and overwhelming encouragement to idleness." On the extent of this influence, he remarks: "When we remember that the population of Rome probably never exceeded a million and a half, that a large proportion of the indigent were provided for as slaves, and that more than 200,000 freemen were habitually supplied with the first necessity of life, we cannot, I think, charge the Pagan society of the metropolis at least with an excessive parsimony in relieving poverty." [1]

Some idea of the extent of this indiscriminate and pauperizing

[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 73-76.

giving by the Roman State and the politicians interested in securing popular support, is indicated by the following facts: In 73 B. C. it is estimated that gifts amounting to $438,500 in value were distributed; in 46 B. C. it had increased to $3,375,000; in Augustus Cæsar's time 320,000 men received aids or grants of corn, and the number increased from this time on. The annual distribution from Nero's time to the end of Severus's reign averaged $1,500,000. This was, of course, done by the officials representing the State. But this amount was greatly augmented by office-seekers and demagogues who could keep their places only by dividing the spoils with the mob. It is estimated that Nero, during his reign, disposed gratuitously of food, etc., valued at $96,500,000 to the people and that Hadrian gave food, etc., valued at about $165 per capita to the people of Rome. It is difficult to ascertain the exact amounts, but even though these estimates are only approximate they give us some notion of the enormous expenditure.[1]

In addition to this distribution of food, public baths were established which were also free, the entrance fee being only the smallest Roman coin in use. Moreover, the support of children of poor parents acquired very considerable proportions. The first trace of it in Rome is to be found under Augustus, who gave money and grain for the support of young children. This, however, was a fact of isolated benevolence and the honor of originating a more systematic effort for the care of the children belongs to the Emperor Nerva, who seems to have extended this system of the support of poor children from Rome to all cities of Italy. Trajan extended the system, and during his reign 5,000 poor children were supported by the government in Rome alone.

Private benevolence followed these public examples, as illustrated by the gift of Pliny of a small property for the support of the poor children in his native city of Como, and by the establishment of Cælia Macrina, who founded a charity for 100 children at Terricina. Hadrian was distinguished for his bounty to poor women and both Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius founded institutions for the support of girls. Alexander Severus founded an institution for the support of children.

Public hospitals were probably unknown in Europe before Christianity except that there seems some evidence that the Temples of Æsculapius were used for some such purpose. There are traces,

[1] Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1915, p. 461.

however, of the distribution of medicine to the sick poor. Says Lecky, "These various measures are by no means inconsiderable and it is not unreasonable to suppose that many similar steps were taken of which all record has been lost. . . . There can, however, be no question that neither in practice nor in theory, neither in the institutions that were founded nor in the place that was assigned to it in the scale of duties, did charity in antiquity occupy a position at all comparable to that which it has obtained by Christianity." [1]

While there is evidence that in cases of disaster the rich threw open their houses and taxed their resources to succor the sufferers, and while the duty of hospitality was strongly enjoined, Lecky concludes that "the active habitual and detailed charity of private persons which is so conspicuous a feature in all Christian societies, was scarcely known in antiquity." [2]

3. Charity among the Early Christians. The coming of Christianity gave a great impetus to the care of the poor. With its roots in the teachings of the Hebrew Prophets of social righteousness of the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., and in the teaching of Jesus, with its emphasis upon love and good deeds, a great impetus was given to the care of the unfortunate. The example of Jesus toward the disadvantaged and the poor was vividly remembered by his Disciples. Also, His teachings, in the form of parables, made an impression upon the Disciples' minds that years did not efface. Two illustrations of these parables are the Parable of the Good Samaritan and that of Dives and Lazarus.

Moreover, His emphasis upon the fact that all His Disciples were brethren and His epigrammatic statement that "Whoso would be first among you shall be servant of all," had a decisive influence upon the attitude of the Disciples toward each other. His teaching as to the treatment even of enemies meant an expansion of good-will hitherto unknown in the world, when He said: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you." This teaching of Jesus was further emphasized by His picture of the Last Judgment. The criterion by which the final condition of those to be gathered before Him on the last day was determined was kindness and mercy, and charity to those in need. "Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit

[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 78.
[2] Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, for I was hungry and ye gave me to eat, I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink, I was a stranger and ye took me in, naked and ye clothed me, I was sick and ye visited me, I was in prison and ye came unto me.' Then shall the righteous answer Him and say, 'Lord, when saw we thee hungry and fed thee, or athirst and gave thee drink, and when saw we thee a stranger and took thee in, or naked and clothed thee, and when saw we thee sick and in prison and came unto thee?' And the King shall answer and say unto them: 'Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these, my Brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me.'" [1] Those that did not do these things—those on His left hand—were consigned to "eternal fire prepared for the Devil and His angels."

Says Lecky, "Christianity for the first time made charity a rudimentary virtue." [2]

Very early in the history of the church at Jerusalem, "deacons" were appointed to have charge of the ministration of food to the widows of Hellenized Jews who had been converted to Christianity.[3] Near the beginning of the second century, widows were supported by the church.[4]

This practice of the Apostolic Church was followed in the centuries later and was further developed. The letter of the Roman Church to the Church of Corinth about 96 A. D. describes this active philanthropy of the Church in the following words: "You were all lowly in mind, free from vain glory, yielding rather than claiming submission, *more ready to give than to take.* . . . Thus a profound and unsullied peace was bestowed on all with an insatiable craving for beneficence. . . . *You never rued an act of kindness but were ready for every good work.*" [5]

Justin, in his *Apology,* Chapter 67, says that "the well-to-do and willing among the Christians present in the congregation give as they choose and the collection is then deposited with the president for the assistance of orphans, widows, those who were in want owing to sickness or any other cause, those who were in prison and strangers who were on a journey."

[1] Matthew 25: 34-40.
[2] Lecky, *History of European Morals,* New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 79.
[3] Acts 6:1-3.
[4] 1 Tim. 5:3-9.
[5] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity,* New York and London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 188, 189.

Tertullian, in his *Apology,* says that the contributions of the church "are expended upon no banquets or drinking bouts or useless eating houses, but on feeding and burying poor people, on behalf of boys and girls who have neither parents nor money, in support of old folk unable now to go about, as well as for people who are shipwrecked, or who may be in the mines or exiled in islands or in prison, so long as their distress is for the sake of God's fellowship and they themselves entitled to maintenance by their confession." [1]

The Church in the first three centuries systematically encouraged benevolence and organized through the church officials relief for those who were in need. Space does not permit the careful development of the matter here. It is sufficient to notice that this system of organized relief in the churches worked side by side with private benevolence. The organized relief was in addition to the general alms of which I have just spoken, providing also for the support of widows and orphans, the support of the sick, the infirm and the disabled, the care of poor people needing burial, and of the dead in general, the care of slaves, relief to those visited by disaster, the furnishing of work to members and insisting upon their working, and the hospitable care of brethren on a journey and of churches in poverty or in peril.[2]

One might suppose that this great impulse to benevolent helpfulness would have greatly encouraged hypocrisy and pauperism. From the very earliest period, however, in the Christian church, efforts were made to check any such tendency. The Apostle Paul, when exhorting the Thessalonian Christians to manifest their love to one another in a practical way, adds: "and that ye study to be quiet and to do your own business and to work with your hands even as we charged you, that ye may walk becomingly toward them that are without and may have need of nothing." [3] He upbraids the disorderly among them "that work not at all but are busy-bodies" and exhorts them "that with quietness they work and eat their own bread," on the theory that "if any man will not work neither let him eat." [4]

Shortly afterwards the *Didache,* an early Christian writing, says: "Blessed is he who gives according to the command for he is guiltless, but woe to him who receives, for if a man receives who is in

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity,* New York and London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 189, 190.
[2] Harnack, *op. cit.,* pp. 190-249.
[3] 1 Thess. 4:11, 12.
[4] 2 Thess. 3:10-12.

need, he is guiltless, but if he is not in need, he shall give satisfaction as to why and wherefore he received, and being confined, he shall be examined upon his debts and shall not come out until he has paid the uttermost farthing." [1]

The danger of pauperization was less in these early Christian societies for three reasons, first, because of the great moral enthusiasm which possessed the Disciples, and second, "from the very first the president appears to have had practically an absolute control over the donations but the deacons also had to handle them as effective agents," [2] and third, because the president of the church and the deacons knew intimately everyone in the congregation. It is because of this heavy responsibility in the administration of the funds that throughout early Christian literature, the bishops and the deacons are required to be "not lovers of money." [3]

These early Christian ideals of benevolence were actually put into practice. About 250 A. D. the Roman Church was expending on the care of 1500 persons from $25,000 to $50,000 a year.[4] In the time of St. Chrysostom the church at Antioch supported 3,000 widows and virgins besides strangers and sick.[5] So important was the charity of the early church and so deep an impression did it make upon the minds, both of the Christians and of the Pagans, that Julian, the Apostate, attempted an exact reproduction of it in his Pagan State Church which he set up as a competitor to the Christian Church.[6]

In the later history of the Church the care of the poor was considered no less a duty. Every monastery became a center from which it radiated. Says Lecky: "By the monks the nobles were overawed, the poor protected, the sick tended, travelers sheltered, prisoners ransomed, the remotest sphere of suffering explored." [7]

From the very earliest period the sick were ministered to in time of plagues even at the risk of life. When leprosy overspread Europe, new hospitals and refuges extended themselves everywhere and monks flocked in multitudes to care for the lepers.[8] Lecky remarks: "Surely no achievements of the Christian Church are more truly great than those which it has effected in the sphere of charity. For the first

[1] Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 186.
[2] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
[3] 1 Tim. 3:3.
[4] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
[5] Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[6] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
[7] Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

time in the history of mankind it has inspired many thousands of men and women at the sacrifice of all worldly interests and often under circumstances of extreme discomfort or danger, to devote their entire lives to the single object of assuaging the sufferings of humanity." [1]

Lecky, however, makes two important qualifications to this high commendation. He notices that the early Christian Church provided no care for the insane and that later "a large proportion of charitable institutions have directly increased the poverty they were intended to relieve." [2]

In the first, however, the Christians only followed the practice of antiquity. No lunatic asylum appears to have existed anywhere in antiquity and none existed in Europe until the fifteenth century. The Mohammedans seem to have preceded the Christians in this charity. The Knights of Malta was probably the one order which admitted lunatics into its hospitals. No Christian asylum expressly for the insane existed until 1409. Then this particular charity developed first in Spain.[3]

On the second qualification it remains to be noticed that very early in the history of Christianity a motive was introduced for almsgiving which was bound to undo the careful safeguards thrown around charity in the earliest days, viz., the selfish religious motive. Says Harnack: "From the Apostolic councils down to Cyprian's great work, *de opere et eleemosynis* there stretches one long line of injunctions in the course of which ever-increasing stress is laid upon the importance of alms to the religious position of the donor and upon the prospect of future recompense." [4] Even Hermas and the second epistle of Clement emphasizes the value of alms to the giver. Says Clement: "Almsgiving is good as a repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than either." Says Cyprian: "By means of alms we may wash off any stains subsequently contracted" (that is, subsequent to baptism).[5]

The motive of giving alms for the welfare of one's own soul has continued to be a prominent motive throughout the Christian centuries and has worked all kinds of evil. It has been substituted for the love of mankind and the love of Christ which were the original

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 90.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.
[4] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

motives of Christian philanthropy. It has broken down the safeguards thrown around early charitable relief. It curses both the giver and the recipient.

This evil tendency in medieval charity certainly was not checked when poverty of the most abject type was made a Christian virtue and those who practised it were canonized. Then, with the rise of the Mendicant Friars, the last touch was given to the religious process of pauperization in Europe.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC POOR RELIEF ON THE CONTINENT AND IN ENGLAND

Throughout the development of Western Europe until a late period the relief of the poor continued to rest in the hands of the church. While originally the administration of all church revenues was in the hands of the bishops, later they were allotted to the several parishes. From the sixth century onward, it was the rule to divide the church revenues into four portions (in England perhaps into three): One for the bishop, one for the clergy, one for the maintenance of the church building, and one for the poor. With the development of the obligatory payment of the tithe in the eighth century, the same division was extended to it. However, as the tithe was the largest, most regular and most general source of revenue, it came to be looked upon as especially for the purpose of providing for the poor. With the allotment of the administration of church revenues to the parish, the duty of relieving the poor became the business of the parish priests. Later, with the development of the monasteries both on the Continent and in England, this parish system of poor relief gave way before the relief furnished by monasteries, hospitals, guilds, and private individuals. Hence, as Ashley remarks: "Such parochial poor relief as we find at the close of the Middle Ages was furnished, as a rule, not from the tithes, but from other sources." [1]

As the monasteries developed, they took an ever increasing part in the relief of the poor. Poor relief appeared as an obligation in the rules of the monastic orders. Among the Benedictines it was laid down as a rule that one-tenth of the income of the monastery should always be spent on the poor. An almoner was appointed by the monastery, who, throughout the history, distributed alms in food and money to those who came to the gate, and often in the monastery's

[1] Ashley, *Economic History*, Vol. II, pp. 307-310.

better days, under more careful administration and higher ideals, this almoner was accustomed to visit the distressed in their homes in the village. However, Ashley is of the opinion that "the monasteries had been altogether inefficient for the diminution of pauperism and it was this failure and the similar decay of the hospitals and other charitable foundations which rendered it necessary to transfer the relief of the poor to civic and afterwards to State authorities." [1]

During the Middle Ages the hospitals were more careful in this respect than the monasteries. These hospitals were not merely for the reception of the sick, but for the care of the destitute and aged. They were, therefore, both hospitals and almshouses. They were scattered in hundreds all over Western Europe. Ashley says that they were the most characteristic form of medieval charity. They formed the connecting link between monasteries and private charity. On the Continent the hospitals, however, degenerated into sources of income for the clerics long before the end of the Middle Ages, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they fell into the hands of the burgesses of several towns, usually under the direction of the magistrates.[2]

The history of the monasteries and the hospitals as institutions for the care of the poor in England followed much the same course as on the Continent.[3]

In addition to the monasteries and hospitals established by the church, the various crafts and fraternities of the Middle Ages also provided charity, especially to their members. This consisted usually of occasional aid, and sometimes a weekly pension sufficient for maintenance. This was true especially of those craft associations that grew out of religious fraternities. As we shall see later, these guilds,

[1] One must not, however, conclude that the church and the monasteries had not endeavored to prevent indiscriminate giving, although there is no doubt, that with the emphasis upon the benefit to accrue to the giver, indiscriminate giving was likely to result no matter what was the theory held by the authorities of the church. The fathers and the councils both declared in the most explicit fashion the duty of investigation. For example, St. Basil, as early as the fourth century wrote: "He who, without distinction, gives to every beggar that runs up to him is not really bestowing alms, for compassion for need, but is tossing, as it were, a crust to a troublesome dog," and one of the celebrated theologians of the Middle Ages in Paris thought that to give one who has no need is not a merit but indeed a demerit. The difficulty, therefore, was not with the theory which the church held so much as it was the lack of careful administration. Ashley, *op. cit.*, *pp.* 312, 313, 315, 316.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 320-324.

both religious and secular, also established what were practically almshouses.

Out of this beneficence of the church, and the guilds, religious and secular, there grew the municipal and state care of the poor that we shall trace in greater detail in the next two chapters. We have already noticed that the hospitals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, both on the Continent and in England, seem to have been for the most part taken over by the municipalities. In general, however, up to the sixteenth century, the care of the destitute was in the hands of the church, private individuals, and religious and secular fraternities. Ashley summarizes the characteristics of relief during the Middle Ages in Europe as follows:

1. Lack of any attempt by the state as a whole or by any secular authority to relieve distress.
2. Charity was left entirely to the church, and its motives were chiefly religious.
3. Whatever attempt had been made to organize charity in a systematic way by the church, making the parish priest the relief officer and the tithes the source of funds for this purpose, had altogether broken down.
4. Practically all the assistance was almsgiving and in actual practice it was indiscriminate no matter what the theory.
5. No attempt was made by any public authority, secular or ecclesiastical, to view the problem comprehensively and to coördinate the various agencies.
6. Reckless distribution of alms had a pauperizing tendency and rendered it easy for the idle to live without work.
7. The charity of the Middle Ages did too much in some directions and too little in others. The towns got more than their share, while the unhealthful and barren regions were unprovided for. Medieval legislation is characterized by an attempt to lesson the evil of vagrancy, but not the pauperization of the impotent poor.[1]

As a consequence of the evils which grew out of medieval charity long before the state actually took over the care of the poor, theologians, especially the Nominalists, emphasized two principles:

1. The duty of the state to undertake or to supervise the relief of the poor.
2. The expediency of stringently prohibiting begging from individuals.

[1] Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 339.

This emphasis was followed both by Protestant leaders after the Reformation, and also by liberal Catholic leaders.

This tendency to emphasize state responsibility was shown by the efforts of the magistrates of great cities to bring the relief of poverty within the sphere of municipal duties. Luther, in 1523, in his tract entitled "Lack of a Common Chest," and the Catholic, Vives, in his treatise on "The Relief of the Poor," published in the same year, both emphasize the importance of the public authorities prohibiting begging, and the latter sketches the outline of a new poor law which is almost modern in its main principles. In 1525, the city council of Zürich, Switzerland, under the advice of Zwingli, the reformer, took the matter of begging in hand.[1]

At the same time, a number of the great cities of Europe, becoming conscious of their municipal responsibilities, began to introduce practical reforms. They began to grapple with the evils of pauperism and created administrative and financial organizations for the care of the poor. Thus Augsburg, in 1522, Nuremburg a few months later, Strassburg and Breslau, Ratisbon and Magdeburg in 1524 all prohibited street begging and appointed guardians of the poor. In 1524 and 1525 Ypres established a system of public relief on the lines laid down by Vives. These municipal reforms paved the way for the state's attempt to grapple with the problem. Thus, the Emperor, Charles V, in 1531, issued a poor law for the whole empire, based upon the plan of Ypres. England followed in 1536 with the first general law for the control of the problem by the State.[2] The details of the English system of public poor relief will be discussed more at length in the next two chapters.

Thus, throughout Western Europe there were experiments based upon suggestions of the deeper thinkers of the times. The evils of the practices of centuries in relieving want had become apparent in many quarters. Constructive efforts were beginning to correct those evils. Gradually it was becoming apparent that the civil authorities must attack the problem. The efforts which developed marked a new era in the handling of the problem of destitution and set in motion movements which have reached down to our own day.

[1] Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-346.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 340-350.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Condition of the Lower Classes at Rome in the Time of Cicero. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero,* New York, 1913, Chap. VII.
2. The Development of Charity in the Christian Church after Constantine. Lecky, *History of European Morals,* New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 24-101.
3. Charitable Ideals of the Book of Job.
4. A Sketch of the Relief of the Poor by Jesus.
5. Charitable Ideals of the Koran.

CHAPTER XII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF

OUR survey in the previous chapters shows that when public attention was first drawn to the needy, their care began with private benevolence, then was taken up by the church, and finally by the municipalities and the state. The earliest method of handling the problem of the poor by any organized group was by the relief of the poor in their homes through almsgiving. We have seen how the early Christian church collected alms for needy brethren and dispensed those gifts through the church officials. With the development of monasteries and the spread of Catholicism throughout Western Europe, the monasteries became the agencies through which the church organically administered relief to the destitute. Then attempts were made by the bishops to place the responsibility in the parish and have the relief of the poor administered by the parish priest. We have seen that this failed. It was also the practice among the best administered monasteries for the almoner not only to give doles to those who came to the gate, but to visit the needy in their homes near the monastery. With the corruption of the church and a loss of the sense of social responsibility this was given up with consequent pauperism. If we may interpret history in the light of results rather than of intention we may say that with the rise of the Mendicant Friars, begging was elevated to a Christian virtue, and a great impetus was given to the conception of the meritoriousness of giving to beggars. In spite of exhortations against indiscriminate giving, the people and the monasteries followed the line of least resistance and continued indiscriminate doles, which resulted in increased pauperization.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century both Protestants and liberal Catholics began to perceive the evils of indiscriminate giving. In the meantime, as the cities gained in power they tended to frown on the practice of begging.

PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF IN ENGLAND

In England the first legislation bearing upon the pauper, either by a city or by the nation, grew out of labor conditions. The statutes of

laborers enacted following the Black Death and having for their purpose the control of the labor supply, and the suppression of vagrancy, form the basis of the English Poor Law. The first statute of laborers was passed in 1349, and provided that all persons able to labor and without other means of support should serve those who had need of them at the rates which obtained before the Black Death. At the end of this statute provision was made for the suppression of begging, as follows: "And because that many strong beggars, as long as they may live by begging, do refuse to labor, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abominations; none upon the said pain of imprisonment shall, under any color of pity or alms, give anything to such, which may labor, or presume to favor them in their idleness, so that thereby they may be compelled to labor for their necessary living."[1] This statute was followed by others in 1360 and 1388, both of which endeavored to prevent laborers from traveling about the country. Those who disobeyed were to be branded on the forehead at the discretion of the Justice of the Peace or placed in the public stocks. Impotent beggars, that is, those really unable to work, were made the responsibility of the locality where they were at the passing of the Act. In Ashley's opinion, while no provision was made in the statute for carrying out this part of the law, it was the hope of the legislators that the charity of the parish clergy, of the monasteries, the hospitals, and private persons, would care for the impotent destitute.[2]

London, in 1359, passed a city ordinance intended to deal with those who had come from different parts of the country to London to beg. They were ordered to leave the city at once or be put into the stocks.

In 1536 was passed the first important poor law of England. It was the English expression of the tendency throughout Europe to grapple with the problem of poverty in a more fundamental way than had appeared in the statutes of laborers. Contrary to the usual opinion, Ashley points out that this movement in England lagged almost a century behind the same movement upon the Continent. He says: "But it is clear that England instead of preceding other nations, rather lagged behind and that its action was probably stimulated by continental examples. English statesmen at every step of their action in this matter, moved in an atmosphere of European discussion, of

[1] Lee, *Source Book of English History*, New York, 1905, p. 208
[2] Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

which they must have been aware. The period when the English poor law began to diverge from that of the rest of Europe was rather the seventeenth than the sixteenth century." [1]

It is probable, however, that although she was influenced by the continental example, her own internal situation had become so critical that England was forced to grapple with the problem. During the first half of the sixteenth century there was a very decided growth of distress of every kind. The conditions prevailing in England, as well as on the Continent, for some time previous had resulted in a great increase of dependency. This was in part the result of the indiscriminate relief already discussed. However, other conditions very greatly aggravated the situation. The cessation of the Civil Wars left many without occupation. The agrarian changes deprived great numbers of the agricultural laboring class of their customary means of support. The pictures drawn by such men as More about this time show us how very grave was the situation. The enclosing of the land for the purposes of raising sheep had dispossessed large numbers of the farmers. Moreover, the trade in cloth had been developed to such an extent that England exported cloth for all Western Europe. With this extension of the market, there was a glut of the market and consequent unemployment.

Furthermore, from 1527 to 1536 there was a series of bad harvests. In addition to these features there were large numbers of serving men now unemployed whose masters had died. Also, the rise of prices due to the influx of silver from the new world and the debasement of the coinage by Edward the Sixth and Henry Eighth made it impossible for many honest people with low wages to live. Hence they joined the ranks of the wandering beggars and vagrants of the time.

In England there were three principal phases in the development of the poor relief system. These are not of the same relative importance but they all entered into the development that was taking place. They are:

1. The orders of municipalities,
2. The regulations of parliament,
3. The order of the privy council in the endeavor to force justices of the peace to put the law into execution.

Miss Leonard has pointed out that before 1569 the orders of the municipal governments are important. Between 1569 and 1597 legis-

[1] Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

lation is more important, while after 1597 the orders of the privy council are the most powerful force in the development of the poor law.[1]

It is not important for our purpose to trace in detail the growth of English outdoor relief. It will suffice to indicate that from the beginning of its development the tendency was to provide through the parish relief to families in their homes and to set forth the chief steps in its evolution.

The statute of 1536, the foundation of the English poor law system, went farther than the previous statutes, which had merely attempted to confine begging to those who could not labor, and lays down the general principle that none may beg. This implicitly places the obligation directly upon the parish to support the destitute. While this law did not make it compulsory upon the parish to levy taxes for the support of the poor, that is a natural corollary once you place responsibility upon that body. At first the effort was made to raise the necessary funds by voluntary contributions in the churches, but finally, in 1572, justices were empowered to make direct assessment for the support of the poor, and to appoint special overseers to have charge of the business.[2]

In 1576 the provision was made for the employment of the honest poor on stocks of wool, hemp, flax, iron, and other stuff, in order that they might be self-supporting. During the next two centuries some plan of finding work for the honest poor was put into operation in many parishes throughout the country.[3] This legislation culminated in the Act of Elizabeth in 1601.[4] This provided for the appointment of overseers of the poor annually for each parish by the justices of the peace.

While many changes occurred in the history of English poor law during the following centuries, the fundamental characteristics of this act have remained with only such modifications as experience has shown to be necessary.

The outstanding features of this law are as follows:

1. Overseers of the poor shall be named by the justices of the peace each year, which shall include, besides the church wardens, from two to four substantial householders, according to the size of the parish.

[1] Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 21.
[2] Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 366.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 366.
[4] 43 Elizabeth, Chapter 2.

The duty of these overseers is:

(1) To take such measures with the consent of two justices as may be necessary to set children to work whose parents are unable to maintain them.

(2) To set adults to work who have no means of support in order that they may earn a livelihood.

(3) To raise weekly by taxation of every inhabitant and occupant of a holding, such sums as are necessary to:

(a) Obtain a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, and other necessaries for the employment of the poor.

(b) For the relief of the lame, impotent, blind, and others unable to work.

(c) For placing out poor children as apprentices.

(4) The overseers must hold meetings at least once a month and at the end of the year prepare a statement of their transactions.

2. The second section empowers the justices, where a parish cannot afford to bear the burden of its own poor, to levy a tax from other parishes in the same hundred or even in the same county. The justices can collect the tax and on neglect to pay, may imprison the defaulter in the county jail.

3. The third section authorizes the binding out as apprentices of boys until their twenty-fourth year and of girls until their twenty-first year or until marriage.

4. Section 4 deals with the establishment of workhouses.

5. Section 5 provides for appeals to the Court of Quarter Sessions against the tax levied.

6 Section 6 regulates legal responsibility for the maintenance of parents, grandchildren, and children.[1]

I have given the most important details of this Act because of its influence on subsequent legislation not only in England but in the colonies of America.[2] The essential features of this legislation of Elizabeth remained undisturbed in England until the great Reform Bill of 1834.[3]

DEVELOPMENT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES

The English colonists who settled the eastern part of what has now become the United States of America brought with them to these

[1] Aschrott & Preston-Thomas, *The English Poor Law System*, London, 1902, p. 7.

[2] Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa City, 1914, p. 5, Note 3.

[3] Aschrott & Preston-Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

colonies the institutions and laws prevailing in England. Hence in the early colonies the relief of the poor was based upon the English practice of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From the very first outdoor relief was practiced both by individuals, organizations, and the public poor authorities. In many of the eastern states even at the present time the laws covering the relief of the poor are almost identical with the Act known as the 43 Elizabeth. As the American settlers emigrated westward, they carried with them the laws and institutions of the parent colonies. Hence, since the relief of the poor is a subject to which very little careful thought has been given in this country, in most of our states the poor-relief legislation is antiquated.

In accordance with our political organization, the outdoor relief is given either by the county or the township officials, depending upon the unit of political organization. In New England for the most part, the unit of relief is the town, i. e., township. The original intention was, of course, that the report of the official dealing with poor relief should be made to the town meeting. With the development of the county as a political unit, this system lost its simplicity. In a state like Indiana, for example, the unit of relief is the township, but since the townships are component parts of the county, the township trustee reports to the county board. In a number of the Western states, the system is such as is found in Wisconsin, where the members of the board of supervisors, elected from the townships, are the overseers of the poor in their respective townships. The bills are paid by the county board. In Indiana originally the bills were paid out of the county treasury on authorization of the county board, but since 1897 the amount spent by each township trustee is taxed back to his township. In other states variations of these plans are made possible by statute. For example, in some of the states the board of supervisors, or county commissioners, is given authority to employ an overseer of the poor in certain of the larger centers of population, or, as in Wisconsin, to elect a poor commission of three members.

This diversity of policy, with the township trustee absolutely independent in the administration of poor relief in some cases, in others with the township trustee or the member of the board of supervisors reporting only to that body, and in other cases with a hired employee of the board of supervisors administering relief, has one unifying element. Except in the New England states the ultimate authority in the matter of poor relief is the county board of supervisors, who

are usually men of average intelligence in the community. On poor relief they probably take the attitude of most of their constituents. That attitude favors the relief of immediate necessities based quite largely upon the theory that, except in case of sickness or disaster, everyone should be self-supporting, and if he is not, there is something wrong with him which should be corrected by subjecting him to the pinch of poverty. Of course the county must not allow anyone to suffer extremely, but "poor folks have poor ways" so that it is enough to just keep them from starving to death. Orders are given by the trustee or supervisor without any careful investigation of the facts. Political influence can be exerted for the benefit of political henchmen. The modern conception of service is unknown. The result can well be imagined.

The theory on which outdoor relief is carried on in most of our states where it is authorized, is that it is emergency and temporary relief. When it is long continued, the theory is that it is granted only to those who are almost self-supporting. In most of our states there is no effective system of reports and only eight have careful supervision by any state agency of the outdoor relief of the counties. Sixteen of the states have no agency whatsoever for the supervision of poor relief. In four more supervision is by a county agency.[1]

EXTENT OF PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

Growing up as an emergency and temporary measure to relieve distress, outdoor relief has developed to huge proportions in both Britain and the United States.

In England and Wales in 1908, 534,797 persons were given out-relief. During that year the number of persons relieved in their homes represented 69.2 per cent of the number of persons assisted indoors and outdoors, and they constituted 1.5 per cent of the population of these countries. Since 1850 out-relief in England and Wales as compared with relief in institutions has been decreasing. In 1850, 88.5 per cent of the total number of paupers assisted were cared for in their homes, while in 1908 the number had decreased to 69.2 per cent. In these countries the policy seems to be away from relief in the home to relief in an institution.[2]

[1] *Summary of State Laws Relating to Dependent Classes,* Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1913, pp. 312-328.

[2] British Blue Book, *Public Health and Social Conditions,* London, 1909, p. 54

The cost of the relief of this army of over half a million of paupers in England and Wales in 1908 was £3,211,280 or approximately fifteen millions of dollars, as compared with an expense of £3,152,278 in 1856. While the per capita burden on the people was 3 shillings 3¾ pence in 1856, the cost had been decreased by 1908 to 1 shilling 10¼ pence per head.[1] The cost per pauper relieved had increased from 4 pounds 13 shillings in 1856 to 7 pounds 1 shilling in 1908.[2]

The cost of indoor relief per pauper in 1908 was 29 pounds 5 shillings as compared with 7 pounds 1 shilling for outdoor paupers.[3] Thus, in whatever way the matter is considered, the comparative expense per capita for the relief of outdoor paupers is less than for indoor paupers. However, outdoor relief is usually only partial.[4]

For the United States as a whole we have no figures, not even good estimates, as to the cost of outdoor relief of the poor. In some states the system does not exist. In many states in which the system exists there are no figures showing what it costs. If the figures published in the states which relieve the poor in the homes are a clue to the general situation the country over, then it follows that the total sum for the United States is an enormous one. Thus in Massachusetts in 1909, 8,541 persons were relieved in almshouses, while 32,444 were relieved in their homes. The expense for the relief of those in almshouses was $1,135,201, while for those assisted in their homes it was $1,083,824.[5] In 1918 this rose to a total of $2,505,258.26, besides the cost of administering the out-relief amounting to an additional sum of $326,139.94.[6]

In New York State in 1911, 65,406 residents were temporarily relieved outside of almshouses or other institutions at an expense of

[1] British Blue Book, *Public Health and Social Conditions,* London, 1909, p. 54.
[2] *Op. cit.,* p. 59.
[3] *Op. cit.,* p. 59.
[4] Sydney and Beatrice Webb are authority for the statement that the number actually relieved in 1910 by both indoor and outdoor relief in the Kingdom was over 2,000,000. *Prevention of Destitution,* London, 1912, p. 4.
[5] *Report of the Commission on the Cost of Living,* Boston, 1910, pp. 710-712. According to Dr. Brackett the number aided in 1914 was much larger. He says, "The total of public-outdoor relief in Massachusetts last year was estimated to be a million and fifty-four thousand dollars, the total of persons aided to be about 63,000. Many of these were children. The families receiving mothers' aid were less than a ninth of the total. The recent increases of public outdoor relief in Massachusetts and elsewhere have been due largely to hard times." Brackett, *National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1915, p. 449.
[6] *Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, 1918,* Boston, 1919, Part III, p. 92.

$849,652.28 in addition to 24,478 non-residents temporarily relieved at an expense of $16,693.58.[1]

During the year 1915 in Indiana the township overseers of the poor gave relief to 97,292 persons at an expense of $435,489.88. In 1919 a total of 47,709 persons were given out-relief in Indiana at an expense of $387,834.62.[2]

In 1914-1915, Illinois spent $1,500,000 for the out-relief of the poor of that state. In 1917 it spent $1,575,461 for the same purpose.[3]

In 1915 in Ohio outdoor relief by counties, municipalities and townships was given to 48,005 persons. The cost was $536,219.71.[4] In 1917 out-relief was given to 29,550 persons at an expense of $468,580.26.[5]

Mr. Henry T. Noyes, Jr., of Rochester, compiled figures covering the year 1908, of public outdoor relief in the following American cities:

City	Estimated Population, Jan. 1, 1909	Total Amount Expended	Per Capita
New York City	4,404,029	Nothing	$0.000
Philadelphia	1,505,475	Nothing	.000
St. Louis	681,214	Nothing	.000
Baltimore	572,918	A trifle by county	.000
Louisville	235,243	$3,051.64	.012
Kansas City, Mo. ...	190,392	2,500.00	.013
Portland, Ore.	119,332	2,301.35 by county	.019
Washington	320,199	9,094.61	.028
Minneapolis	304,440	9,540.42	.031
Indianapolis	239,115	10,206.02	.042
Providence	215,145	11,683.74	.054
Hartford	102,699	5,934.64	.057

[1] *Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York, 1911,* Albany, 1912, App. to Vol. I, pp. 189, 193.

[2] *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction,* September, 1915, p. 284; June, 1920, p. 148.

[3] *Illinois Institution Quarterly,* Mar. 31, 1916, p. 7; Sept., 1920, p. 89.

[4] From published sheet entitled *Annual Statistics of Non-State Benevolent and Correctional Agencies—Compiled by Ohio State Board of Charities,* 1915.

[5] *The Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Correction,* Columbus, Feb., 1919, p. 35.

City	Estimated Population, Jan. 1, 1909	Total Amount Expended	Per Capita
Newark	306,025	$19,612.85	$0.064
St. Paul	221,359	14,412.41	.065
Chicago	2,200,142	153,210.70	.069
Pittsburgh	553,706	45,269.23	.081
Cincinnati	350,421	30,960.53	.088
Milwaukee	330,569	32,050.83	.096
Buffalo	394,491	42,547.00	.107
Boston	620,096	69,552.17	.112
Denver	156,059	18,000.00	.115
Detroit	381,238	52,190.68	.136
Cleveland	500,464	76,148.25	.152
Springfield, Mass.	81,767	12,810.87	.156
Rochester	195,259	47,437.00	.242
Toledo	172,104	74,847.01	.434

"Recent reports have not been secured from New Orleans and Jersey City. Those cities reported in 1897 as follows:[1]

City	Estimated Population	Total Amount Expended	Per Capita
New Orleans	300,000	Trifling	$0.01
Jersey City	200,000	$6,000.00	.03"

These figures, while only indicative of the extent of public outdoor relief in the United States, suggest the extent of the pauperism which public authorities attempt to relieve in the homes of the destitute. The difficulty lies not only in the amount of money such relief costs, but in the fact that as administered it does not solve the problem. The number relieved and the cost is bound to increase until constructive efforts are made to cure the conditions that cause these people each year to fall into destitution.

PRESENT METHODS OF ADMINISTRATION OF OUTDOOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED STATES

Ordinarily the administration of outdoor relief in the United States is in the hands of county officials, but no exact uniformity prevails. In some states township, county, city and state officers give outdoor

[1] *The Survey*, July 30, 1910, p. 641.

relief. In addition, in many states, various special forms of public assistance is rendered by public officials, such as pensions to the blind, old soldiers' and sailors' relief, mothers' pensions, etc.

In Ohio, outdoor relief is given by the township trustees, county commissioners and city directors of public safety. There is also public aid to mothers of dependent children, given through the juvenile court. The county commissioners give aid to soldiers and sailors and their families.

In New York State, a slightly different system prevails. The relief is administered in some cases by township overseers of the poor and in others by the county superintendent, depending on the settlement of the applicant. Some townships have more than one overseer and others have only one. There is also a mothers' pension law administered by a special authority.

In Virginia a slightly different method is followed. In that state the relief is on the county basis, administered by overseers of the poor elected by the people. Some of the larger cities distribute aid through a committee of the city council called the committee on poor relief. In other cities this committee does not distribute the aid directly but makes appropriations for distribution through private organizations. In some of the smaller cities outdoor relief is distributed by the police or superintendent of the poor. The state each year distributes a considerable sum among destitute ex-Confederate soldiers and their dependents.

In Wisconsin, the original unit of administration of outdoor relief was the township. A county board of supervisors may, however, decide by vote to adopt the county basis for outdoor relief. In that case it may appoint three superintendents of outdoor relief who shall act for the county board. In neither of these plans is it provided that the administrator shall have any training or more than ordinary skill in actual practice. The superintendents on the county plan are usually political appointees or persons who have no other way of making a living. In addition there is provision for the relief of soldiers and sailors in their homes, pensions for the blind, and state aid to mothers of dependent children. That for soldiers and sailors is in the hands of a special commission, while "mothers' pensions" are administered by the Juvenile Court.

In Illinois, outdoor relief is given through the townships. In some counties, however, there is employed a supervisor of the poor for that purpose. In this state there is also a system of mothers' pensions

and a considerable number of the counties have taken advantage of the law permitting them to grant pensions for the blind.[1]

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST OUTDOOR RELIEF

The system of outdoor relief has been in debate ever since men began to question the propriety of indiscriminate giving. Here in America the discussion came to an issue after the formation of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, when the proponents and opponents of the system got together. The evils connected with this form of relief have long been recognized, and at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1879, Mr. Seth Low presented the results of the experience of Brooklyn. Under the system of outdoor relief, between 1872 and 1877, the number of beneficiaries increased 100 per cent; in the latter year one-sixteenth of the population was receiving outdoor relief. Mr. Low said that the investigation showed that the friends of politicians were the chief beneficiaries and the families of voters received priority in attention. Large numbers of the people were pauperized in this way, duplication of names being a common dodge by which paupers received help in abundance. He reported that one woman received help under nine different names. Many sold what they received above their necessities. The beneficence of Brooklyn attracted large numbers of men every autumn who lived through the winter at the expense of the city. In 1875 the commissioners of charity employed trained investigators to look into these cases. They discovered that it cost sixty cents to distribute every dollar's worth of food or fuel, or, in other words, that much of the city's money went to underlings connected with the work of distribution. In the next year the visiting system was abandoned on account of this large overhead expense and all applicants were compelled to take the oath that they were paupers. He reports that the results were indeed horrible. In 1876 and 1877 the State Charities Aid Association formed a group which set to work between two hundred and three hundred volunteer workers investigating the cases. These investigators found that many families were applying for relief, not because they needed it, but because they saw their neighbors who were no more destitute than they receiving relief. This committee recommended the abolition of outdoor relief.

[1] Most of these facts are from a paper read by Amos W. Butler, before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1915. See *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1915, pp. 439, 440.

While the commissioners did not accept this recommendation, in 1878 they discovered that the whole system was illegal under the constitution of the state, and outdoor relief was discontinued. It was expected that as a result the almshouses would be filled to overflowing. To the surprise of everyone this was not the case. Private organizations gradually undertook the work which the public officials could no longer do.

This experience seemed to make clear that public outdoor relief is unnecessary and wasteful. The opponents of the system claim to have demonstrated by this Brooklyn experience the soundness of their position. From that time until the present the debate has gone on.

Those in favor of public outdoor relief argue as follows:

1. Outdoor relief of the poor and their families is a natural and therefore a most philanthropic way to assist those in distress. Neighbors constantly help each other in time of need without danger of pauperization. Moreover, outdoor relief does not, like institutional relief, break up the family. Furthermore, the relief is not so conspicuous and therefore lacks the stigma of pauperism.

2. It is economical. They argue that it would be wasteful to break up a nearly self-supporting family and send the members to institutions where they would have to be entirely supported instead of giving them some little help and thus enabling them to retain their homes and in a short time be entirely independent. The argument was most forcibly stated by Mr. Sanborn in 1890, who quoted from the Massachusetts figures and showed that the average annual cost of each outdoor pauper in Massachusetts was $40, while of those in institutions it was $139, without counting the interest on the investment in the plant. Of course, this argument holds only if it be assumed that the policy of outdoor relief would not take care of any more paupers than institutional relief.

3. To depend upon private individuals or private organizations to meet the needs of those in distress, it is claimed, would not be adequate because private beneficence is more or less unreliable. Moreover, in times of special strain and therefore unusual need, these agencies will be quite inadequate to meet the situation. Furthermore, private agencies are quite likely to have clients of their own who will be favored at the expense of those who are not well known to the agency or the individual.

4. It is impossible to take care of all the paupers in institutions. Moreover, in the winter months there is demand for many more

institutions than in the summer, whereas under outdoor relief, the demand is automatically regulated by the need.

5. More careful consideration can be given to helping the family restore itself to independence by outdoor relief than by placing these families in institutions.

On the other hand, the opponents of the system are emphatic in declaring that the arguments for the system hold good only under ideal conditions which are never realized.

1. In reply to the argument that the relief of the poor in their homes is the neighborly and kindly way to help those in distress, it is contended that, except in the rural communities and small villages, public outdoor relief has ceased to be a neighborly function and is in the hands of administrative officials who perform their duties in a mechanical fashion, without knowledge of those for whom they write the orders, and with neither the force at their command, nor the wisdom to direct, had they the force, to investigate and give helpful service to those in distress. They also claim that government officials do not do well anything that cannot be made mechanical and a matter of routine, therefore the outdoor relief of the poor should not be in the hands of public officials.

2. It is only seemingly economical because it is so easy to get outdoor relief. Since the stigma is less, therefore under public outdoor relief there will be many more applicants than there would be for the poorhouse, and consequently, while it costs less for each family, the number of families having to be supported will be so much larger that the total cost to the relieving unit will be as great or greater than where public outdoor relief does not exist.

3. Political corruption is, it is claimed, an inevitable result of public outdoor relief. In most places there is no competent supervision; the result is that the outdoor poor relief fund becomes a political "slush" fund.

4. As it is conducted at present, it does not make for enlightened methods of relieving the poor. It is not constructive in its methods but rather it is demoralizing. It is not educational in so far as the public is concerned because it leads the people to believe that since they are paying taxes for the relief of the poor, and since certain persons are charged with the duty of relieving them, all is well. Therefore, the people complacently accept the methods of administration without question.

5. Public outdoor relief, especially when abundant, has tended to

depress wages. English experience under the administration of the English poor laws is cited in support.

TWO SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENTS IN PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF

The Hamburg-Elberfeld System of Outdoor Relief. The problem with which England was struggling in the Eighteenth Century was not peculiar to that country. The development of unsettled conditions, the growth of pauperism, and the necessity of dealing with it in some fashion more effective than hitherto became apparent all over Europe at about the same time. England worked out one method, a method which was tried also on the Continent with almost as indifferent results as in England. In 1765, however, a different method was devised in Hamburg, Germany. Hamburg was a large commercial city, having traded in many parts of the world for a long time. It was a cosmopolitan city and its commerce brought many to the city, some of whom sought work; others sought a living without work. Under the old system of relief thousands of individuals were receiving help from many different sources. Beggars increased and vagrancy had become a problem of enormous proportions. A society was formed in Hamburg in 1765 the chief aim of which was to promote a better system of city government. As a part of the plan, Professor Büsch presented a novel proposal for the care of the poor. This was finally adopted. The fundamental feature of the scheme was a central bureau having charge of the relief of the poor. The city was divided into districts, with an overseer over each district. The avowed purpose of the system was to assist the helpless to help themselves, employment being supplied when the needy could not find it for themselves. The giving of alms at the door was forbidden and an industrial school for the training of poor people was organized. Hospitals were provided for the care of the sick. The attempt was made to establish a coördinated system of all the institutions dealing with dependents to secure not only the relief of distress, but to rehabilitate the dependent and to prevent the occurrence of pauperism. The attempt was made either to drive out the paupers or force them to work. It also attempted to educate the children and prepare them for making a livelihood as well as to relieve their immediate needs. It attempted also to repress begging upon the streets. So successful was the system that it wrought a revolution in methods of poor relief.

After 13 years of successful management, the system suffered a decline This decline was due in part to the fact that the system had

not kept pace with the growth of the city. The boundaries of the old districts were not changed and the number of visitors were not increased. Consequently, a single visitor as a rule had from 20 to 30 cases to handle, in some districts the number running as high as 40 to 50, and in a few even as high as 70 or 80. It became impossible for a person who had a business or profession, to give that many persons or families sufficient attention to make the system work efficiently. Consequently, these visitors did what our outdoor poor relief officials in America do, limited their activities to receiving applications for assistance and making more or less careful investigation only at the time of granting aid for the first time. The consequence was that a large number of people continued to receive aid who no longer needed it, and therefore were pauperized.

Again, the records and reports were not collected at a central office and consequently the chronic paupers soon learned to move from one district to another. It also resulted in different standards and methods of giving relief in the various districts. There was carelessness and lack of business control with the result that money was often squandered on people who did not need it, while needy persons hesitant to press their claims were neglected.

The idea at the bottom of the Hamburg System was not fruitless, however. It was copied with modifications in Elberfeld, a smaller German city, in 1852. The evils of the old Hamburg system were eliminated, and the details of administration perfected. The system has therefore become known as the Hamburg-Elberfeld System.[1]

The Elberfeld system may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The city was divided into 564 sections; within the confines of each section were included about 300 people among whom there were not more than four paupers.

2. Over each of these sections was placed an almoner (Armenpfleger). He was the chief agent of poor relief. He was the official with whom each needy person came in contact. The needy of his section applied to him for relief. Moreover, it was his duty to visit the people in his section frequently and keep himself informed as to their circumstances. Over them he was supposed to exert an educational and helpful influence. He was to be their friend and adviser and to insist on discipline and order in the district. It was he who discovered lazy persons and reported them to the authorities for prose-

[1] Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, New York, 1904, pp. 9 and 10. Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1915, pp. 465, 466.

cution. He himself gave the relief after he was convinced that it should be given. This relief was according to a minimum standard set by law. Any income which the family had was deducted from the minimum and the balance provided by the almoner. He not only supplied relief, but secured employment for the unemployed, medical help for the sick, gave advice to the improvident and dissipated and kept in close touch with the families to whom he had given relief, visiting them at least once in two weeks. He loaned sewing machines and tools belonging to the municipality in order to enable people to support themselves.

The almoners were appointed for three years and service was made compulsory on pain of the loss of franchise from three to six years and of having their taxes increased. Moreover, the service as almoner was a stepping-stone to political preferment in the city. These almoners usually served for a considerable number of years. For example, among 600 appointed not long ago, one had served 49 years, 19 over 30 years, 81 over 20 years, and 268 over 10 years. The almoner in the original Hamburg-Elberfeld system was unpaid. In some of the cities in which the system has been adopted some of them are paid.

3. Fourteen of these sections were organized into a district and the almoners from these 14 sections were presided over by an overseer or superintendent (Vorsteher), whose business it was to preside at the fortnightly meetings of the almoners. At these meetings reports of the activities of the almoners were considered and a minute book of their activities was prepared for the inspection of the central committee of nine.

4. At the head of the whole system of poor relief, having charge not only of these officials dealing with outdoor relief, but of the hospitals, almshouses, and correctional institutions in the city also, was the central committee of nine just referred to. This central committee met fortnightly on the evening following the meeting of the almoners.

The essential principles of this system which explain its success are as follows:

1. The small number of dependents under the care of each almoner.
2. The high degree of centralization in the administration of relief.
3. Long continuance of the volunteer almoner in office, thus securing expert service through experience and training.
4. The emphasis upon prevention and the rehabilitation of the pauper.

5. The control of all the agencies, both institutional and outdoor, for the care of the needy under one central committee.

6. Frequent meetings for conference and training of those in charge of relief.

Indiana System of Outdoor Relief. An example in the United States shows that even under our system of local government it is possible to improve public outdoor relief. In 1895 Indiana had as bad a situation as perhaps any state in the country. In that year, under the unsupervised plan of relief by township trustees, the state spent $630,168.79. No records were kept to show who was helped and what were the circumstances of the need. In that year, at the suggestion of the Board of State Charities, a law was passed which greatly changed matters. The trustees, as overseers of the poor, were required to file with their respective boards of county commissioners reports which must contain certain information concerning every family and person aided, a duplicate of which must be sent to the Board of State Charities. Thus, supervision was provided at the hands of a state board. Two years later, another law was passed requiring each trustee to levy a tax against the property of his township to cover the cost of poor relief which he had granted to persons within the township. This supplied the check of his own constituents upon his expenditures. Such check was lacking when the funds were drawn out of the general funds of the county instead of being made a distinct charge upon that particular township. Two years later a law was passed applying the principles which had been worked out by charity organization societies to the relief of the township poor in their homes. Except in emergencies an investigation must be made in every case before a family was given relief. The results of this investigation must be transmitted to the state board, as well as to the Board of County Commissioners. The township trustee must secure the help of friends and relatives of the poor wherever that was possible. The giving of transportation to anyone except sick, aged, injured, or crippled, and then only in the direction of his legal residence, was forbidden unless he was able to show that he could be cared for elsewhere. Township trustees are required to coöperate with existing relief societies. The trustees must secure the consent of the county commissioners if more than $15 is required in ordinary cases of relief. This is exclusive of aid on account of sickness, burials, and school books.

It is evident that this system was not revolutionary. It left the immediate administration of outdoor relief in the hands of the town-

ship trustees. The immediate supervision remained in the hands of the county commissioners. It did only three things:

1. It made the trustees responsible to their constituents for what they spent on the poor.

2. It required investigation before giving relief and frequently before further relief could be extended.

3. It required reports to a state board, and thus gave that board the opportunity to educate gradually the township trustees to their important task.

It is not a system of trained experts; nevertheless in Indiana it seems to work well. It leaves much to be desired from the standpoint of expert service, but it is by far the best system of public outdoor relief in the United States as applied to a whole state.

PRINCIPLES TO BE OBSERVED IN OUTDOOR RELIEF

1. In small rural communities outdoor relief may be safely left to private benevolence and the public overseers of the poor like township trustees or county supervisors, provided that there is careful supervision by an efficient state board. This plan, however, does not provide for more than the prevention of pauperization.

2. In communities in which the public poor official does not know each individual to whom he ministers, administration of poor relief in the homes should be in the hands of trained officials. By trained officials it is to be understood that this does not necessarily mean people from outside the community, but persons who have had training in the scientific administration of relief. This principle is necessary by reason of the fact that mere relief does not solve the problem. In many cases it only aggravates it.

Says Professor Henderson: "So long as one holds to the principle of individualization he will concede that outdoor relief, with well-qualified helpers and visitors, gives the greater assurance of careful investigation and continued surveillance of the environment of dependents, and of their rapid return to normal economic conditions. The advantages are these: It is possible to find out exactly what the condition of the dependent has been previously, to get a knowledge of his character and the life he is leading, to look into his home surroundings and to ascertain the state of health, education, etc., of himself and his family. Furthermore, it is much easier to decide whether aid shall be given in the form of money or of provisions, by the securing of work, or by intervening with some private charity. True, the

frail and the sick must still be cared for by indoor relief, but not in the workhouse. The principle of individualization makes it possible, also, to separate the family and legally to prosecute the criminal or drinking husband, while at the same time the innocent family is supported. Under circumstances recourse may then be had to the workhouse. This should be done only in exceptional cases; but then this method should be applied with the utmost rigor and severity, every other form of aid being denied." [1]

3. Wherever skilled social agencies exist, coöperation with these must be close and cordial. In this way the public outdoor relief will take on the characteristics of the best private organizations. Instead of being merely a relief agency, the public authority will occupy himself primarily with constructive service to rehabilitate the dependent and with the removal of the conditions that cause poverty and pauperism.

4. In every case reports should be made to a state board having supervision, as to the number relieved and the amount spent. If local relief is in the hands of untrained persons, detailed reports on methods employed should be made to the state board. Such reports, however, can be no substitution for trained administration.

5. There should be a county board of charities which, so far as outdoor relief is concerned, should act as a case committee to which every case should be reported and to which all difficult cases should be referred for decision.

6. With trained persons in charge of outdoor relief, boards of volunteer visitors should be organized and used for the rehabilitation of dependent families and for the educational effect upon the public. There is available in every community untouched resources of goodwill and common sense, in persons who can be used for the constructive and preventive work which the trained person will not have time to carry out.

7. Service, not merely relief, should be the ideal in public outdoor relief as it is in the best charity organization societies. No progress in the redemption of public outdoor relief from its present low estate can be expected unless the constructive methods wrought out in the experience of private charity societies are adopted and consistently followed.

8. Coöperation with all other agencies in the community which can contribute to the solution of the problem of destitution must be eagerly

[1] Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity*, New York, 1904, pp. 16, 17.

and cordially sought. The forces of good-will in any community must not fight their battles alone. They must coöperate.

9. Out-relief cases should be visited, except those cases which are chronic, at least every month, and preferably every two weeks, in order to ascertain whether need any longer exists, whether relief is adequate, and also to learn what services are necessary to restore the dependent to self-support.

10. Frequent inspection of the work of the local relief officials by representatives of the state board will be necessary if the local work is in the hands of untrained workers.

11. The state board of supervision, whatever its name, should hold frequent conferences of local relief officials and influential citizens to train them in the ideals and methods of effective service in the relief of the poor.

12. State universities and colleges should coöperate with state boards and boards of county charities by providing courses for the training of relief officials. State agricultural colleges have found it possible to be of great assistance to the farmers and farmers' wives by their short courses. There is no reason why departments of sociology should not organize and carry out in a similar way short courses for the public relief officials. Extension Divisions of universities, wherever they exist, might well carry such course out to communities throughout the state.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Sketch of the History of the English Poor Law. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* Art. "Poor Laws." Devine, *Principles of Relief,* New York, 1904, pp. 269-278.
2. Outdoor Relief in Missouri. Warfield and Riley, *Outdoor Relief in Missouri,* New York, 1915.
3. Outdoor Relief in Pennsylvania. Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682-1913,* Cleona, Pa., pp. 180, 194, 195.
4. Outdoor Relief in Iowa. Gillin, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa,* Iowa City, 1914. See Index, "Outdoor Relief" and "Out-Relief."
5. The Mediæval Gilds and Charity. Ashley, *Economic History,* New York, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 76, 90.

CHAPTER XIII

THE POORHOUSE

THE poorhouse, as we have seen, is not the original method by which the public undertook to take care of the dependent. In English and American experience, however, the poorhouse has come to be the ultimate reliance for the public support of the completely destitute.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POORHOUSE

The Church and Institutions for the Destitute. There were no poorhouses in the first three centuries of the history of the church. All assistance was given to people in their homes or upon the streets.

Following the conversion of Constantine, institutions for the care of children, and strangers, and hospitals, caring not only for the sick but for the needy as well, were founded. Says Lecky: "When the victory of Christianity was achieved, the enthusiasm for charity displayed itself in the erection of numerous institutions that were altogether unknown to the pagan world. A Roman lady, named Fabiola, in the fourth century, founded at Rome, as an act of penance, the first public hospital, and the charity planted by that woman's hand overspread the world, and will alleviate, to the end of time, the darkest anguish of humanity. Another hospital was soon after founded by St. Pammachus; another of great celebrity by St. Basil, at Cæsarea. St. Basil also erected at Cæsarea what was probably the first asylum for lepers. Xenodochia, or refuges for strangers, speedily rose, especially along the paths of the pilgrims. St. Pammachus founded one at Ostia; Paula and Melania founded others at Jerusalem. The Council of Nice ordered that one should be erected in every city."[1] Hospitals and asylums for the blind were founded by the early Christian monks: "Even the early Oriental monks, who, for the most part, were extremely removed from the active and social virtues, supplied many noble examples of charity. St. Ephrem, in a time of pestilence, emerged from his solitude to found and superintend a hospital at Edessa. A

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 80.

monk named Thalasius collected blind beggars in an asylum on the banks of the Euphrates." [1]

With the spread of leprosy throughout Europe, hospitals and refuges for lepers were provided by the church and manned by the monks. "As time rolled on, charity assumed many forms, and every monastery became a center from which it radiated. . . . When the hideous disease of leprosy extended its ravages over Europe, when the minds of men were filled with terror, not only by its loathsomeness and its contagion, but also by the notion that it was in a peculiar sense supernatural, new hospitals and refuges overspread Europe, and monks flocked in multitudes to serve them." [2]

Moreover, the monasteries often served as indoor resorts for the poor. "Many of them [the monks], whose revenues were sufficient thereunto, made hospitals and lodgings within their own houses, wherein they kept a number of impotent persons with all necessaries for them, with persons to attend upon them, besides the great alms they gave daily at their gates to *everyone* that came for it." [3]

There was, however, another class of institutions for the relief of distress, which followed a more excellent way than the monasteries, and might seem to be free from the evils which resulted from their careless methods. These were the hospitals. The medieval hospitals were not only institutions for the care of the sick, but naturally developed into refuges for the destitute and so became the precursors of the poorhouses of later times. They have been singularly neglected by modern historians, misled by the later association of the name exclusively with the care of the sick. But the hospitals of the Middle Ages were foundations not only for the reception of the sick, but also for the sheltering of destitute and enfeebled old age. To use modern language, they were both hospitals and almshouses.

"Institutions of this character, of every degree of magnitude, from the small cottage under one priest to the wealthy establishment rivaling in magnificence a great monastery, were scattered in hundreds all over Western Europe. There were at least 460 foundations in England; in York alone there were as many as 16 at the time of the Reformation. They were, in truth, the characteristic form of medieval charity; . . ." [4]

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 80, 81.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 84.
[3] Anonymous writer about 1591 quoted by Ashley, *Economic History*, New York and London, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 314, 315.
[4] Ashley, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-319.

In France, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, those which survived fell into the hands of the burgesses of the several towns. A statute, quoted by Ashley, says: "Many hospitals, founded as well by the noble kings of this realm, and lords and ladies, both spiritual and temporal, as well as by others of diverse estates, . . . to the which hospitals the same founders have given largely of their movable goods for the buildings of the same, and largely also of their lands and tenements wherewith to sustain old men and women, lazars, men and women out of their senses and memories, poor women with child, and other poor persons, and there to relieve, nourish, and refresh them . . ." [1]

Such of these as were doing good work were spared at the dissolution and handed over in England to the municipal authorities.[2] ". . . Many of the hospitals and almshouses still survived to perform their old functions, although they no longer distributed doles to outsiders. In London, for instance, the great hospitals were all utilized. Early in 1547, Henry VIII granted to the mayor and citizens of London the Hospitals of St. Bartholomew and of Bethlehem, together with a portion of their endowments, largely, as it would appear, at the prompting of Ridley. . . . In 1551 he [King Edward] bestowed upon the city the Hospital of S. Thomas with a portion of its endowments; to which he added, in 1553, the royal mansion house of Bridewell." [3]

Gray Friars, renamed Christ's Hospital, in London was devoted to the care and education of poor children, that of S. Thomas to the impotent poor, and the Bridewell to the vagabond and idle strumpet where they were compelled to work.[4]

In 1569 all the poor of London were to be taken off the streets and disposed of in the four hospitals of London.

A similar use of already existing institutions was attempted in other towns of England.[5]

Craft and Religious Associations and the Poorhouse. Moreover, the various craft associations in England also furnished lodging for destitute members. At first this was the practice only of the religious guilds, but later was adopted by the industrial guilds as well.

"Accordingly, the various associations began to provide lodging for

[1] Ashley, *Economic History*, Vol. II p. 320.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 323.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 363.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

destitute members; and from hiring a couple of cottages they proceeded, with the help of legacies for the purpose, to erect almshouses with accommodation for a dozen or more members." [1]

"Beginning, probably, with the religious guilds, the practice of maintaining almshouses spread to the crafts. During the course of the fifteenth century all the more important companies in London erected such establishments. . . . Hospitals had been the characteristic form of poor relief in the fourteenth century; in the fifteenth they survive only on the benefactions of the past, and the stream of charity takes the direction of the foundation of almshouses—either unconnected with any other corporate body, such as those founded by Whittington, or, more usually, as we have seen, under the control of a wealthy religious guild or of some powerful company." [2]

"The church-house or guild-hall often became the parish workhouse." [3]

Local Authorities and the Poorhouse. In 1547 England passed legislation which laid the responsibility of providing poorhouses upon the local authorities. Says Ashley: "In 1547 it was enacted that the local authorities should provide 'tenantries, cottages, and other convenient houses' for the lodging of the impotent." [4]

In 1572 the justices were authorized to make direct assessment, and appointed overseers of the poor to take charge of poor relief.[5] Thus, the support of the poorhouses as well as of the outdoor relief, became a public burden rather than a responsibility to be met by voluntary contributions.

This system of compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor had been introduced in Paris some twenty-eight years before and over the whole of France four years before its enactment in England.[6]

Charitable Individuals and the Development of the Almshouse. Moreover, in the days of Elizabeth, many private individuals established almshouses. Says Ashley, "As everyone knows who has explored the out-of-the-way corners of the older English towns, the foundation of almshouses was a favorite form of charity in the Elizabethan age, from the couple of little houses built by a wealthy citi-

[1] Ashley, *Economic History,* Vol. II, p. 325.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 326.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 328.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 359; Leonard, *English Poor Relief,* p. 57.
[5] Ashley, *op. cit.,* p. 360.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 360.

zen, up to the 'Hospital or Measondieu' established by a great nobleman like the Earl of Leicester." [1]

The first public almshouse established under the authorization of national legislation in England was established in the reign of Elizabeth.

Thus, developing out of the medieval hospitals, out of the lodgings provided for destitute members of the various guilds, and from private benefactions establishing houses for the poor, there finally grew up the public almshouse among the national institutions of England.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POORHOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES

Like most of our early institutions, the poorhouse as an institution in this country was inherited from England.[2] "The early poorhouse laws of America were borrowed from England, the chief features being copied from the great act of Elizabeth (43 Eliz., c. 2) and from later English acts. The English idea of a workhouse, however, was adopted in America later than the period when the laws were made upon which the legislators of Iowa drew for models." [3] This law came to Iowa from England by way of Ohio, which state had borrowed it from Pennsylvania.[4] Philadelphia had the first almshouse in America.[5] The institution gradually spread to most of the original colonies, except those in the South. For a long time it was the one public institution for the care of the poor, there being no public outdoor relief.

In the development of the institution in the United States, two systems arose—the town system in New England, and the county system in Virginia [6]—spreading thence to other colonies and to the states of the Union as they were carved out of the undeveloped wilderness. These two systems of almshouses have competed with each other through the years since the institutions were established in the colonies in this country. While some of the states of the East still have township poorhouses, most of the states of the West have only county institutions.

With the growth of population and the development of the West, the early territories and states of the West usually improvised an alms-

[1] Ashley, *op. cit.*, p. 364.
[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 438.
[3] Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, Iowa City, 1914, p. 157.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[5] Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania*, 1682 1913, p. 65.
[6] *New York State Report of the Commission on Relief for Widowed Mothers*, Albany, 1914, p. 111.

house when one became necessary. Many of these early territories borrowed their laws, including the laws on poor relief, from the older colonies and states. Consequently, in many cases the law provided for poorhouses long before need really existed.[1] When the community became conscious of the need for some place in which to care for the destitute poor who had no one on whom they could depend, they usually bought a farm and remodeled an old farm house, adapting it to the care of the few old people and other helpless persons in the community.

In many states, instead of buying a farm and remodeling a farm house, the care of the poor was let to the lowest bidder, or, as the statutes authorizing this method of caring for the poor put it, "to the lowest and best bidder."

In other cases, when the number of paupers was not large or the county did not feel that it could pay the salary of a superintendent, the custom has grown up of leasing the poor farm and house and the care of the paupers to the lowest bidder. In a recent investigation made of the poorhouses in Missouri by Professor Ellwood, one-half of them were still under this system.

With the development of the country and the increase of population there has grown up almost everywhere, either on the county farm or upon a plot of ground near a large city, such an institution. This institution now is usually not merely a remodeled farm house, but is built for the special purpose of caring for the poor of the county. Very frequently it is architecturally a credit to the county. It is usually built perfectly symmetrical, the two wings being equal in size, in spite of the fact that there are usually not more than half as many female as male paupers. It is an institution to which the county board as well as the inhabitants of the county can "point with pride." Many times, because of this symmetry, it is impossible to house the male paupers properly without overcrowding, while the wing of the institution for females is not half filled.

Furthermore, the institutional type provides in a very inadequate way for the classification of the inmates of the poorhouse, and thus prevents that attention to the treatment of the paupers which a humane institution should give.

As a result of considerable attention given the last few years to the pauper of the almshouse, the tendency has appeared to modify the institutional system in the direction of the cottage type of buildings

[1] Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, p. 63.

Thus, the almshouse of the District of Columbia, at Washington, D. C., and that of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, two of the most up-to-date institutions of their character in the country, are both built with detached wings or buildings for the more careful classification of the inmates and individualization of treatment. In the cottage system, as this is called, it is possible to separate old couples from the other paupers and give them rooms by themselves, in some cases allowing them to keep their own furniture and little knick-knacks which have very dear associations.

Again, the less tractable paupers can be segregated in a cottage or wing and thus discipline becomes a simpler problem. Also the sick and the tuberculous and other classes of inmates for whom special treatment must be provided can be given special attention.

THE PLACE OF THE POORHOUSE IN THE POOR RELIEF SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES

The poorhouse is the one institution in America which is universally provided for the care of those who have no other resort. While outdoor relief preceded it in development, and even at the present time ministers to a great many more individuals, the poorhouse is the one refuge which cannot be denied to the destitute.

On January 1, 1910, there were 84,198 inmates in the poorhouses of this country.[1]

Not all the counties in the states which have authorized poorhouses possess them. For example, Ellwood reports that, in 1903, 21 counties of Missouri had no almshouses, but boarded out their paupers with the farmers.[2] In an investigation of the almshouses of Iowa by the author in 1911, all of the 99 counties of that state had almshouses except four, one leasing out the care of the poor by contract, and two of the remaining three boarding out their paupers.[3]

According to the Bureau of the Census, all of the states but New Mexico provide in the law for poorhouses, either by the county or the town.[4] But Ellwood says: "Over half of the counties in the United States have no public poorhouse at all, but care for their paupers through outdoor relief or by boarding them out with farmers, as we noted above. Nearly one-half of the states, moreover, provide in their

[1] Bureau of the Census, Special Report: *Paupers in Almshouses,* 1913, p. 16.
[2] Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri,* 1904, p. 4.
[3] *Report of the Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 41.
[4] *Summary of the State Laws Relating to the Dependent Classes,* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 322-328.

statutes that the care of the poorhouse and its inmates may be let out by contract to the lowest responsible bidder; and in two states this is even compulsory."[1]

THE CHARACTER OF THE INMATES OF THE POORHOUSES IN THE UNITED STATES

The inmates of the poorhouses have been classified by the Census for purposes of study as to age, sex, nativity, marital condition, lying-in cases, women who have had children, defectives, literacy, occupation, capability of work, and length of stay.

1. **Age.** In 1910 about one-third of the inmates were under 55 years of age, one-third were 55 to 69, and one-third were over 70 years of age. In the population of the whole United States one out of 60 of those 80 years of age or over are in the almshouse.

2. **Sex.** Twice as many males as females are to be found in almshouses. This, in part, is due to the tendency to care for females in other institutions, such as Old Folks' Homes. It is also due to the greater possibility of old women getting a place in a family.

3. **Nativity.** Four times as many foreign-born as native-born whites are in the poorhouses. One can easily understand that this is a natural condition when it is recalled that large numbers of immigrants have come to this country poor in the hope of bettering their economic condition, and have failed in the competitive struggle in a strange land with an unknown tongue and foreign customs.

4. **Marital Condition.** A much larger proportion of the single than married people are to be found in the poorhouses. Of males in almshouses in 1910, 53.8 per cent were single, 13.4 per cent married, and 29.1 per cent widowed. Of females, 42.8 per cent were single, 14.4 per cent married, and 39.6 per cent widowed. As the Census report states: "Pauperism is, to some degree at least, associated with the lack of normal family life."[2]

5. **Lying-in Cases in Almshouses.** In the Census Report of 1910, 1,185 lying-in cases were found in the almshouses. Nearly half of these cases were single women, while a majority of the children born in almshouses were illegitimate.[3] In a great many cases, these women were feeble-minded. This condition is not peculiar to America.

[1] Ellwood, in *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, p. 916. Evidently since Ellwood wrote this compulsory feature had been changed in one of these states.

[2] Bureau of the Census, Special Report: *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1910, p. 31.

[3] Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Say the Webbs concerning Great Britain: "It is not generally known that some 15,000 babies are born in the workhouse every year. To the feeble-minded woman, or to the woman who is mentally and morally degenerate without being actually imbecile, the Poor Law offers free and unconditional medical assistance at the time of her confinement. Thousands of these 'unfit' mothers treat the local workhouse or Poor Law infirmary simply as a free maternity hospital." [1]

6. What Proportion of the Almshouse Women have had Children? Surprising as it may seem at first glance, the proporton of women in almshouses who have had children is much smaller than of the women in the general population. Since these are quite largely of an advanced age, the fact that they have not had children may account in part for their being there. Had they had legitimate children, probably most of them would have been kept out of the institution.

7. Defectives. 63.7 per cent of the inmates in the almshouses of the United States in 1910 had some physical or mental defect. One-third of the inmates were aged and infirm. The crippled, maimed, or deformed and feeble-minded furnished about one-half of the defective paupers. Over 6,200 children were borne by feeble-minded paupers in almshouses in the United States in 1910. At least 27.5 per cent of the children in almshouses in 1910 were of illegitimate origin.

Fifty-seven per cent of the inmates of the Missouri poorhouses in 1904 were mental defectives, being either insane, feeble-minded or epileptics.[2]

In Iowa, in 1911, 52.7 per cent of the inmates of almshouses were of classes of dependents who should not have been in such institutions, 47.5 per cent of them being insane, feeble-minded, or epileptics.[3]

8. Illiteracy. 33.8 per cent of the inmates of the poorhouses of the United States in 1910 were illiterate, while in the general population the proportion was but 7.7 per cent.

9. Occupation. Most of the inmates of the poorhouses of the United States in 1910 had come from the ranks of unskilled laborers. Eighty per cent of the females in almshouses had been domestics, while in the general population of gainfully employed women, domestics constituted only 31.3 per cent. These figures simply mean that

[1] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Prevention of Destitution*, p. 53.
[2] Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri*, 1904, p. 8.
[3] Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Report of the State Conference of Charities and Correction of Iowa*, 1911, p. 43.

the domestic who does not marry usually has no one to care for her in her old age except the public.

10. Capability of Work. Only 15.4 per cent of the inmates of the almshouses in 1910 were able-bodied, and but 40.5 per cent were able to do any work at all. The former were chiefly able-bodied women who were destitute, but some able-bodied men were in the almshouse who should not have been there.

11. Length of Stay. The almshouse is used for a temporary shelter by large numbers and as a permanent home by a small proportion. In 1910, 30.5 per cent of the almshouse population had been in the institution less than a year.[1]

From this brief survey of the character of the almshouse population it is apparent that it is constituted of the most hopeless classes of the dependent. They are those, who, by reason of abnormal circumstances in life, have not had children or other relatives upon whom they could depend for support in their old age, or they are women who had served as domestics, and therefore had either been maltreated, with the consequence that they fled to the poorhouse as the only lying-in hospital open to them, or they are old people to whom the poorhouse is the last resort. The rest were the feeble-minded, unable to endure the "buffetings of outrageous fortune" or else foreign-born in a strange land, without natural supporters or friends.

THE SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF THE POORHOUSE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR CAUSES

The almshouse has occupied an important, though not a highly respected, place among the institutions of our country. Growing out of the demand that the unsuccessful, whatever their character, should be cared for, it has served the useful but inadequate purpose of keeping the poorest from starvation.

Conditions of Success. This institution was a comparative success when the country was thinly populated, and the number of inmates was very small. The inmates under such conditions were really members of the keeper's family. Moreover, they were usually unfortunate creatures who were not particularly disreputable and could be comparatively easily managed. That condition, however, soon passed away in the development of our country and the inmates became increasingly defective and diseased.

[1] For further discussion of these statistics see *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1916, Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1915, pp. 17-43.

It has also proved to be quite successful when the numbers have become large enough to require a large institution which has challenged the thoughtful attention of the community. The management, then, has become more intelligent; more careful attention has been given to the care of the inmates, larger salaries have been paid the superintendents, and the latter have been skilful enough to provide careful classification within the institution by means of separate wards and separate cottages, and have aimed to make it a real home with living interests. In the case of a large population usually other institutions are to be found for the care of special classes like the feeble-minded, vagrants, and prostitutes who in a smaller community would have been kept in the poorhouse.

Elements of Failure. In spite of the few almshouses that have been successful under the two sets of conditions just named, it must be said that the largest number of the poorhouses in our country have been a disgrace to our civilization. They have miserably failed to do anything more than to give the merest creature comforts to the inmates. Why has it failed to be the constructive institution that an awakened social conscience demands?

1. Because it is usually a catch-all institution. With all classes of people coming into it, classification is very difficult in a small institution; discipline is next to impossible, and a home-like atmosphere out of the question. It fails of being a home for the aged and infirm and, because of the disreputable classes admitted to it, many respectable dependents would rather die than go to such a place. As long ago as 1879, Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell called the attention of the National Conference of Charities and Correction to the burden which the unrestrained liberty in almshouses of vagrant and degraded women put upon the taxpayers. She says: "One of the most important and most dangerous causes of the increase in crime, pauperism and insanity is the unrestrained liberty allowed to vagrant and degraded women." After citing a number of cases of women of this kind in the New York State almshouses, she said, "These women and their children, and hundreds more like them, costing the hard-working inhabitants of the State annually thousands of dollars for their maintenance, corrupting those who are thrown into companionship with them, and sowing disease and death among the people, are the direct outcome of our system." [1]

Moreover, much of the hatred of the poorhouse arises from the

[1] Quoted in Johnson, *The Almshouse*, App. XV.

poor food, badly cooked, the institution smell from lack of cleanliness in the floors and walls of the building or the clothing and the persons of the inmates.

The sick often are neglected, the visits of the doctor being very infrequent, or only on call; no nursing by skilled nurses, only by patients or by the matron or the superintendent or unskilled attendants.

So long as the inmates are of all classes of dependents, including debauched individuals and criminals of a petty class, the self-respecting will feel that they are disgraced by being placed among them. All classes which are not infirm or aged should be excluded.

Even with only those admitted who are aged or infirm often inmates are not properly classified within the institution; hence, the inmates are not happy because they are forced to associate with those who are not congenial. "A few years ago, almost everywhere, inmates of almshouses were, and in too many places they still are, a very heterogeneous mass, representing almost every kind of human distress. Old veterans of labor, worn out by many years of unrequited toil, alongside of worn-out veterans of dissipation, the victims of their own vices; the crippled and the sick; the insane; the blind; deaf mutes; feeble-minded and epileptic; people with all kinds of chronic diseases; unmarried mothers with their babies; short-term prisoners; thieves, no longer physically capable of crime; worn-out prostitutes, etc.; and, along with all these, little orphaned or deserted children, and a few people of better birth and breeding reduced to poverty in old age by some financial disaster, often through no fault of their own." [1]

2. Because as a county institution it is usually a small institution. Since it is small, a skilled manager is too expensive, the buildings are often inadequate, it is neglected by both the county supervisors and the public, and classification of the inmates is impracticable.

"The most fundamental of these classifications is that of sex. The two sexes should of course be absolutely separated from each other in the almshouse, save only in the case of aged married couples. . . . It is not too much to say that classification does not exist in the majority of Missouri's almshouses; but in all save a few it is very imperfectly developed. In 14 of the 90 reporting, there is no classification at all—not even separation of the sexes. In the remaining there is separation of the sexes, but in many instances it is to be feared that this separation is not very strict." [2]

[1] Johnson, *The Almshouse*, New York, 1901, p. 57.
[2] Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri*, 1904, p. 19.

In 1904 Ellwood found that "Of the 35 counties which pay their superintendents fixed salaries, only 8 pay salaries higher than $600, and 4 out of these are urban counties; 20 counties pay their superintendents salaries varying from $400 to $600, inclusive; 5 counties pay under $400; and 2 do not report the amount." [1]

In 1911 I found in Iowa that "The salaries of stewards of 89 of these county homes amount to $77,354.27, an average of $869.15 for each county. They range from $150 for Humboldt County to $1,500 a year in Linn County." [2]

3. Because conditions of admission and discharge are very lax in most states, unsuitable people are admitted. Inmates can stay as long as they wish and then discharge themselves and return, often with vicious results. These are what are known in the English workhouses as "ins and outs."

"The woman about to become a mother makes a strong appeal to our sympathy, especially if she is one on whom the burden of her own support, as well as that of her prospective child, is laid. All country almshouses, and many in the cities, frequently admit cases of this kind. The best method of dealing with the unmarried mother and her babe should, therefore, be studied. Too often the woman comes in pregnant, bears the child, and goes out again as soon as she can walk, sometimes taking the baby and sometimes leaving it behind.

"The inadequacy of the legal control of such cases is one of the many weak places in our system of public relief and reformation. Under the usual present arrangements, the almshouse, as a maternity hospital, is certainly more of an encouragement to immorality than a deterring influence." [3]

4. Because in most of the institutions no work test is possible for the winter time, that period brings to the poorhouse its largest number of inmates. Therefore, the vagrants gather to the poorhouse, where they can spend the winter in warmth and with enough to eat until summer comes round, allowing them to renew their journeys.

5. Because the poorhouse is usually located too far from the center of population; hence it is neglected often by the Board and even more by the public. Consequently, evil conditions can grow up without the public being conscious of the conditions. A most monotonous life will result because the charitable people of the center of popula-

[1] Ellwood, *Condition of the County Almshouses of Missouri*, 1904, p. 18.
[2] *Report of Iowa Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 43, 44.
[3] Johnson, *The Almshouse*, p. 123.

tion are not near enough to see that entertainment and religious exercises, and perhaps simple work, such as needlework or basket-making, is introduced to occupy the idle hands. In Iowa: "Most of these homes are some distance from the county seat, and at a less distance generally from a town or village. They average 5 1/17 miles from the county seat, and a trifle less than 3 miles from the nearest town or village. They range in distance from the county seat from 1 mile to 13 miles, and from the nearest town or village from no distance, being located in the village, to 6 miles." [1]

6. Because there is very little or no coördination of the institution with other institutions for the care of certain classes of paupers. It is not a part of a thoroughly thought-out plan for the treatment and prevention of pauperism. Consequently, the almshouse usually is not a curative or preventive institution. It is only palliative at the best, and in many cases often a cause of demoralization and the last step in the pauperizing process from which there is no hope of rehabilitation.

It has been suggested that connected with every almshouse there should be a social service worker to look into the conditions surrounding those who apply for admission to the poorhouse and also serve to get them out of the poorhouse as soon as possible.

"In state campaigns for far-reaching treatment of special types of need, calling for particular expert service, Massachusetts is now awake, rubbing its eyes, getting up. The state hospitals for the insane, covering the state in districts, and the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston, by giving more of follow-up and social service work, are affording new help to overseers. Our great School for the Feeble-Minded at Waverly has been holding there a weekly clinic, with over 2,000 persons examined since last October. Clinics are held monthly at Worcester and Fall River; another is soon to be added in a third large industrial city. School authorities are invited to use these clinics; helpful advice is given in them to the parents. Leaders in this particular field in Massachusetts look for a day when a body of specialists shall know where every feeble-minded person in the State is, and shall see, as far as possible, that the best things are being done for each one. An example of such system is already set by the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind. It will surely be followed in time by a system for treatment of inebriety, growing out of the new State Hospital for

[1] Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Report of Iowa Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 42.

Inebriates, which has had for a number of years a vigorous out-patient, first-care and follow-up service in Boston, and has just opened another such service in Worcester. The State School for Crippled and Deformed Children is making known to overseers of the poor its remarkable work in taking many children truly in the spoiling in homes of ignorance or indifference, and turning them into effective citizens. The trustees of the State hospitals for consumptives have great possibilities for working out a system which shall mean real economy of public expenditure because of thoroughness in dealing with consumptives. That involves a coördination of all available forces, from dispensaries out into homes, from first-care to follow-up." [1]

7. Because the superintendent of the almshouse is charged so often primarily with the duty of making the poor farm pay. The county board insists, and the public sanctions that insistence, that the poor farm support as nearly as possible the paupers cared for in the institution.

The result is that the superintendent is a farm manager rather than a social service official. He takes more pride in his stock and farm produce than in the inmates of the almshouse; in his cash balances than in the proper social treatment of his inmates.

If there is a "poor farm," there should be a farm manager. The superintendent, however, should be selected because of his skill in handling the social problem of the pauper, not for his farming or business ability. If both cannot be afforded in a small county, then either the farm should be given up or a district poorhouse replace the county institution.

8. Finally, because of community neglect and indifference to the poor. So long as no one is starving to death and the county possesses an institution to which anyone may go before he starves, frequently the community dismisses the whole disagreeable subject from its mind. The consequence is that the poorhouse is given no publicity and no attention from the public-spirited citizens of the community.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL POORHOUSE MANAGEMENT

That the poorhouse has failed is the result of mismanagement. Among an increasing number of people there is a belief, justified by the experience of certain places, that the poorhouse can be successfully managed and occupy a place of real usefulness, if not of honor,

[1] Brackett, "Public Outdoor Relief in the United States," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 452.

in the community. What are some of the principles of successful poorhouse management?

1. A Home for the Aged and Infirm. It is generally agreed that it should be made a home for the aged and infirm only. That means that conditions of admission and discharge must be strictly regulated. Again, it means that before conditions of admission can be made such that only the aged and infirm can come into the poorhouse, provision must be made for other classes of dependents in other institutions or by other means. As we have seen, the chief difficulties arising in the poorhouse are occasioned by all classes of people being thrown together in the institution. Therefore, it must be made an institution for as limited a class of people as possible. It is no place in which to place those who are not infirm by reason of sickness, accident, disease or age. It should not be used as a penal or semi-penal institution for vagrants or for defectives. All such classes should be cared for in special institutions.

Again, within the institution, in order to make it a real home, classification of even the aged and infirm is necessary. This classification should be by sex, by physical condition and by character, so that the congenial can be together and those who would disturb each other can be kept apart. The successful division of the inmates depends, in part, upon the physical plant and, in part, upon the ability of the manager. If the building is not adapted to the classification of inmates, the best manager will fail. The best institutions, therefore, are built with detached wings or separate cottages so that classification of the inmates may be possible. The sick and the well should be separated so far as possible. If the number in the institution is too small to have a separate hospital building or wing, a ward should be set off for hospital purposes. In addition to that space, provision should be made so that cancer patients and others with disagreeable afflictions can be isolated.

Old people are often querulous and difficult to get along with. If they sleep in a large ward or dormitory, many times the snorers, for example, seriously disturb others. The best solution, of course, is separate rooms. If, however, two or more must occupy the same room, such a solution as was devised by the almshouse matron of San Francisco will solve that particular problem. She placed a deaf woman and a snorer in the same room.[1] A similar exercise of in-

[1] Warner, *American Charities,* Revised Edition, New York, 1908, p. 217.

genuity on the part of the management would solve many problems arising in the administration of the almshouse.

In the best conducted almshouses in the country there is provided a small cottage for the accommodation of old couples, separation of whom would be a hardship. For example, the Cleveland almshouse has a cottage that accommodates 17 such old couples. In their rooms they can have some of their former possessions and feel more at home than would otherwise be possible.

It is important, too, that classification in the almshouse be made on the basis of character. Even among the aged and infirm there are people of high and noble ideals who are the victims of misfortune, and people of debased character. It is cruel to force the decent paupers to sit all day in the same room with the foul-mouthed and listen to their talk. So far as possible, therefore, provision should be made by which people of congenial temperament and character associate together.

In order to make it a home, provision must also be made for the mental and social life, as well as for the physical. The terrible poverty of mental stimulus to be found in most county poorhouses in the United States constitutes one of the severest indictments against the institution. A daily newspaper or two is given to the inmates after the superintendent has read them. Very few of them have any collections of books or even a supply of old magazines. I have personally visited dozens of poorhouses where there was absolutely no stimulus to the mental or emotional nature. In most of the poorhouses there is occasionally some religious service. In visiting an almshouse in Illinois recently, the author asked the attendant whether they had religious services. She answered, "Oh, yes, the ministers from the city come out in the summer time about once a month and hold religious services." I said, "Are there no religious services in the winter time?" She replied, "No, unless somebody dies. You see, the roads are too bad for the ministers to get out." In Iowa, in 1910, 55 out of 87 county poorhouses had no religious services at all; 29 of them had religious services occasionally, and only a very few regularly.[1] It is a disgrace that even the consolations of religion are denied to these neglected human beings.

Certainly in this day of cheap and numerous magazines there is no excuse for the lack of old magazines in the poorhouses. That there

[1] *Report, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 43.

are no entertainments simply indicates the indifference and neglect of the community towards these exiled poor.

In many of the poorhouses there is lacking the homelike atmosphere by reason of the poorly cooked food in the institution. Dr. L. L. Nascher, Chief of the Clinical Department of Internal Medicine, Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York City, in an address in 1917 on the Institutional Care of the Aged, said that in the almshouses the proper feeding of the aged is very important for their health and happiness. He pointed out that many of these old people are fed a diet which is so improper for the aged that there is resulting sickness and irritability of temper.[1]

Dr. Nascher also emphasized the importance of giving the aged something to do both for the economy of such a plan and, more important, for the happiness of the old people. In the absence of anything with which to occupy their minds they become irritable and quarrelsome. The New York City Home for the Aged and Infirm on Blackwell's Island found a very great improvement in the tempers of the old people in that institution after a society in the city provided manual work of a light and agreeable character, such as basket-work, raffia, embroidery, knitting, needle-work, etc.

2. Location. The location of the poorhouse is of considerable importance for its proper management. It should be close to the city because its very isolation at considerable distance from the city not only increases the cost of conveying thither the articles used, but, more important from the standpoint of successful management, it prevents easy access by people who might be interested in making the poorhouse a real home for the old people.

Usually it should be on a small piece of ground. Otherwise the manager of the poorhouse will be forced to devote his time to the running of the farm and to the financial management rather than to the care of his charges. If, on the other hand, for purposes of economy, it is thought wise to have a large farm connected with the institution, provision should be made for a farmer to have charge of this end of the work, leaving the superintendent free to devote himself to such a management of the institution as will conduce to the welfare and happiness of the inmates.

So far as possible it should be located on well-drained ground, and so placed as to have as much beauty of outlook as possible.

Enough ground should be attached to the institution to provide gar-

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, p. 350.

den stuff for the table and some light work for the able-bodied inmates. It should be located on soil that will produce well, and the soil should be adapted to diversified cultivation and use. Poultry and gardens with a small stock of hogs and cattle to supply meat, milk and butter can frequently be attached with good results.

3. District Almshouses. Except in counties with large population, several counties should unite and establish a district almshouse. It is now coming to be quite generally recognized that the county institution in most of our states is too small, and the law provides in some states for the establishment of district almshouses. For example, in Virginia the district almshouse exists and in North Carolina and Illinois laws providing for them have recently been passed.

The district unit would enable the authorities to provide buildings suitable for the classification spoken of above—separate buildings for hospital use, and cottages for old couples. It would also permit the hiring of a high-grade superintendent and matron for the management of the institution. It would permit the employment of a regular medical attendant and nurses for the care of the sick. Sickness is frequent in the poorhouse. Under the present system they have little care. It would also enable the superintendent to provide work adapted to the capabilities of those able to work only in part, because he would have more inmates and therefore a larger number of able-bodied for whom he could arrange occupation suited to their needs.[1] Such a plan would be more economical than the present plan. It now costs the counties of the State of Missouri which have almshouses $60,000 a year in salaries for the superintendents of the institutions. If there were four district institutions in the State, $20,000 would hire four superintendents of high caliber.[2] Nothing could be more extravagant and inefficient than the present system of county almshouses. This might be excused if the inmates were securing proper care. When, however, the present system involves not only waste of money, but disgraceful care of these helpless paupers, there is nothing to be said in favor of it. Says Miss Hinrichsen, of Illinois, "Two-thirds of our almshouses have a maximum of 40 persons. In these homes separation of different classes is prohibitive, expensive, and so, also,

[1] Edson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1918, p. 264.

[2] For further development of views of the author on this subject, see Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa,* Iowa Applied History Series, Vol. II, No. 11, pp. 26-33.

is trained service."[1] These district almshouses could be more easily supervised by a state board than the present county almshouse.

The superintendent of the almshouse must be a man of high qualifications. If the institution has a farm connected with it, he should have practical knowledge of farming. Even if he has a farmer employed for that end of the business, he should know enough about farming to be able to appreciate the kind of work done by the farmer. He should be a man of fair business ability, strict integrity, the best personal habits, an even temper, great patience, a kind heart, a good reputation among his neighbors, and a man of tact, resourcefulness and management. Such a man cannot be hired for the sums that are now being paid in the county almshouses of the United States, except in the large institutions.[2] He should be an expert in his line. Skilled men cannot be obtained for the salaries paid.[3]

4. County Boards of Charities. Until the present system of county poorhouses are supplanted by district poorhouses, county boards of charities should be appointed in every county to inspect the poorhouses and make reports upon the institution at stated intervals, as is now done in Indiana. In Indiana such a board must be appointed upon the petition of 15 reputable citizens. These people serve without pay, except necessary traveling expenses. They make reports quarterly of the conditions in the county institutions to the county commissioners and annually to the circuit judge who appointed them. Copies of their reports are furnished the newspapers and must be sent to the Board of State Charities.[4] Said McKinniss before the National Conference of Social Work, in 1918, concerning the almshouse: "The institution should have a coöperating organization unhampered by the undesirable type of local politics."[5]

5. Close Supervision by State Board. In a considerable number of states, at the present time, the county almshouses are inspected by the State Board of Charities or State Board of Control. In some states the plans of new almshouses must be submitted to a state board for approval before the institution is built. In other states, the state board may order the improvement of dilapidated or unsanitary almshouses.

[1] Hinrichsen, "The District Almshouse for Illinois," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1918, p. 270.
[2] Johnson, *The Almshouse,* p. 48.
[3] Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Report of Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, pp. 43, 44.
[4] Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology,* p. 470.
[5] McKinniss, "Standards of Administration of the Almshouse," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1918, p. 258.

The state board should not only have control of the physical plant, but should also give its attention to the management of the institution and the welfare of the inmates in every respect. Until we get centralization of control over these institutions, evil conditions are bound to prevail. County boards of supervisors are notoriously penurious and socially blind. Even with a county board of charities to inspect and report, unless there is constant oversight by a state board with a skilled secretary to hold up standards, to inspire by giving information as to what is being done in other communities, and to enforce regulations in the interests of the inmates, bad conditions are sure to continue. Therefore, the state board should be given control over the county poorhouses and have such a force of inspectors as will enable it to exercise proper supervision and enforce its regulations for the improvement of the institution.

6. Correlation with Agencies and Institutions for Care of Other County and State Charges. One of the difficulties with the almshouse up to the present has been that it has not been coördinated with the other social institutions dealing with the problem of the dependent. Cleveland, Ohio, has tried the experiment of placing on a large tract of land, comprising some 2,000 acres, four different institutions. These institutions are widely separated from each other, but they are coördinated in their activities. These four institutions are the city almshouse, the city tuberculosis sanatorium, the house of correction, and a cemetery under municipal control. The commissioner of charities and correction of the city connects these activities in one plan for the care of the pauper and the misdemeanant, as well as the care of the dependent tuberculous. Such correlation could go very much further than has been worked out in Cleveland, but even with the limitations to be found there it seems to have worked well. The prisoners from the house of correction care for the cemetery and work the farm. The gardens and barns connected with the almshouse are cared for by the able-bodied men in the institution. In this fashion there is such a correlation of forces that the institution is run economically and yet with great efficiency. There is no reason why there should not be located on the same land the asylum for the insane and a hospital for the sick. In case the state has a farm colony for misdemeanants, it might be located nearby one of the large district institutions for the care of the dependent classes.

Some objections have been offered to thus associating criminals, paupers, and insane, and sick folks. Cleveland endeavored to obviate

this difficulty by separating them widely and by improving the character of each of the institutions.

The indoor and the outdoor relief in the county and in the state must be coördinated. The experience of German cities under the Hamburg-Elberfeld system, as indicated in the previous chapter, shows the value of such correlation. When a pauper's condition has changed so that he needs institutional care, he should be removed to the almshouse, and, on the other hand, when a person who has been in the institution can be better cared for in family life outside, such a step should be taken. At the present time frequently two different officials deal with these two problems. Centralization of authority should take the place of the present separate authorities. Such centralization could well occur by placing the supervision of both indoor and outdoor poor in the hands of one official.

7. **Rehabilitation of Almshouse Inmates.** Some effort should be made to rehabilitate in normal family life many of the present inhabitants of the almshouses. In our almshouses at the present time we have a rapidly moving population. Only a small percentage, as we have seen, remain in the almshouse a considerable length of time. To those who are drifting in and drifting out at present we pay no attention. We know not what they are doing before they come in and after they go out. Most county boards and poorhouse superintendents rejoice when they go, and give no thought to the problem of what shall be done to prevent their coming back. This situation has led to the suggestion that, connected with every almshouse should be a well qualified investigator to study the conditions which bring people to the poorhouse, and to follow up those who are discharged, the purpose being to ascertain causes, to discover relatives upon whom the burden of support should be laid, to investigate the previous history of an applicant for admission, and to endeavor to rehabilitate those who are discharged. Under the present conditions, the poorhouse is a pauperizing agency, pure and simple. With social service attached to it, it might become a constructive and helpful institution. It could serve as the receiving home for those who were denied the privileges of family life, and from which some of them could be rehabilitated and placed in normal home life by a trained social worker. Many of them could earn their way, if properly placed, by doing chores in a farm home; others of them could be boarded very much more cheaply than it now costs to care for them in an almshouse. Still others could be secured a job and placed upon their own feet again, while others

through the efforts of the social worker, could be placed in institutions where they belong for the safeguarding of society and their own protection.

Francis Bardwell, Inspector of Almshouses for the State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, has summarized these suggestions for the improvement of the almshouse, as follows:

1. The common necessities—shelter, personal cleanliness, food, clothing, and medicinal attendance, including nursing;

2. The following comforts—kindly attendance, quiet and decent quarters, reasonable freedom from objectionable fellow-inmates, and the opportunity of receiving visits from friends; and

3. Some form of recreation—the privilege of attendance at religious services at least monthly, employment suited to the inmates' age and physical condition, the right to protest, without detriment to the inmate, any hardship he may feel that he is suffering.

The superintendent should possess executive ability; he must be honest and kindly, and he should conduct the poorhouse for the welfare of the inmates.

He suggests that, since many times the friends of inmates are working at the regular visiting hours during the week, that there be provided visiting hours on Sundays and holidays.

He suggests that the superintendent and the board in charge of the poorhouse should secure the coöperation of various church societies and fraternal orders to provide entertainment for the inmates, such as talks, concerts, simple treats and illustrated lectures or moving pictures. Papers, books and reading matter should be provided; also games, Christmas celebrations and an annual picnic.

He suggests that in every poorhouse an attempt should be made to restore the people to self-support. He estimates that among men admitted for the first time at least one-fourth could be restored to independence.[1]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Almshouse Conditions in Certain Parts of the United States. Ellwood, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1903, p. 386 ff.
2. Some Results of Promiscuous Mingling of Different Classes in the

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1917, pp. 357-364.

Almshouses of England. Johnson, *The Almshouse,* New York, 1911, App. I.

3. The Cleveland Almshouse. Cooley, in *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1912, p. 437 ff. Cooley, "A Substitute for the Poorhouse," *Outlook,* Apr. 22, 1911.
4. A New York County Almshouse. Lane, "A Rich Man in the Poorhouse," *The Survey,* Nov. 4, 1916, pp. 101 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC AGENCIES FOR DEPENDENTS—A COMPARISON

HISTORICALLY, private care of the pauper arose first. In our survey of the development of the care of the poor, we have seen that for centuries there was no public poor relief. In the United States, however, organized private poor relief developed later than public. This was for the reason that public poor relief was brought over by the colonies from England and thus became established in the early laws of this country. In the United States, private relief developed later.[1]

In any comparison of the relative merits of private and public agencies for the relief of dependents, we must start with the consideration that to be fair the comparison must be made between the two in the same general social situation, which usually means in the same region. It would not be fair to compare private relief in an old city like New York with public relief in one of the newer states of the West. Moreover, any comparison worth while must be made on the basis of experience. Evaluation of the two systems must rest on the results of a fair comparison. Furthermore, any program for the care of the dependent should endeavor to take the best out of both the private and the public agencies.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES ARE NON-COMPETING

In any rational plan for the care of dependents, public and private agencies should be looked upon as not competing, but as supplementing each other. Each has its advantages and its disadvantages. In many cases the strength of the one is the weakness of the other. Partisan bias for or against either should not blind our eyes to the merits and demerits of each.

Moreover, the comparison cannot be made on the basis of theory only, but must be made on the basis of ascertained results of experience, and in view of the existing conditions in American life. Mr.

[1] Devine, *Principles of Relief*, pp. 314-357.

Francis McLean, on the basis of his experience in Montreal, Canada, which has no public relief agency, says: "With no public institution as a place for final refuge, the usual standards have to be done away with. Now differentiation and classification are nowhere better illustrated than in private charitable institutions. But place the public burden upon private charity, and these two of its shining excellencies are crushed under the weight without at the same time its satisfactorily performing the additional duties." [1]

COMPARISON OF THE VARIOUS FIELDS IN WHICH EACH PREDOMINATES

In the care of chronic dependents, public agencies are most widespread. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor early in its history conceived its mission to be to help those whose condition could be improved by relief. Says Devine: "The mark which visitors of the Association were asked to recognize as indicating their own poor was the possibility of alleviating the moral and physical condition of the applicant." [2] This policy relegated to the public relief authorities all the so-called hopeless cases and rested upon the assumption that public relief did not attempt to rehabilitate. Such a program assumes that there should be a division of function between public and private relief, based on the theory that public relief cannot be expected to do constructive work. By this program the association emphasizes a neglected side of public relief work, but if public relief actually becomes constructive in its efforts, then this division of labor would not hold, and another would have to be made. However, in the face of American conditions as they actually exist to-day, such an assumption is sound.

For special classes of dependents, such as the insane, defectives, blind and vagrants, public care is the more usual, on the theory that the improvement of these classes is rather hopeless; and, in the case of the insane, defectives and vagrants, that the proper treatment depends upon the exercise of public authority.

In the care of incipient paupers we have no figures to indicate whether public or private agencies are caring for the greater number. The probabilities are that wherever public outdoor relief is established, larger numbers are relieved by public than by private outdoor relief.

In the care of the sick poor, it is probable that private agencies are

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, p. 142.
[2] Devine, *Principles of Relief*, p. 319.

more numerous. Publicly supported hospitals are not so frequent as private. However, in a great many cases the bills are paid out of public funds.

Skilled service is met much more frequently in private agencies than in public agencies, especially for the care of dependents—adults as well as children. Private agencies have led in the introduction of skilled workers, for the private agency is usually the pioneer in experiments.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST EACH METHOD

For the private agency it is argued:

(a) That private relief is more personal and less mechanical. The private agency has a smaller clientele, and can select its cases, while the public agency must take all who come to it.

(b) More emphasis is laid upon service and less upon relief. The endeavor is made to cure the dependency, therefore constructive service is made primary and relief only a means to accomplish that purpose.

(c) Less stigma attaches to private relief than to public relief, hence private relief can help some who would shrink from public relief. These are the very ones of whom there is hope of rehabilitation.

(d) On account of this fact, private relief is less pauperizing than public. No one can claim relief from private agencies as a right, therefore private relief can be more discriminating.

(e) The private agency can make experiments; so that if one constructive method does not solve the problem of relief, it tries another. On the other hand, the public agency works on fixed lines laid down by law or established by custom and cannot so easily change.

On the other hand, private relief, having usually less funds at its disposal than public, is less adequate in times of crises. Moreover, since a slighter stigma attaches to such aid, it may be easier for people to learn to depend upon somebody else than themselves in private than in public relief, which is avowedly deterrent in its purpose.

(f) It is claimed that private relief is less open to political corruption. This is true so far as outdoor relief is concerned. As we shall show later, in the chapter on "Public Subsidies to Private Agencies," it is not true for the institutional care of public wards by private institutions.

(g) It is also claimed for private relief that because of its empha-

sis upon service rather than relief it is more economical and efficient and can do better constructive and preventive work.

The arguments for and against public relief, in addition to those just given, are as follows:

(a) Public relief is more democratic than private because the funds are provided through taxes on all the people. Public relief recognizes the obligation of organized society to care for dependents.

(b) In experimenting on a large scale public relief has a decided advantage because of its financial resources. In its experiments, however, it is at a disadvantage as compared with private relief because it must secure the consent of a larger number of people than a small private organization.

(c) In times of unusual demand public relief is more adequate than private because of its vastly greater resources. The public has been educated to the point where it will not allow destitute people to starve or freeze.

(d) Political corruption, lack of skilled service, and lack of constructive and preventive work certainly crop up more often in public relief, both institutional and outdoor, than in outdoor relief by private agencies. It is doubtful, however, whether political corruption is more absent from private institutional relief, caring for public charges, than in public relief—institutional or outdoor. It must be added that political corruption and lack of skilled service, as well as lack of constructive and preventive work, are incidental and not inherent in public care of the poor. Skilled supervision and education of the public can probably remedy these historic evils of public relief.

(e) Without a doubt, public relief is more pauperizing than private because it has been neglected and is not run on sound principles.

(f) It is urged that care of dependents is a public duty and therefore should be conducted by a public agency. Said Kingsbury at a recent National Conference of Charities and Correction: "But it is not alone the magnitude of the problem that is forcing philanthropy under public control. As never before in the history of the world, we are thinking in terms of social groups rather than in terms of the individual. . . . Nearly thirty cents in every dollar expended by the city is for purposes which may be classed as municipal welfare. The expenditures for relief which each year pass through my hands alone, as Commissioner of Public Charities, amount to nearly five cents in every hundred and exceed ten million dollars per annum. This

amount is not equalled or approached by any of the relief foundations or relief societies." [1]

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COÖPERATION

1. In the care of the sick there is no reason why the public should not take over the responsibility, except the fact that there exists a large number of privately-managed hospitals for the care of the sick. However, with the growth of attention to public health, present facilities are entirely inadequate. Every community should begin to establish its own public agency for the care of the sick. Methods of hospital management are now so standardized that they could be administered as well by public authorities as by private boards.

2. In the care of special classes, such as the insane and defectives, experience shows that state care can be as good in quality of service as the private, and more adequate.

3. In new and untried experiments private agencies should pioneer the way and standardize methods. As soon as the experiment has reached the point of standardization, public authorities should assume the responsibility. A wide field still remains to private experiment, such as rescue homes for unmarried mothers, day nurseries, new experiments in the field of hospital care and in boarding out special classes, to mention only a few of the experiments that are yet to be made.

4. When both public and private agencies exist side by side, each should supplement the other as in public outdoor relief, care of children, and care of the aged, and in the care of special classes like the sick, the insane, etc. Certain functions should be performed by one and other functions by the other. For example, where they co-exist, investigation and recommendation of relief, and follow-up service might well be taken over by the private agency, while the actual relief, either in money or kind, could be supplied by the public relief official. Such a plan is actually in operation in some of our most advanced communities.

5. As rapidly as public opinion will support trained service and constructive work, the public agency should take over work done by the private agency. This is especially true in the field of outdoor relief. Says Mr. Geo. S. Wilson, Secretary of the Board of Charities of

[1] Kingsbury, "Municipal Welfare Work as Exemplified in New York's Treatment of Dependent Children," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, p. 372.

the District of Columbia: "We have been too prone to look upon the evils of the administration of official outdoor relief, have condemned it as almost wholly bad, cast it aside with the conviction that it was past redemption and ought to be abolished. We do not need to minimize the evils in administration, but we think that our effort should be directed rather to the improvement of the administration than to the abolition of the system." [1]

Dr. Riley, General Secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, said recently: "These failures in the administration of public outdoor relief demand its reform, but not necessarily its abolition. But the abolition of public outdoor relief is impossible in the smaller towns and in the rural districts where there is no other provision made for the destitute, and improbable in the great cities because of the tendencies toward social welfare legislation to which reference has already been made. The times demand that not less but more shall be done by the state for the relief of distress and the promotion of the well-being of the common people.

"In the knowledge of the shortcomings of the public administration in the past, even with the accumulating evidence from the fields of probation, mothers' pensions, hospital social service and the public health and schools, it requires a heroic faith to believe that we can have a public service in charity substantially free from error. But any smaller faith is unworthy of democracy and discounts the efforts through which we have hoped to purify and improve the public administration.

"It is not the question of its existence but the manner of its administration that demands our most careful thought. We look forward to a day when industrial and social betterment shall reduce such gratuitous aid to a minimum and to a manageable character. To such a program of prevention and relief only the public funds can be made adequate. And if to their administration the highest technique and principles of social service can be applied, we shall secure the happy result of maximum good and minimum harm." [2]

Dr. Brackett, formerly General Secretary of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, former President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and, until recently, Director of the Boston School for Social Workers, said at the National Conference of

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 436.
[2] Riley, "The Aftermath of Public Outdoor Relief in Brooklyn." *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1916, pp. 342-345.

Charities and Correction, in 1915, "We have reached a turning point in this form of aid. Its use is increasing largely under a wave of public sympathy, partly because of increasing hope of ability to administer. Let us recall, from many lessons, that a wave of public feeling does not prove by its mere being that it is wholesome. Still, stands the truth that there must be safeguards in the use of any material relief so long as human nature, in the giving or the receiving, will tend to take the lines of least resistance. The old safeguards around public outdoor relief which were rooted in meagerness and disagreeableness will no longer stand. The safeguard for the future is to be merged into that considerate and careful inquiry and treatment which looks to possibilities in persons as the first requisite for their improvement, or which, by rigor, when necessary, sees kindness as well as protection to all concerned. This means the large work of developing and coördinating all the community forces of help and protection around the needy. Let us accept one truth on which all real social work is based—the importance of the attitude of society to persons in its effect on their mental attitude to life. This applies to the improvement of our public-aid officials as it does to the help of needy, troubled, even degraded, human souls—and means that the surest way of winning efforts for better things is to approach persons by the way of looking for possibilities.

"The call of public relief in homes to-day is to a work worthy of the best service of a community. It really touches us all. The time has come for a campaign everywhere, vigorous, persevering, for better administration of public relief in homes—as an expression of the place which a community has reached in good government, knowledge and neighborliness." [1]

Perhaps I may summarize this argument by words which I have written elsewhere: "In like manner gradually it is coming to be seen that both relief and correction, not in alleviation and repression alone, but also in the doing of constructive remedial work as well as providing preventive agencies, must come under the management of public authorities as fast as private agencies by experiment point the way in which it may best be done. There is need of the private agency, but to assert that it is impossible for public relief agencies to command the men, means and methods necessary to do the needed work is a counsel of despair which democracy is not ready to accept. Each

[1] Brackett, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1915, pp. 457, 458.

type of work has its peculiar advantages and drawbacks. Each has its field of work. Each must supplement the work of the other." [1]

It has often been urged that good volunteer service cannot be obtained in public outdoor relief as in private outdoor relief. On this point, Miss Vaile says, "I have heard it claimed that good volunteers cannot so readily be drawn to public as to private charity work. I believe that they are even more responsive to the public service. There is every appeal to humanity that the private organization has, plus a more direct expression of patriotism." [2]

Sometimes it has been argued that the present method of poor relief work will serve in rural communities where everyone knows everyone else. But even in this field it is urged that what is needed is not merely relief, but also service. Said Davenport, at a recent meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction: "What I want to emphasize is that the great need in rural communities is not for material relief, as given by the supervisors of the poor, or other agents, but is for a trained, capable social worker who can give service." [3]

6. Coördination of the efforts of private and public agencies in relief work must be brought about. Hitherto they have been working at cross-purposes, often avowedly hostile to each other. Coördination between the public and the private agencies should be secured either by agreement or through the supervision of a state board.

7. Both in public and private relief, standards and methods should be established by a state board and measures taken to educate both the public and the officials of both private and public agencies up to these standards.

In short, the imperative necessity in the present circumstances is that there be a unified thorough-going program of attack upon the problem of poverty and pauperism by all the agencies now in the field. To that end proper standards and methods must be established. Centralization of authority for the education of the public and the supervision of all agencies dealing with the poor must come. Under such a unified plan, many of the evils that now impede the progress of a constructive and preventive philanthropy, whether public or private,

[1] Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1915, p. 514.
[2] Vaile, "Principles and Methods of Outdoor Relief," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 481.
[3] Davenport, "The County as a Unit of Charity Administration," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 250.

would be eliminated. Until such unified effort is achieved the present evils will continue.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Statement of the Case for Private Relief. Brackett, in *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1903, p. 297 ff. Devine, *Principles of Relief,* Part III, Chapter II.
2. Recent Views on Public Relief Measures. Butler, "Official Outdoor Relief and the State," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1915, p. 437; Brackett, "Public Outdoor Relief in the United States," *Ibid.,* p. 446; Riley, "A Discussion of Public Outdoor Relief," *Ibid.,* p. 474; Vaile, "Principles and Methods of Outdoor Relief," *Ibid.,* p. 479; Riley, "The Aftermath of Public Outdoor Relief in Brooklyn," *Ibid.,* 1916, p. 336.
3. Relations of Public and Private Relief Agencies. Almy, "The Relationships of Public and Private Charities," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1916, p. 304.
4. Public Departments and Boards in Relief Work. Garland, "The Municipality and Public Welfare," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1916, p. 306; Ford, "The Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri," *Ibid.,* p. 400.
5. Coöperation Between Public and Private Agencies. Kelso, "State Supervision by a Board of State Charities," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 34; *Ibid.,* 1907, p. 598; *Ibid.,* 1915, p. 57 ff.

CHAPTER XV

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE AGENCIES

A POLICY of very grave importance to charitable work in its various lines is what is known as "public subsidies to private agencies." A long debate has raged over the question whether the policy of subsidizing private agencies for the care of public charges is justified in the light of experience. So widespread has been the practice in some parts of the country and so important is its bearing upon the development of charitable work that it is necessary that we give it attention.

Professor Fetter has defined charitable subsidy as "any payment from the public treasury, whether of the Nation, State, County or any other political division, to charitable agencies not entirely controlled by public officials whether the payment is given in gross amount or specifically for specific services." [1]

In the long discussions over this question which have for many years occupied the sessions of the National Conference of Charities and Correction there has been a difference of opinion as to the definition of subsidies. Some public officials who are dealing with the matter of public subsidies to private charities think that the term should be applied only to those grants which are in lump sums and not to those which are paid to agencies for specific services at a per capita rate. Thus, the Honorable Bird S. Coler, at that time comptroller of the city of New York, before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1901, said: "There are certain things that private institutions can do better than public institutions and if they are paid on a per capita basis for these after you hire them to do the work, I do not consider that a subsidy or gift; it is strictly a business proposition." [2]

There is difficulty in drawing the line in some cases. Thus, is the boarding out of children by a state authority or the boarding out of the insane by the state, as in Massachusetts and Scotland, a subsidy

[1] *American Journal of Sociology,* Volume VII, p. 359.
[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1901, p. 132.

to the individuals who care for them on contract? Is it a subsidy when one county sends its paupers to be cared for in another county, as is the practice in some of our states, or when one county having no county asylum sends its insane to be cared for in another county asylum, and pays for their care, as is the practice in some counties of Wisconsin? In neither of these cases is it a subsidy. Nor is it a subsidy when the county lets the care of its paupers out to private individuals on contract, whether to the lowest bidder or otherwise. That is known as the contract system of caring for public charges. *It is a subsidy, then, when the public which has been charged in the law with the care of any class of dependents, defectives or delinquents, grants to a private charitable institution a sum of money from the public funds, whether that sum be for buildings in which these public charges may be cared for, whether it be a lump sum grant, or a per capita payment for services rendered.* The institution may have been already in existence and doing charitable work at its own charges, or it may have been organized for the purpose of taking advantage of a new law providing for public subsidies. In every state in which the policy of subsidizing private charitable agencies to do the work of the public has been introduced, instances have been found where agencies have been organized for the express purpose of taking advantage of the public subsidy.[1]

The essential points in a public subsidy are:

1. The institution to which the subsidy is granted is at least ostensibly a charitable institution giving care to some people whose care is not paid for by the public officials.

2. The public funds are given to it to assist the agency in whole or in part for the public charges committed to it.

HOW SUBSIDIES GREW UP IN THE UNITED STATES

As Professor Fetter said long ago, "The subsidy method is not a policy; it is an accident." [2] We have already seen that the functions of the state were assumed in many different ways by private individuals and groups before the modern state was developed. With the breakdown of the Roman Empire the medieval church assumed the task of caring for the poor. Later, private organizations took the place of the church and the monasteries when the latter were dis-

[1] See Fetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, pp. 366, 367; Coler, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, for instances.
[2] Fetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, p. 384.

solved. In America the first task of the nascent state was the defense of its territory and people against foreign foes, then against the criminals within; meanwhile private individuals were allowed to make the most of the opportunities of the new land under the protection of the government. Private individuals and organizations began to look out for the care of the helpless. The burden has always been heavy. As soon as the consciousness developed that the care of the helpless is a duty of the state, these heavily burdened institutions which had risen at the behest of men's philanthropic feelings, began to feel that the state should take these burdens off their hands. They had, however, their money invested in the properties. This problem of material vested interests might have been settled by the state—meaning the political unit responsible for the care of the unfortunate—buying the properties. However, many of these institutions which had been caring for the dependent were religious organizations and had mixed with their philanthropic purposes certain religious motives. This vastly increased the difficulty. Some of them, honestly feeling that what they were doing and the way they were doing it was much better than what the state could do under the principle of the separation of state and church, found a way around the difficulty by suggesting that the state pay a part of the bills and they be allowed to continue their control of the institution and provide the religious teaching which was an essential part of their system. That suggestion created the subsidy problem. The legislators acquiesced in the suggestion because it promised to be cheaper than for the state to build new buildings or to buy the ones already in existence and this policy also satisfied those who had been bearing the burden.

In describing the subsidy system in New York City, Mr. Coler remarked concerning the origin of the subsidy system in that city that it grew up and it is necessary to continue it because of the constant influx of such large numbers of aliens through the port of New York. He adds, "The subsidy system was the outgrowth of necessity. The public institutions were inadequate, in that they could not promptly respond to the rapidly increasing demands of charity. Private institutions could be and were quickly organized. For a time private benevolence stood nobly in the breach; but, in so far as these private institutions were performing what was essentially a public service, it was inevitable that sooner or later they should seek public support. That support was granted; but, in the granting of it, no uniformity of rule or method was adopted. The subsidy system was not pre-

arranged. It was not the result of forethought. It was the gradual outgrowth of conditions." [1]

Mr. Dripps, the Executive Secretary of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, described the methods by which states usually developed public subsidies to private institutions thus: "Generally a state begins early in its history to assume the burden of one or more classes of dependents, and thereupon establishes and erects institutions, which it thereafter maintains. Sooner or later these institutions become inadequate and there is demand for additional institutions. Not infrequently other demands upon the state have so increased that it is not convenient, perhaps not even possible, to erect the additional institutions needed, and so private philanthropy comes to the aid of the state and establishes and erects institutions to help out, feeling all the time, however, that the work done is really the state's and not the province of private philanthropy. Under these conditions it is almost inevitable that in due course of time an effort should be made to unload the cost of such institutions upon the state, and unfortunately, this generally takes the form, not of asking the state to take over the institutions as a whole, but rather to grant annual appropriations toward the expense of their maintenance." [2]

Thus, naturally, the subsidies have been fastened upon the public charity systems of a considerable number of our states. What was originally an accident must now either justify itself in the light of experience or make way for a system that accords better with the spirit of American institutions.

EXTENT OF PUBLIC SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE CHARITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Professor Fetter, in 1901, reported that "Excepting possibly two territories and four western states, there is probably not a state in the Union where some aid is not given either by the state or by counties and cities." [3] The amount given by state and local units as reported by Professor Fetter amounted to $10,984,715.[3]

The later report of the Census issued in 1904 shows that Professor Fetter's estimate of the situation is too favorable. Says this Report: "In all of the states and territories except Idaho, Nevada and Okla-

[1] Coler, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1901, p. 132.
[2] Dripps, *ibid.*, 1915, p. 463.
[3] Fetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VII, p. 360.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

homa, part of the cost of private and ecclesiastical institutions is defrayed from public funds. Frequently contributions are made by the local community, or subsidies are voted by the legislatures." [1]

This report shows that in 1903 $3,623,352 was given to private benevolent institutions and $2,465,874 was given to ecclesiastical benevolent institutions.[2]

The percentage of the total cost of maintenance coming from public subsidies varied from 0.4 of one per cent in Utah to 43.2 per cent in the District of Columbia.[3]

It also shows that of a total of $22,353,184 paid out of public funds to all benevolent institutions both public and private in 1903, $16,263,958 was paid to public institutions, while $6,089,226 was paid to private and ecclesiastical institutions, or 27 plus per cent of the total in the United States to the latter.[4]

The following table indicates the situation in four of the states in which the subsidy system is most widely extended: [5]

	Hospitals		Sanatoria		Homes, Etc.	
	No.	Amount	No.	Amount	No.	Amount
Connecticut	23	$ 123,875	..	per capita	5	$ 33,118
Maine	16	56,650	7	$23,100	16	42,450
Maryland	24	220,500	2	31,500	45	119,750
Pennsylvania	149	2,528,910	5	45,000	116	427,850

According to a report given in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1909, in 14 states lump sum subsidies were given private institutions caring for children, and in 11 on a per capita basis. In part of these states the subsidy was from the state treasury; in others it was given by the counties or the cities.[6]

The most recent summary of the subsidy situation in the United States has been made by Mr. Alexander Fleisher. He points out that 22 states make no appropriations whatever to privately managed charities, 15 make such appropriations sparingly, and nine place no apparent restrictions on their grants. The Public Charities Association

[1] United States Census, *Special Report: Benevolent Institutions*, 1904, p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[5] Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey*, October 31, 1914, p. 111.
[6] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1909, p. 500.

of Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Fleisher was the secretary, made a careful analysis of the last two groups.

Fifteen states which made their appropriations sparingly restricted their appropriations to the care of a few special classes of dependents. These special classes were such as the states had not yet made provision for in publicly managed institutions, and therefore in using them were merely resorting to such institutions until such time as they could undertake the task themselves. I cannot summarize this study better than by quoting Mr. Fleisher's words: "This is borne out by the fact that several states, notably Massachusetts, Michigan and New Jersey, have already gone so far as to assume complete responsibility for dependent children. In 13 states the proper care of the tuberculous is being sought by citizens through joint action by state and county. Delaware and New Hampshire, although making some public provision for the tuberculous, have not developed adequate facilities, and are therefore boarding out a number of patients.

"One of the most interesting of these apparently temporary expedients is the state care of fallen women in Arizona, Nevada, Oregon and Washington. None of the older and more experienced states has regarded the care of fallen women as a state function.

"The nine states in the second group do not restrict their subsidies to the care of special classes, but bestow their money quite miscellaneously. The number of institutions receiving help from these states and the amounts of their annual appropriations are as follows:

	Institutions	Amount
Connecticut	28	$ 156,993
Kansas	61	15,000
Kentucky	3	70,000
Maine	41	139,400
Maryland	82	453,450
New Mexico	11	22,000
Pennsylvania	277	3,714,713
Rhode Island	4	13,000
West Virginia	3	14,700

"Several differences of practice between this group of states and the former are observable. Among the nine making such miscellaneous appropriations there is slight differentiation between state and private responsibility. We have already seen that a tendency to such

differentiation does exist among the fifteen that restrict their gifts to special classes and that these states for the most part appear to consider their subsidies to privately managed charities as mere temporary expedients pending the establishment of adequate facilities by the state itself. This conception of public responsibility does not seem to enter into the policy of this second group of states, which appropriate money to more varied groups of charities.

"Another difference is that whereas the first group of states shows a tendency to make its appropriations on a per capita basis and is often represented on the boards of managers of the subsidized institutions, the second group is more apt to make its grants in lump sums without retaining any control over their expenditure. These lump sums are generally for maintenance, though not infrequently provision is made for buildings also.

"A third difference between these groups is that many of the first show a disinclination to subsidize charities operating in a local area, while few of the second group make any distinction between charities doing state-wide and those doing purely local work. Frequently hospitals, day nurseries, and other institutions whose very nature confines their service to narrow geographical limits are given help.

"The nine states making unrestricted and miscellaneous appropriations also fall into two classes. The first includes those that give to but few institutions or that give comparatively small amounts. These are Kansas, Kentucky, New Mexico, Rhode Island and West Virginia. The second includes those that give to many institutions or that give large amounts. These are Connecticut, Maine, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

"A significant difference in the policies of these smaller groups appears. It is that the first five states, giving to few institutions or giving only small amounts, tend to limit donations to one or two kinds of charities, while the second group spreads its money out over a heterogeneous assortment of institutions. Thus, of the first five, Kansas gives to sixty-one hospitals and homes; Kentucky to two children's homes and one home for incurables; New Mexico to eleven hospitals; Rhode Island to two hospitals, one children's home and one prisoners' aid society; West Virginia to two hospitals and one children's home.

"Maryland typifies the policy of the second group. She gives to eight reformatories, one institution for epileptics, two for the deaf, one for the tuberculous, twenty-two general hospitals, two special hospitals,

eleven homes for adults, two rescue homes, one home for incurables, twenty-two children's homes, three placing-out societies, four day nurseries, and two homes for crippled children.

"The lack of any differentiation between local and state-wide charities is strikingly seen in the four states that give large amounts or to many institutions.

"These are the important facts to be borne in mind by anyone who would turn to the experience of the past for safe guidance in determining the proper relation of the state to privately managed charities. The twenty-two states making no appropriations to such charities include some that are regarded as the most advanced in their state charitable work and some that are regarded as backward: Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin and Wyoming." [1]

The following table from Mr. Fleisher's article shows the situation in a number of these states concerning public subsidies:

Classes of Dependents for Which the States Enumerated Make Appropriations to Private Charities

	Ariz.	Cal.	Del.	Idaho	Mass.	Nev.	N. H.	N. J.	N. Y.	N. C.	Okla.	Ore.	Vt.	Va.	Wash.
Children:															
Dependent	###	###	#	###					#	###	#	###		#	
Delinquent															
Defectives:															
Blind			###		###			#	###				###		
Deaf			###												
Feeble-minded															
Tuberculous						#	#					#			#
Fallen Women	#														

INCREASE OF SUBSIDY SYSTEM

That the policy of subsidizing private charities once established tends to increase is shown by the history of the matter in Pennsylvania which is preëminent in its policy of caring for the state's charges by means of subsidies to private organizations.

"In Pennsylvania, for example, in 1871, 17 privately managed charitable institutions received from the state $239,295. For the two-year period of 1872 and 1873 the total amount appropriated to

[1] Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey*, October 31, 1914, pp. 110-111.

private charities was $604,981.24. For the two-year period ending 1913 the Legislature of 1911 appropriated to 275 privately managed institutions the sum of $6,249,400. The number of institutions had increased over two thousand per cent in 40 years; ten times as much money was appropriated. One-tenth of the entire revenue of the state is to-day being given to privately managed institutions not under the control of the state." [1]

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST PUBLIC SUBSIDIES

The debate over this question has been long and sometimes heated. The representatives of the subsidized institutions have usually, although not always, defended public subsidies. On the other hand, the members of state boards of supervision and many other public officials, as well as the representatives of private institutions not subsidized, have been opposed to public subsidies. The arguments for and against public subsidies may be summarized as follows:

1. It is reputed that subsidies save the state money. In case a state has inadequate facilities to care for its charges, private individuals or organizations may erect institutions for the care of these various classes; or they may have already such institutions going. The state may become conscious of its duty to support these charges. In these cases the site and the buildings cost the state nothing. Moreover, the private organizations are already bearing the expense of maintenance and on that theory the state will be called to bear only the additional expense caused by caring for the state's charges. The private organization sees an advantage to itself in securing public money for the support of state charges and to the state it appears that the expense will be less than to build and support a new institution. The private organizations can put the matter to the state authorities in a very strong fashion. It can argue that the state can go ahead and build an institution if it so desires, but it assures the state that it will cost it a great deal more than to pay a small subsidy to the private institution to care for the state's charges. There is no doubt that in certain instances this argument is practically unanswerable, taking into account the present only. If it could always be assumed that the private institution would be interested in getting the state's charges off its hands as soon as the state has an institution supported by itself, and if it could be assumed that the state in the mean-

[1] Dripps, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 464.

time would pay for its charges on a per capita basis only, the argument would be unanswerable. History, however, is against all these assumptions. It has been shown frequently that many supported at public expense in private institutions when the subsidy was withdrawn could be provided for in private families or at the expense of relatives.

2. Subsidies prevent institutions receiving aid from the state from becoming state-owned and controlled, and in this way they are kept out of partisan politics. This argument has lost much of its cogency. Really the argument is a double argument. It assumes that the state care is poorer in quality than the care in a private institution. In the second place it assumes that if it is a public institution it will naturally be the football of politics. However, the state-owned institutions in the last few years have become much more efficient than formerly. On the second point, it is probable that politics does very little, if any, more harm in the case of public institutions than in the case of subsidized private institutions. Experience has shown that as soon as a private institution begins to receive public moneys the public spirited men and women who serve on its boards and other citizens interested in the organization find themselves drawn into an attempt to influence the legislators to make appropriations which the institution desires.

3. It is argued that public subsidy makes possible in many cases the religious and moral training of the state's charges. This plea is made with special force by private institutions for children. Formerly this argument had much more force than at present. In the public institutions to-day in most cases religious and moral instruction by the clergy of the church to which the children may belong are given full opportunity to minister to them. Moreover, there is very grave doubt as to the constitutional right of many states to contribute public money for sectarian religious teachings.

4. It is urged that private institutions relieve public charges maintained therein of the stigma of pauperism. The progress of the last few years in the character of our public institutions has removed the stigma of pauperism in practically all cases except the almshouses. Our great state institutions for the most part receive not only those unable to pay but also pay-inmates.

5. Those in favor of public subsidies think that even were it desirable not to begin the policy of public subsidies, in many states public subsidies are so thoroughly established that a change is almost impossible. From the practical standpoint, perhaps this argument is

the most cogent of all. The private organization can argue that under the encouragement of the state it has made large investments which it does not need for the care of those who are not state charges. Hence, the state would be unfair to undertake a course which would destroy a large part of the corporate property. However, if the state has made appropriations for the extension of the plant there is no reason why, if it is desirable, the state should not take over the institution, paying the private organization for that part of the value of the institution which the state has not already contributed. That would leave the private organization free to develop its own institution for the care of those who are not public charges.

This argument brings into clear view some of the difficulties which grow out of a system of public subsidies to private agencies. The private institution in the first place argues that it will save the state money by caring for the state's charges until the state can make such arrangements as it wishes for their care in its own institution. Then after the state has done so it argues that it has vested interest in a plant which the state will destroy if the relationship ceases. Furthermore, when once the policy of public subsidy has fastened its hold upon a state, experience has shown that the pressure for subsidies is so great upon the legislators that the state's own institutions are starved. For example, Dr. Haviland of New York state in a study of all the institutions in Pennsylvania found that while the state institutions for the insane were quite superior to the average institution maintained by a city or county, nevertheless that in almost every legislature it was very difficult to secure appropriations for necessary improvements and extensions for the state institutions. The private subsidized institutions had a strong lobby backing the appropriations for subsidies while the state institutions had no one to plead for them except the State Board of Charities. Furthermore, in that state subsidized institutions are so much more numerous than state institutions that many more legislators were living in localities possessing subsidized agencies than those living in communities having state agencies, and therefore were moved by local pride to work for appropriations for the private institutions.

The danger of the subsidy plan is clearly indicated in the figures already given, showing the increase of subsidy paid out of state funds between 1871 and 1913. When the policy of public subsidy has once fastened itself upon the state the number of institutions subsidized and the amounts appropriated to them shows a constant increase. The

policy of public subsidies, therefore, is inimical to the development of public institutions.

6. It is contended that private institutions are much more careful in ascertaining whether those who apply for admission are entitled to free treatment than are public institutions. This argument assumes that those in charge of the spending of public money are less careful about its expenditure than those who are spending the money of people who give in large amounts and hold them more strictly responsible for the expenditure. This argument holds, perhaps, with reference to the institutions which are owned and financed exclusively by private benevolence. It is very doubtful, however, whether it amounts to much when public moneys are received by the private institution for expenditure.

Opponents of the subsidy system insist:

1. It discourages private benevolences. Long ago Dr. Amos B. Warner pointed out that:

> "Individual contributors dislike to have their mites lost in the abundance of a public appropriation. Almost without exception those institutions that have received public aid the longest and the most constantly receive least from private contributors. In looking up the history of a considerable number of institutions, it was found that after the public became a contributor, private contributions fell off from year to year, not only relatively, but absolutely, and in some cases ceased altogether." [1]

Every experience indicates that the subsidies dry up the gifts from private individuals. If the class for whom the private institution is caring at the public expense is a legitimate public charge, then because of the drawbacks incident to subsidies, the public should provide the institution and care for these charges.

2. Subsidies have resulted frequently in the creation of institutions not at all needed. Let a law be passed providing for public subsidies for the care of a certain type of dependents and immediately there will spring up in the state institutions whose ostensible purpose is to care for these people but which would not have risen had it not been for the attractiveness of the subsidy. This has been especially true of privately owned hospitals but is true also of other institutions.

3. Because of the numerous institutions which may plead for public money on the ground that they are doing a public service as great as the institution to which a subsidy is given and by reason of the

[1] *American Charities*, 2d ed., p. 423.

tendency to retain in subsidized institutions inmates who are not proper public charges or should be disposed of otherwise, the expense of the subsidy policy is likely to grow to proportions altogether beyond the sums which would be needed by a carefully administered series of state institutions. The tables and facts cited in a previous paragraph tend to confirm this statement. Moreover, the money thus used is withdrawn from other worthy projects of the state. It also results in provision for certain sections of the state and the neglect of other sections; in provision for certain classes and neglect of others equally worthy.

4. Subsidies confuse people's minds as to the discrimination between public charities and private charities. Where shall the line be drawn as to what is a public charge and what is properly the responsibility of a private organization?

5. The subsidy system also tends to block all attempts to improve the charitable work of the state. Any criticism of private institutions not only is resented by the organization conducting them but often by the state authorities charged with their supervision. This is well illustrated in the experience of the city and state of New York. Moreover, attempts to introduce unified systems of accounting are objected to.

PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES IN DEALING WITH SUBSIDIES[1]

The principles which should govern in dealing with subsidies have been well expressed by a student of the question, thus:

"In the first place, of course, those states which have been so fortunate as to avoid entering upon this sea of troubles should keep out of it.

"Second: Wherever there is any indication of the possibility of doing away with it, even when it has been started, this should by all means be done.

"Third: Where it has become so firmly established that the practical difficulties in the way of its complete elimination seem insurmountable, every effort should be made to so regulate its use as to minimize the evils which flow from it.

"Fourth: Any change from the present system must be gradual and carefully considered. . . .

"Fifth: 'Public moneys,' so far as possible, 'should be disbursed only upon the basis of pro rata payment measured by specific services

[1] For a good discussion of this subject see Dripps, *Proceedings, National Conference Charities and Correction,* 1915, pp. 465-473.

performed and this basis should be made uniform for all institutions performing similar work.' For example, it has frequently been urged that 'The aggregate amount contributed to hospitals should be proportioned on a per capita and per diem basis for free patients and should be divided proportionately to such service among all incorporated and well-managed institutions.' It has also been recommended, 'That any per capita rates should diminish as the number of inmates increases.'

"Sixth: No appropriations should be made to private institutions for buildings or equipment, but only for maintenance.

"Seventh: Wherever feasible, public institutions should be placed in the charge of unsalaried boards of managers, in this way gaining for these institutions many of the advantages usually claimed for private institutions receiving state aid.

"Eighth: Practically every state in the Union has assumed a special responsibility for certain classes of its dependents; the dependent insane and feeble-minded, and, to a certain extent, at least, prisoners, are almost always among these classes of state wards. Generally there are also certain hospitals and other institutions supported solely by the state. The first duty of any legislative body, so far as the dependent classes are concerned, is to see to it that adequate appropriation is made for all institutions and charities coming within the general classifications just mentioned. As a practical program for dealing with privately-managed institutions accustomed to receive state aid for some time past the following might be suggested:

"1. Under no circumstances should any such institution receive more than recommended by the body specially charged by law with the supervision of the charities of the state.

"2. No private institution not heretofore the recipient of state aid should hereafter receive any assistance from the state.

"3. Even as to institutions which have heretofore received state aid, aid should be absolutely refused upon the presentation of satisfactory evidence that any such institution is either unnecessary or distinctly inefficient in the performance of its functions.

"4. After consideration has been given to all institutions, and tentative amounts agreed upon for each recommended for state aid, if the sum total to be appropriated for such purposes is found to be too large for the revenues available, there should not be a general horizontal cutting down of all appropriations, but any such deduction

should be apportioned in whatever way seems proper among the privately-managed institutions recommended for state aid.

"5. Finally, a definite effort should be made gradually to reduce the number of private institutions receiving state aid, and, second, the amount appropriated annually to each such institution.

"Ninth: The charitable need of each state should be studied from a state-wide standpoint.

"Tenth: The body charged with the supervision of the charitable work of the state should be granted adequate powers and a staff of experts sufficient for satisfactory inspection and visitorial work among the various institutions throughout the state.

"Eleventh: This supervisory body should be authorized and instructed to formulate for each class of institutions under its charge minimum requirements to which all institutions of the same class should be made to conform as a prerequisite to receiving the annual license which should be required for every such institution. In the formulation of these requirements care should be taken to leave ample room for initiative on the part of the various institutions.

"Twelfth: No charter should be granted for any new charitable undertaking without the approval of this supervisory body being first obtained.

"Thirteenth: No state aid should be granted to any private institution not duly licensed by the supervisory body, as above suggested.

"Fourteenth: A uniform system of accounting should be required for all charitable institutions of the same class, whether public or private.

"Fifteenth: A studied effort should be made to enlist the interest of private citizens in all public charities. Only as the result of a well-developed sense of community responsibility will this and the many other difficult problems connected with the care of the vast multitude of dependents in every one of our states be satisfactorily solved." [1]

The tendency where subsidies exist has been to limit them to payment on the basis of services rendered per capita. Neglect of supervision of the subsidized institutions seems to result in increase of appropriations, while careful supervision of the institutions subsidized results in keeping people out of the institutions who should not appropriately be there and in getting them out into normal family life as

[1] Dripps, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, pp. 465-473.

soon as possible. The situation in Washington, D. C., illustrates this point. Said Mr. McFarland before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1906, "The experience in the District of Columbia with reference to appropriations for buildings and grounds further illustrates the tendencies observed in appropriations for maintenance. In the period from 1880 to 1892, the period prior to the Superintendent of Charities, and hence prior to any general public supervision, the total amount appropriated for buildings and grounds for public institutions was only $155,000, while the amount appropriated during the same period for buildings and grounds for private institutions was almost double the amount, the exact amount being $300,000. After 1892, the year in which the first Superintendent of Charities was appointed, up to the present time, the development has been in the other direction, and the amount appropriated for buildings and grounds for public institutions was nearly three times that appropriated for similar purposes for private institutions. The exact amounts were as follows: For public institutions, $1,156,000; for private institutions, $392,000." [1]

RECENT TENDENCIES CONCERNING PUBLIC SUBSIDIES

Following the long discussion of the matter in the National Conference of Charities and Correction and elsewhere, a decided check has been given to the establishment of public subsidies and students of the question have increasingly advocated the limitation of the subsidy system wherever that can be done in states and cities where it exists. Said McFarland, in 1906, concerning the situation in the District of Columbia, "Since 1900 there has been a gradual, indeed reasonably rapid, change in the direction of extending public control of charitable work supported by public appropriations." [2] He adds, "Our experience seems to indicate the desirability of minimizing as much as practicable the use of private institutions for public charges." [3] He adds: "From the administrative point of view of the executive authority of the municipality having the interests of all concerned in its care, it seems to be evident in the light of the experience of the National Capital that charitable institutions in which public charges

[1] MacFarland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1906, p. 232.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

are cared for should be in so far as is practicable public institutions, and at least under close public supervision." [1]

Mr. George Wilson, Secretary of the Board of Charities of the District of Columbia, in 1911, on the basis of the five years' experience since Mr. McFarland spoke of the situation there, says: "The conclusion of our board from experience in the District of Columbia is that the best system is to have purely public institutions for the performance of all work supported by public appropriations; but that appropriations to private institutions, if we must have such appropriations, are better made upon the basis of services rendered, under contract or otherwise, than upon the system of granting lump sum appropriations not based upon any definite requirements as to service or public control as to the reception of beneficiaries." [2]

As the result of a growing appreciation of the evils of public subsidies, Colorado, Louisiana, Montana, Texas, Illinois and Wyoming have put a prohibition of public subsidies to private charities into their constitutions. However, some states have put only partial restrictions on their legislators as to subsidizing private charities. For example, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and South Dakota require a two-thirds vote for such appropriations. In spite of this limitation, two of these states in 1914 were still making such appropriations. California, New York and Virginia in their constitutions forbid appropriations except to special groups of institutions.[3]

SUMMARY

Out of the debate on this question, we may summarize, in the words of Mr. Fleisher, the following points:

"The state should provide first for the care of those groups that are properly state wards;

"No appropriations should be made to charities under private management until the reasonable needs of the charities managed and supported by the state have been fully met and an adequate system of state institutions developed (it may safely be said that no state can now foresee the arrival of such a blessed time).

"In order to accomplish such a program in the states that at present

[1] MacFarland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1906, p. 233.

[2] Wilson, "Supervision of Private Charities," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 38.

[3] Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey*, October 31, 1914, p. 112.

give state appropriations to privately managed institutions the following policies should be adopted:

> No appropriation should be made to any institution whose work is not state-wide and which in the natural operation of its functions does not receive wards from the entire state;
>
> No lump sum gifts should be made and all appropriations should be in return for service rendered, on a pro rata basis; such service to be measured by the free work done on the order of a proper public official.

"In the case of some institutions it will perhaps be necessary to arrange for a gradual reduction of appropriations. The first step is for the state to add no new institutions to the list. The suggestion made by the Board of State Aid and Charities of Maryland that appropriations be made for one year and thereafter be discontinued, is perhaps too severe. It may be advisable to allow the adjustment to cover a period of four years with a 25 per cent reduction of appropriations after each year.

"It is to be hoped that the states that have avoided the pitfalls inherent in state appropriations to privately managed charity will continue to do so. Social workers should guide them in the policy that insists that state money support state wards." [1]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Public Subsidies to Private Institutions for the Care of the Dependent. Fetter, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1901, p. 118.
2. Ascertain the Number of Private Charitable Institutions Subsidized from Public Funds in Your State; in Your County.
3. Compare the Amounts of Public Funds Spent on Public Charges in Private Institutions and in Public Institutions in Your State, or City.
4. Has the Amount Spent on Public Subsidies Increased or Diminished in the Last Ten Years?

[1] Fleisher, "State Money and Privately Managed Charities," *The Survey,* October 31, 1914, p. 112.

He inclines to the opinion, however, that "the contract relation," which term he uses to get around the term "subsidy," reserving the latter term to describe lump sum subsidies, may be justifiable in some instances to be determined by local conditions to use private institutions for the care of public charges.

CHAPTER XVI

THE RELATION OF THE STATE TO AGENCIES DEALING WITH DEPENDENTS

IN the last chapter we have seen how it was most natural that the public authority should wish to exercise some supervision over the subsidized agency. Another motive leading to a demand for the public supervision of private charities is the protection of the individuals ministered to by the agency. In a number of institutions it was found that proper care was not given to the inmates. Child-placing societies were not careful in the investigations of the homes into which children were placed. In consequence, suffering resulted. This aroused public indignation and led to a demand for public supervision.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF BOARDS OF STATE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

With the development of state charitable and correctional institutions, the need arose for the investigation of conditions in these institutions. At first the state institution was under the control of a local board of trustees. In some states, in the beginning, no supervision was provided except such as the governor could give. The legislature frequently felt the responsibility of investigating conditions in the state institutions and therefore appointed investigating or visiting committees from among members of the legislature to visit and report upon conditions in the state institutions. Such an arrangement was bound, sooner or later, to give place to more efficient supervision.

The first State Board of Charities in the United States was appointed in Massachusetts in 1863. It arose out of the following circumstances:

Massachusetts had a very strict law of settlement which raised many disputes between the various towns and cities of the state as to an individual's residence. Moreover, because of this strict law a large number of people drifting into the state had no legal settlement for purposes of poor relief. One of the objects of the board was to care for these nonresident dependents.

A part of these nonresidents came from the very large number of

immigrants who had been for a number of years coming into Massachusetts. While there had been a "State Alien Commission" whose business it was to care for dependents without legal settlement, and who had some control over the establishments for the state dependents, it was felt that the care of state dependents would better be in the hands of a single board.

Moreover, a chaotic condition prevailed in the state institutions. While the governor and the members of the council were supposed to supervise the institutions, they had many other duties and were not particularly skilled in charitable work, therefore, their supervision was very general and superficial.

At first the board's membership consisted of seven men. It had as salaried officials, a secretary, a general agent, besides several clerks.

When organized, the board was charged with the duty of acting as a commission for "aliens" to handle the state paupers who had no settlement in any of the towns of the state. It also was authorized to inspect and report on all the charitable and correctional work done in state institutions. These institutions still remained under the direct control of local boards of trustees. The state board also had supervision of the county jails. Thus, at its beginning, this board had to attack the problem of examining some 18,000 nonresident dependents, of removing two or three thousand persons a year, of securing from some 330 cities and towns returns of public charges, and of inspecting three hospitals for the insane, four state almshouses containing about 2,000 state paupers, three reformatory institutions for youth, the state prison, a score of local prisons, and five other state institutions, such as for the blind, deaf-mutes, etc.[1]

In 1867, two states, namely, New York and Ohio, followed the example of Massachusetts, and established state boards. In New York this state board was called at first the State Commissioners of Public Charities. It arose out of the necessity of controlling local selfishness and jealousy and indifference to the welfare of the poor. The bad condition of the insane in the county poorhouses was presented to the legislature by a special committee of the Senate and aroused a sense of the necessity of properly supervising these local institutions.

At first the board had visitorial and supervisory powers only and could visit only the charitable and correctional institutions receiving state aid, and county and city poorhouses. Its powers were broadened somewhat in later years and in 1873 its name was changed to the

[1] Brackett, *Supervision and Education in Charity*, New York, 1903, pp. 20-22.

State Board of Charities. Until 1889, when a State Commission in Lunacy was appointed, it had supervision of the care of the insane. Prisons were never under its care as they were in Massachusetts. Both the Massachusetts and the New York boards made and published valuable studies on child saving, insanity, idiocy, causes of pauperism, etc.

In Ohio, interest in a Board of State Charities was inspired by a member of the legislature who had visited a number of the state institutions and observed the loose way in which they were managed. The objects of the first board, therefore, were to bring economy into the management of the institutions, to improve the quality of the care which they gave to the wards of the state, to study the causes of pauperism, and to lead in the endeavor to lessen these evils. It was to visit and report on all institutions maintained by public money, including the charitable, the correctional and the penal. In 1872 it was abolished but was reorganized in 1876, this time with a paid secretary.

All three of these boards supervised practically all the state institutions caring for the dependent, the defective, and, except in New York, the criminal. As time went on, in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio some of the functions were given to separate boards. In all of them the object was supervision, for the most part, not control. They were chiefly educational in their aims rather than administrative. However, in Massachusetts, as we have seen, the board was given administrative authority in the care of the "state poor."

Rather rapidly after 1870 New York and Massachusetts were imitated by other states. Pennsylvania and Illinois established state boards in 1869, and in these five states where state boards existed in 1870, almost two-fifths of the population of the country was to be found. In 1871 Michigan and Wisconsin, in 1873 Connecticut, in 1883 Minnesota, in 1889 Indiana and North Carolina, in 1891 Colorado and Oregon, in 1895 New Hampshire, in 1896 Tennessee, and in 1897 Missouri established state boards. The process of organizing state boards of either supervision or control has gone on to the present time.[1]

EXTENT OF USE OF STATE BOARDS

In 1913, 36 states, and the District of Columbia, had some kind of board for the supervision or control of the charitable and correctional

[1] Brackett, *Supervision and Education in Charity*, Chapter II.

institutions. In five others the governor supervised the state institutions caring for the poor, the insane, and the criminals.[1] In one state, Alabama, there was an inspector of jails, almshouses, cotton mills, and factories. In Georgia there was a legislative committee whose duties were those of general supervision, especially of institutions for children. In Idaho, the State Board of Health inspected state institutions, especially hospitals for the insane, and the Idaho Soldiers' Orphans' Home. In Utah, in addition to the governor, there was a Board of Insanity for the management of the state mental hospitals and for the supervision and control of all the insane persons in the state and a Commission for the Adult Blind. In two states, New Jersey and Oklahoma, supervision was given by a Commissioner of Charities and Correction. In one, Nevada, there was no supervisory body for the state, each institution being in charge of its board of trustees. In some of the states there are a number of boards having different functions and often dealing with various classes of paupers, while in other states the different institutions are all under the one board. For example, in California, there is a State Board of Charities and Correction, having the supervision of the state, county and municipal charitable, correctional, and penal institutions; having also the inspection of state-aided institutions for children and the supervision of public officers of poor relief, the granting of permits for child placing, and licenses for maternity hospitals and homes. There is also a State Board of Control to inspect the construction, condition and accounts of state institutions and of state-aided institutions, and the investigation of claims for state aid for institutions for children. It has also a Commission in Lunacy for the supervision of state and private institutions for the insane and institutions for the feeble-minded, epileptic, and idiotic. It is also charged with the examination of inmates of almshouses as to sanity, and the enforcement of laws relating to mental defectives.[2]

THE CHARACTER OF THE STATE BOARDS

Of the 37 states[3] having boards of supervision or control, there are 23 with boards merely to supervise and inspect, while 19 have

[1] Georgia, Idaho, Mississippi, New Mexico, and Utah.

[2] *Summary of State Laws Relating to Dependent Classes,* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 312-321.

[3] The District of Columbia is counted here as a state. It has a District Commission, which is practically a board of control.

boards whose major function is to administer the state institutions.[1]

Some states have other methods of supervision more or less centralized. For example, Vermont has a State Board of Visitors and also a Board of State Supervisors of the Insane. Delaware has a State Tuberculosis Commission and a Commission for the Blind. Some of the states having Boards of Control have also Boards of Supervision. Some have a special board for the care of special classes, as, for example, in Massachusetts and New York where the prisons are now in the hands of special commissions; in New York the institutions for the insane are in the hands of a lunacy commission, and in Ohio there is a commission for the blind.

DIFFERENCES IN FUNCTIONS OF STATE BOARDS

State boards may be divided into two general groups: Boards of investigation and supervision, and boards of control. In some states a board combining both functions is found. In general, a State Board of Charities is a board which does not administer the institutions, the management being in the hands of local boards of trustees and administered by superintendents under the direction of these local boards. The state board in such cases merely inspects the institutions, making suggestions to the local boards and superintendents of the institutions for the improvement of the service. This kind of state board usually has no authority, however, to enforce its suggestions. It is an educational body, depending upon educational methods to secure the adoption of its advice.

On the other hand, the State Boards of Control are chiefly administrative, although in many states the law charges them with the responsibility for the inspection of local institutions like the county asylums for the insane, the county tuberculosis sanatoria and the county poorhouses. Such a board administers all the institutions, so that no longer is each institution looked after by its own board.

Modifications of these two general forms of State Boards are to be found in recent developments in New Jersey and Illinois. "In New Jersey, a Department of Charities and Correction has been created, consisting of a State Board of Charities and Correction, of eight members, and the Commissioner of Charities and Correction,

[1] The discrepancy in the figures is due to the fact that some states have both boards of control to administer the institutions and also a separate board of supervision and investigation. *Summary of the State Laws, etc.*, pp. 312-32.

who is appointed by the Board and who is its executive officer. The state board has complete and exclusive jurisdiction over all the state penal and eleemosynary institutions, and appoints a separate board of managers for each of these institutions. The department is organized into divisions of education, medicine and psychiatry, labor and agriculture, statistics, parole, food and dietetics." [1]

A somewhat different plan has been recently adopted in Illinois. Said Mr. Bowen, in his paper at the National Conference of Social Work in 1917, "Illinois' new organization of state government is so radical that the *New York Post* calls it revolutionary. One hundred and twenty-five boards and commissions, under the jurisdiction of the governor alone, have been abolished. The laws they were created to administer have been grouped under nine heads of departments, each under the absolute control of one director with such subordinates as he may need. Thus all the charitable and penal institutions, 23 in number with a population of 25,000 inmates, and all the parole and pardon work of the state, have been consolidated into one compact department, known as the Department of Public Welfare, headed by a director, who will be the sole and responsible authority in the charitable and penal work of that state. This director will have subordinates whose qualifications and duties the law does not undertake to set out, but leaves that task to his skill and ingenuity. Illinois has gone further in its revolution. Its governor has shown an independence in making his selections to fill the positions in this department which has attracted national attention." [2]

Thus, it is apparent that the last word has not yet been said on the form of state board. On the functions of a state board, however, there is less debate. The main object is the improvement of the service given to the wards of the state by means of supervision of an expert body somewhat removed from direct administrative control.

SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING PUBLIC MONEYS

In a number of the states, to one of these state boards has been given the right to supervise private charitable organizations. This supervision usually began with supervision of subsidized private charities. Says Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the District Board of Charities of Washington, D. C., "The right of public supervision of private in-

[1] Johnstone, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 212.
[2] Bowen, *ibid.*, 1917, p. 337.

stitutions in receipt of public funds has long been generally recognized and exercised." [1]

Practically all the states that grant public money to private institutions now provide for their supervision.[2] Such supervision is necessary in order to insure the public that its money is properly expended by the private organization. As we have already indicated in the previous chapter, large sums of money early were expended by the municipalities and some states for the care of dependents in private institutions. Before there was public supervision, numerous abuses arose in these institutions. For example, in some of the institutions for the care of foundlings, investigation showed there was a death rate of 97 per cent of the infants received. Unsupervised private charities in receipt of public funds often develop abuses both costly to the public and inimical to the best interests of the inmates. Public supervision has quite largely eliminated these abuses. While it can never eliminate entirely the evils inherent in the subsidy system, it can and has in many cases reduced the evils to a minimum.

SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS NOT RECEIVING PUBLIC MONEYS

The right of public supervision of private institutions not in receipt of public funds has not been so generally recognized or exercised.[3] Increasingly, however, the right of the state to supervise the work of private charities has been recognized. Thus, Ohio and Massachusetts have endeavored to provide for state control over voluntary charities. In the National Conference in 1916, in discussing the chartering and fiscal control by state authority of voluntary charities, Mr. Williams said: "The Ohio legislature has given special attention to this subject and has passed a law which makes possible an effort to standardize the work of all these associations. This law provides that no institution or association which may have for one of its objects the care of children or the placement of children in foster homes, may incorporate without the consent of the Board of State Charities first having been secured. This wise provision has not only made it possible for this board to prevent the incorporation of useless or vicious organizations, but it has presented to the board an opportunity to suggest policies which should govern the work of new institutions,

[1] Wilson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 36.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 37.
[3] *Ibid.*

so that to a greater extent they may meet the real need of the community.

"The Ohio law also provides for the inspection and the study of every child-caring institution, and the annual certification by this board is a requisite. The statute furthermore provides a penalty for any person soliciting money or receiving children on behalf of such unindorsed institution." [1]

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THESE BOARDS

Certain methods are still under debate. It is perfectly clear that the establishment of boards of supervision or control has lessened many of the difficulties earlier apparent in institutions for the care of dependents.

In the Supervision of State Institutions, for example, standards of care, very much higher than ever before, have been established. Again, the petty graft that once was charged against state institutions is no longer possible. Furthermore, the state board has been the means whereby experiments in other states of the Union and in other parts of the world have been made known to the trustees of state institutions.

In the case of boards of control and some state boards of supervision, a centralized method of purchasing for the institutions has led to important economies. Again, a state board of control makes possible the easy transfer of an inmate in an institution who really belongs in another institution, as for example, an insane person in the state's prison or an epileptic in the state public school for dependent children.

In the Supervision of Private Charitable Institutions. In 1911, Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the District Board of Charities, Washington, D. C., made an investigation concerning the practice of the various states in supervising private charities. He received replies from 38 states, and the District of Columbia. In 18 of them there was no law whatsoever on the supervision of private charities. Seven had laws providing for the supervision of private charities receiving public funds.[2] Only to a very limited degree in the states studied by Mr. Wilson has the principle of supervision of private charities not in

[1] "Chartering and Fiscal Control by State Authority of Voluntary Charities," Williams, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1916, pp. 321 ff.

[2] Wilson, *Ibid.,* 1911, p. 36.

receipt of subsidies been recognized. Only one state of those replying to his inquiries has provided legal authority for thoroughgoing and effective supervision. Three other states recognize in law the principle of the supervision of all charities in the state. Nine other states require supervision of certain phases of charity work by private organizations, such as the care of the insane, the care of minor children, and the work of maternity homes. In practically all cases these laws are of recent origin. Mr. Wilson adds: "I think it may be safely said, however, that the sentiment in favor of the supervision of all charitable work is growing, and that we may expect to see the principle more and more recognized in the statutes of the various states from year to year." [1]

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST STATE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

In the National Conference of Charities and Correction there has been a long debate on this question of public supervision of private charities. In general, it may be said that the members of State Boards of Charities are for the most part in favor of state supervision of private charities. Says Mr. Wilson: "Regardless of whether the state or private organizations can best conduct charitable work, I think it must be recognized that all charity work is a matter of public concern. The state is the only agency representing all the people and the only agency, therefore, that can properly be entrusted with the supervision of work of a public character. The right of the state to supervise private corporations is being recognized more and more in other fields of activity." [2]

Opposition to public supervision of private charitable organizations usually appears, however, in any discussion of the subject. So far as the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* reveal the sentiment, opposition seems to be voiced by those who fear that public supervision will injure rather than help the private charities. For example, Rev. Biederman, in 1911, argued that while private institutions receiving public moneys should be supervised by state authorities because they are not, strictly speaking, either "private" or "charitable," the strictly private charities, i. e., those which solicit money from their members only and not from the public at

[1] Wilson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 39.

large—chiefly church or lodge organizations—"deserve to be left alone by the state. They are amply able to inspect themselves." He argues that such state supervision is paternalistic, "is an unnecessary and an almost insulting infringement of private, personal liberty," and "an unwarranted interference with religious liberty." [1]

Arguments in favor of state supervision of private charities may be summarized as follows:

1. It is the duty of the state to see that its wards are adequately and humanely provided for.

2. Through supervision the state will be able to get exact information as to the extent and character of public dependents by requiring accurate reports and statistics from all institutions.

3. The state cannot discharge its duty in seeing that dependents are properly cared for unless it does supervise the private charities in whose care is so large a number of the people. In many states there are many more in private than in public institutions. For example, the State Board of Massachusetts supervised 753 private charitable corporations in 1910. In 1913 the legislature of Pennsylvania appropriated money to 275 institutions in that state. In New York State, 800 private organizations reported to the state board until the supreme court decided that they should not do so. As dependents these people are wards of the state for the proper care of whom the state has the ultimate responsibility. Therefore, it must supervise their care. Those who object to state supervision of private charities are usually representatives of charities carried on by religious bodies and assume that the state has no such responsibility. Their point of view is that charity is secondary to religious training. To those who insist on state supervision, the problem is one of proper treatment of the dependent, not primarily a religious question. With the latter the state has nothing to do except to provide the charter under which a religious organization operates. With the care of the dependent, however, the state feels that it has a responsibility to see that the care is adequate, which it cannot delegate. In the interest of a sound policy for the protection of all its people, it must, therefore, control the methods by which they are cared for.

4. Only through state supervision of private charities can each of

[1] Biederman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 42, 43.

them have the advantage of knowing about methods successfully tried in other institutions.[1]

5. It is necessary to have such state supervision in order to prevent the organization of institutions intended chiefly for the benefit of the organizers. Dr. Friedman, of Colorado, before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1911, said: "Individuals eager to earn an easy living by starting orphanages and using part of the money collected to maintain themselves and their families were enjoined to form a reputable board of trustees, submit a financial report or discontinue their operations. Many maternity homes were refuges of crime, altars for the immolation of innocents and were conducted without suitable equipment by irresponsible, untrained persons. The State Board of Charities and Correction closed up this illegal lying-in business." [2]

6. Dr. Friedman also urges that in actual operation the Board protects private charities against injustice and possible ruin.[3]

7. A state board of charities is also needed to study the efficiency of the state's institutions and methods of caring for its wards. By means of comparative studies in use from state to state and from country to country of the world, advantage may be taken of numerous experiments in the conduct of state and private care of dependents. Such comparative study is the more necessary in a country where new experiments are constantly being made.

8. Again, such a board can well perform the function of coördinating the various social agencies in the private and public fields. Too long private and public charities have gone their separate ways without reference to the lessons learned by each in its own particular field. Too often different agencies, instead of employing team work in a concerted attack upon a common problem, have worked at cross purposes. The time has come in the history of charitable endeavor in this country for such wasteful methods to cease.

[1] Wilson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 40-41.

[2] Friedman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 21.

[3] Friedman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, p. 22. "A few months ago two of the country visitors preferred charges against the Old Ladies' Home, in which drunkenness, robbing of the dead, and gross mismanagement were alleged. The community was naturally shocked by the arraignment. The State Board immediately proceeded with an investigation, subpœnaed witnesses and administered oaths. The complainants and defense engaged attorneys. After a trial of three full days in which eleven sessions were held it was conclusively proven that every charge was wholly groundless. The Old Ladies' Home was again restored to public confidence."

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE TWO KINDS OF STATE BOARDS

The State Board of Charity, a board of investigation and supervision, was the first to develop. It grew out of the fact that state institutions were governed immediately by local boards of trustees—a historical accident in their development. The Board of Control was an attempt to centralize the government of the state institutions and bring unity of administration into their affairs. Since the development of the State Boards of Control there has grown up a hot discussion between the advocates of the two forms of state board.

Advocates of the State Board of Charities urge, in favor of their plan as against the State Board of Control, the following considerations:

1. A state board of investigation and inspection without administrative power can devote itself to a study of the problems of charity, while a State Board of Control must devote the major part of its attention to the business of actually administering the institutions under its control.

2. Under the State Board of Charities system, with a board of trustees for each institution, a large body of public-spirited and interested citizens are enlisted at practically no expense to the state in managing the institution.

3. The State Board of Charities is made up of representative citizens of the state who serve without pay; only the secretary usually is on a salary. Therefore, such a board is not so likely to get into politics as a salaried board of control and is more economical.

4. The problems of administration can be studied as well by a State Board of Charities as by a Board of Control. Further, it is urged that it can study the administrative methods of another board more effectively than a State Board of Control can study its own methods.

5. Any advantage claimed by the advocates of the Board of Control in centralized buying can be overcome by the plan employed in Massachusetts of a conference of the trustees of the various institutions and their superintendents, resulting in their uniting in purchasing supplies.

6. A state board whose business it is to inspect and report is much more likely to provide adequate publicity for the education of the people of the state in the best methods of caring for the state's wards.

7. Where State Boards of Control have been built up in the same

state with State Boards of Charities, the latter usually have their prestige destroyed and often are abolished. This does not happen when each institution is under its own local board.[1]

Those favoring a State Board of Control, that is, a board administering the state institutions as well as inspecting and supervising private agencies, urge the following points:

1. The unity of administration is very much greater with a Board of Control than with a State Board of Charities. Instead of from six to two dozen boards without any close relationship to each other, there is one small board managing all the state institutions, applying in the administration of each one the valuable lessons learned not only in the administration of others in the state, but of those in other states.

2. The State Board of Control is more economical than a State Board of Charities. Centralized buying for all the state institutions is possible without the awkward expedient of a conference of the trustees of each institution and of the institution superintendents.

3. A State Board of Control by the employment of specialists in the various fields can inspect the whole system of charitable relief in a state as well as a State Board of Charities.

4. Instead of one man, namely, the Secretary of the State Board of Charities, devoting his whole time to the study of state institutions and allied problems, from three to five men on the State Board of Control in addition to a secretary, and such experts as are needed, give their whole time to this important work. With such a corps of workers it stands to reason that better work will be done than with an unpaid board whose business it is chiefly to study and report.

5. A State Board of Control has power not only to recommend its findings, but to put them into operation. As an administrative body it has authority to put into actual operation the findings of enlightened investigation. In addition, there is no inherent difficulty in the Board of Control giving as much publicity to its findings as the State Board of Charity. The opponents of the state board system reply that in theory that is possible, but the board is so taken up with administrative details that it has no time to devote to the study of the charitable problems.

6. Since the members of the Board of Control are paid to devote

[1] Compare the statement by Robt. W. Kelso, Secretary, State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 31-35; see also *Report of Chas. H. Strong to Governor Whitman*, Albany, 1916, pp. 145-146.

all their time to charitable matters, they are more likely to devote themselves unselfishly to the problems than men whose minds are engrossed with their own private business.

Evaluation of These Arguments. While it has no value as an argument on the merits of the case, it is a noteworthy fact that an increasing number of the western and southern states have established State Boards of Control rather than State Boards of Charities. Says Johnstone: "In recent years Arizona, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee have further centralized control over their state institutions, thus adopting a policy which has been followed many years by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, North Dakota, and Nebraska. . . ." [1]

1. In Kansas, the movement has gone even further, following the earlier example of Iowa. All the state's educational, penal, correctional, reformatory, and charitable institutions have been placed under the control of one board.[2] The experience of the states having State Boards of Control shows pretty clearly that as an administrative body concerned chiefly with the business administration of the institutions, the Board of Control is a success.[3]

2. Equally true is it that in most cases the State Board of Control has not been a leader in progressive methods in charities and correction.

3. It seems to be true that no State Board of Control has been able to devote itself as effectively to the study of causes and methods of reform in charitable and correctional methods as the State Boards of Charities. One cannot help contrasting the contributions not only to the study of causes of poverty, feeble-mindedness, crime, etc., but even to the methods of administration made respectively by State Boards of Control and State Boards of Charities. One might expect that in methods of administration a State Board of Control might succeed better than a State Board of Charities inasmuch as it is in the business of administration. However, it seems to be a further principle of applied social psychology that no body of men can supervise their own work, pointing out its mistakes, and suggesting changes for betterment so well as a separate body. The successful work of both these boards is badly needed in every state.

4. Some form of state board is absolutely essential if there is to be progress in our thinking about these practical social problems, and if

[1] Johnstone, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 212.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 212.
[3] Conover, *Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1911, pp. 27-31

there is to be a solution of the difficulties, both as to treatment and the administration of institutions in our commonwealth. Gradually the state boards of both sorts are enlarging their powers. Says Robert W. Kelso, of Massachusetts: "There has never been a time in the history of this country when public boards of all sorts in the field of public welfare were reaching out as they are now extending in order to get a good citizenship job completed." [1]

SUGGESTIONS AS TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENT IN ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

1. Whatever be the form of state board, it is absolutely imperative that there should be centralization of supervision. It is also desirable that there be centralized business administration. What is needed is a state purchasing agent or business manager for the state institutions under the state board.

2. The state board, of whatever character, should have the supervision of county and city charities and institutions, with authority to enforce standards. The period of widespread experiment by counties without any control of the state is past. Reasonable experimentation is possible under centralized control.

3. The state board should have supervision of all private charitable and correctional agencies, and all charitable trusts created by donations and bequests.[2] The lack of such supervision is exemplified by an instance in Massachusetts. A patent medicine company without adequate capital endeavored to get subscribers to its stock among the rich employers of labor. Each dollar so contributed entitled the contributor to a card providing the bearer free consultation at the medical company's office. These cards were given by the employers to their employes, who, upon presentation of the card, were advised to purchase a 75-cent bottle of the company's nerve tonic or lung cure. This concern, when it applied for a charitable charter in Massachusetts, naturally was refused. The Massachusetts legislature provides for the investigation of applications for charitable charters in that state by the State Board of Charity. The same Board is required to inspect all incorporated charities and to demand a financial report from each. Failure to file a report for two successive years is ground for the withdrawal of the charter. Such a system prevents undesirable char-

[1] Kelso, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, p. 338.
[2] Brackett, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, p. 340.

ities from entering the field and disseminates information through conferences with representatives of charitable organizations.

In speaking of the motives that have led to the demand for supervision of private charities by the state, Mr. Kelso, in 1917, said: "It is to protect itself against fraud, then, we conclude, that society should keep a guiding hand upon charity.

"But is that the sum total of our conclusion? Is it the fear of fraud that should justify supervision? Important though that may seem, I feel certain, and I believe all our speakers will agree, that protection from fraud is the lesser reason. The great justification is that the community should look after its own. All funds given in trust for charity belong to the indefinite public. Such funds may be recovered in equity. If they are being applied by the trustee in a manner derogatory to the public weal, the court may dismiss that trustee and appoint another. If the original purposes of the trust, through lapse of time and changing conditions, can no longer be carried out, the court may devise a scheme of its own as nearly like the original purposes as possible. . . . Every charitable society that receives funds for charity, then, receives them in trust for public use. That society is a trustee. And, as trustee, it should be accountable by some rational method to the public that is to benefit therefrom." [1]

4. The state's supervision should extend also to the licensing of all unincorporated agencies in the state. In every state there is a large number of unincorporated charities soliciting public funds and engaged in activities that concern the public welfare. The stricter the supervision of incorporated charitable agencies, the less likely the frauds are to incorporate. Therefore, the state board should have authority to supervise all persons and agencies, whether incorporated or unincorporated, pretending to render charitable or correctional services.

5. A state board should also standardize methods and promote the education of the people of the state in standards of relief and correction. The standardization of methods can be worked out best by a central board, leaving, of course, sufficient flexibility to provide for experiment within limits. The education of the public should be one of the active aims of the state board. One of the great difficulties in

[1] Kelso, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1917, pp. 368, 369.

securing support of progressive policies in charity work is lack of understanding on the part of the people. Indiana and Massachusetts are splendid examples of what such boards can do in this respect.

6. The board, whatever its nature, should be studying the problems throughout the state and making known the results. Indiana's State Board has made extensive studies of feeble-mindedness in almshouses and many other studies of the very greatest importance to the people of the state in the conduct of their institutions and the molding of their policies with respect to the wards of the state. The State Board of Control of Wisconsin likewise recently made a study to ascertain the need of a mothers' pension in the state; a study of the effects of the sterilization of the feeble-minded was also undertaken by it, and it is now undertaking to make a study of the extent of feeble-mindedness in Wisconsin.

7. The state board should have a program of prevention as well as a program of treatment. It should be the body which has its eyes upon the horizon, carefully endeavoring to find means to prevent the pauperism, poverty and crime as well as their treatment after they have once appeared.

8. Such board should be absolutely divorced from politics, and the best possible men in the state, and even in the nation, should be secured to carry on such important work.

9. Mr. Charles H. Strong thus outlines his ideal of what a state board in New York should be: "I would make a board of nine instead of twelve as now; I would have a president of the board who is a skilled administrator; a member, serving as chairman of the new Bureau for Mental Deficiency, who is a physician with special training in psychiatry; a member, serving as the chairman of the new Bureau for Dependent Children, who has special knowledge of the care and education of children in private institutions and of children placed out in homes; a member who is a penologist or skilled in reformation of the delinquent, with special reference to the seven state institutions concerned with delinquents; a member who is skilled in methods of education, with special reference to the two state schools; a member who is a physician, with knowledge of tubercular diseases, with special reference to the state institution having inmates thus afflicted; a member who is generally conversant with dependency and the several forms of poor relief; a physician who is a general practitioner, with special reference to dispensaries and hospitals and

to the state institution for crippled children; and a member who is a lawyer." [1]

Administration in charity, as in industrial relations, is the important matter. Good laws are needed, but they should not be the result of an attempt by the legislature to control the details of administration. Legislative administration is a failure. Administration under law, not by law, has been shown to be the hope of efficiency in government. Our states got no encouraging results as long as the law-makers attempted to write into the laws just how women and children were to be protected in industry, just how much compensation each injured employee is to receive from his employer, and under what circumstances in detail an employer must pay for injuries, leaving to a court to decide the matter after a legal battle of lawyers. Progress came when the legislature enacted laws bearing on the general policy and set up an administrative body to apply the law to the varying circumstances of an industrial situation.[2]

So with the improvement of charity, administration is the important matter. On the administration of our laws regulating the care of the poor, the insane, the feeble-minded and other dependents hangs the success of our united efforts to redeem charity, public and private, from its well-earned disgrace. With a supervising board given broad powers to secure results under the law, composed of people who have studied these difficult questions and who possess tact and educational ability, whose decisions are subject to review by the courts as a safeguard against injustice, there is hope of progress not only in providing proper care of the dependent, but in educating the public to appreciation of constructive measures and to the importance of prevention.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Evolution of the State Board. Wines, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1897, p. 163.
2. Historic Review of the Debate on the Form of State Board as Found in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.* Johnson, *Guide to the Study of Charities and*

[1] Strong, *Report of Charles H. Strong to Governor Whitman,* Albany, 1916, p. 157.

[2] See Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation,* New York, 1920 Chapter IX.

Correction by Means of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1908, pp. 27-31.

3. The Political Theory of State Supervision of Charitable Institutions. Clark, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1904, p. 180; Kingsley, *Ibid.,* 1905, p. 394.
4. The Legal Theory of State Supervision of Charitable Institutions and Agencies. (Study the court decisions, state and federal, drawing therefrom the theory on which such supervision is based.)

PART IV

SPECIAL CLASSES OF DEPENDENTS

CHAPTER XVII

THE AGED DEPENDENT

HAVING surveyed the problems of poverty and dependency, we are now in a position to inquire how society may treat the dependent and the poor *constructively,* so as to enable the dependent to become self-supporting again, or, if that is impossible, to live out their lives in as useful and happy a way as possible, and to prevent the poor from falling into dependency. We shall consider first the dependents, and later the prevention of dependency. In order to know how to treat them, we shall study the different classes of dependents, for it is not wise to treat all dependents alike. For example, the aged dependent must be dealt with differently from the dependent child; the tramp from the unemployed seeking work. Hence, in discussing treatment, we must classify the dependents and adapt certain principles of relief and social treatment to each class. The aged dependent first will engage our attention.

EXTENT OF DEPENDENCY DUE TO OLD AGE

In Great Britain. In the last half of the last century, students in England gave much attention to the problem of the aged dependent. Beginning with the agitation which led to the poor law reform of 1834, some attention was given in England to the question of the care of the aged. Much later, however, was an attempt made to ascertain the proportion of dependency due to age. One of the earliest of these students was Canon Blackley. Upon inquiry in 26 country parishes he found that no less than 42 per cent of the old who had died had had relief during the closing years of their lives. Charles Booth, who made a separate study of the matter, thought that figure somewhat too high, and placed the estimate throughout England at 30 per cent.[1] In 1908, while in England and Wales, 1.27 per cent of the population were aged and infirm adult paupers, they composed nearly half, 47.9 per cent, of the total pauperism in England and Wales.[2]

[1] Booth, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age,* London, 1892, p. 165.
[2] *Public Health and Social Conditions,* London, 1909, p. 55.

More recently particular attention has been given to the question of the proportion of the aged who were in need. In 1906 nearly one-sixth (15.77 per cent) of the population of England and Wales over 60 years of age were paupers.

That old age contributes greatly to pauperism is indicated, furthermore, by the relatively larger proportion of the population of England and Wales who were paupers above 60 years of age than of those below.[1] It has been estimated that in Great Britain, out of 1,000 men living at the age of 20, 500 will be living at the age of 65, two-fifths of whom will become paupers. It has been estimated that eight-ninths of the pauperism beyond 65 years in England is due to old age.[2] One-fifth of those 70 years of age and above who die in London die in a workhouse, hospital, or other public institution. In Dublin less than one-half die in their own homes.[3]

The conservatism of these estimates is confirmed by what has happened since the passage of the Old Age Pension Act in England in 1908. Thus, in January, 1913, of the total number of persons in England and Wales over 70 years of age, exactly 60 per cent were old age pensioners.[4]

Even more significant of the dire poverty which old age brings are the facts revealed by the operation of the Old Age Pension Act in England. Only those persons can qualify for any pension under this Act who have less than 31 pounds 10 shillings income per year. Those who have only 21 pounds income receive the maximum. Yet in 1912 90 per cent of the million old age pensioners in the United Kingdom received the full pension of 5 shillings.[5]

[1] While only 2.51 per cent of the total population and but 2.12 per cent of the population below 16 years of age, and only 1.05 per cent of the population between 16 and 60 years of age were paupers, nearly one-sixth of those 60 years of age and over were public dependents. *Public Health and Social Conditions,* London, 1909, p. 56.

[2] A wage census cited by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate on the Old Age Pension Law adopted in England in 1908 showed that 57 per cent of the wage earners of the United Kingdom earn less than 25 shillings per week. Lewis, *State Insurance,* Boston, 1909, p. 163.

[3] Foss and West, *The Social Worker and Modern Charity,* London, 1914. p. 85.

[4] The proportion of the population over 60 years of age receiving old age pensions varied from 26.7 per cent in Bournemouth to 77.8 per cent in Bermondsey, both urban areas, and from 44.8 per cent in Surrey, to 80.1 per cent in Northamptonshire, both outside the metropolitan urban area. Foss and West, *op. cit.,* pp. 88, 89. It must be remembered that these figures do not represent all of the aged dependents, since not all dependents can qualify under the Old Age Pension Act.

[5] Foss and West, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

In the United States. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give statistics of such definiteness for the United States. So far as the situation can be made out, the facts are these:

In 1910, there were 3,949,524 persons in the United States above 64 years of age.[1] We have no way of knowing the economic condition of these people. An estimate, however, has been made by Mr. Squier that more than a million and a quarter of these are in want and supported by charity, public or private. He adds: "One person in 18 of our wage-earners reaches the age of 65 in penury; and the indications are that the proportion of indigent old is increasing."[2] Dr. Devine estimates that about half a million can be counted from statistical sources as in institutions or receiving partial support at home.[3] The Census shows that of the paupers in almshouses in the United States in 1910 a little more than one-third (34.2 per cent) are between 55 and 70 years of age and almost another one-third (30.4 per cent) over 70 years of age.[4] These figures give us no conception of the proportion of the population in any age group who are paupers, only the proportion who are almshouse paupers. The Census Report does show that with increasing age an ever larger proportion of the old people are inmates of poorhouses. Thus, at 45 to 49 years of age, 116.1 per 100,000 of that age are in almshouses, while at from 65 to 69 the number is 616.7, and at 80 and over 1,661.[5]

There is no indication that the causes of this deplorable condition of old age dependency, such as misfortune, low wages, unemployment, failing health, etc., are on the wane. Nor are the efforts to meet this need through service pensions by corporations, homes for the aged and similar measures meeting the necessities of the case. Mr. Squire estimates that these measures may perhaps care for one-third of the wage-earning class in America. "Whereas," he adds, "two-thirds of this great industrial army are not provided for by any present or pros-

[1] *Abstracts of the Census,* 1910, p. 122.
[2] Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States,* New York, 1912, p. 324.
[3] Devine, *The Normal Life,* New York, 1917, pp. 177-178.
[4] *Special Report of the Census: Paupers in Almshouses, 1910,* Washington, 1915, p. 17.
[5] Unfortunately the report of the Census on benevolent institutions does not specify the ages of those in such institutions in the United States. In 1,358 homes for adults or adults and children on January 1, 1911, there were 116,228 inmates. However, there had been received in 1,302 institutions a total of 918,752 persons. In 782 permanent homes reporting to the Census Bureau there were 73,177 adults. Of these 40,200 were inmates in Soldiers' Homes. *Special Report of the Census: Benevolent Institutions, 1910,* pp. 21, 38, 41.

pective old age relief other than that afforded by the operation of the poor laws." [1]

Whatever the extent of old age dependency, "the number of the aged who require support presents a problem serious enough to justify far more attention than it has received." [2]

Says Mr. Lewis, "From whatever point of view we look at it, we must agree that old age poverty is the result of an industrial or economic system which is at fault somewhere. The correction must come through radical legislation, but upon scientific economic principles." [3]

HISTORIC AND PRESENT METHODS OF CARING FOR THE AGED POOR

Among many primitive peoples there is a simple and effective method of dealing with the pauper and the aged poor. A council is called, and if the aged person has reached a certain stage of economic uselessness, a feast is held in his honor, stoically he bids his friends farewell, and then he is knocked on the head. Horrible as such a practice seems in our eyes, as Mr. Lewis suggests, in reality it is a very humane custom compared with the practice of most civilized nations, "where the aged pauper, physically exhausted, destitute, friendless, forsaken, drags out a miserable existence in the workhouse or as the recipient of some humiliating form of poor relief. The pathos of the situation is heightened when it happens that the unfortunate one is a veritable soldier of toil, worn out on industrial battlefields, perhaps after fifty years of ill-requited labor. His misery is sometimes emphasized by his conviction that an undefined portion of the material prosperity that surrounds him is rightfully his; that the community in which he lives, and perhaps the fellow citizen who looks upon him with mingled aversion and pity, have unduly profited by his toil." [4]

In most English-speaking countries, reliance for the care of the aged has been chiefly upon their own savings or upon their earning power, whatever it may be in old age, or upon support from children or other relatives; in the United States upon military pensions, and for the veterans of the Confederate Army, state pensions; upon private homes for the aged, sometimes maintained by admission fees of

[1] Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States,* New York, 1912, pp. 324-325.
[2] Devine, *The Normal Life,* New York, 1917, pp. 177, 178.
[3] Lewis, *State Insurance,* Boston, 1909, p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 148.

inmates and sometimes free, quite often a combination of both plans; upon the poorhouse, upon public and private outdoor relief, or upon the benevolence of churches and charitable agencies. Others of the aged dependents are in institutions for special classes of dependents, such as those for the insane and other asylums.[1]

Savings for Old Age. In individualistic America, great emphasis has been placed upon thrift as a provision for old age. This policy has accorded well with the spirit of American institutions, with its emphasis upon individual capacity and responsibility. With the development of the complexity of our economic society has come growth of institutions to encourage thrift. Banks have become more stable, and therefore worthy of greater confidence. They have developed savings departments in which people may deposit their surplus earnings and receive from them a small return. Investments of all kinds have been developed for the accommodation of small investors. Bonds of all denominations are now being sold to attract the savings of the relatively poor man. In Great Britain and the United States, as well as in many other countries of the world, to encourage savings on the part of the people, the post office department has initiated postal savings banks. In France these were established as early as 1860. All of these devices have been of immeasurable benefit in assisting the people safely to put away for future use some part of their earnings. These institutions have been of value to the better paid workers who have some surplus above absolute necessities, but not to the man whose income provides no surplus.[2]

There are those who hold that the rational expenditure of the weekly income of American wage-earners should leave a sufficient margin to pay for an annuity beginning with the age of 60 or 65 sufficient to meet reasonable needs in old age.[3]

"How," asked Mayor Hebbard, of Boston, at the National Conference in 1908, in discussing Mr. Hoffman's paper, "are you going to inculcate thrift into the laborer getting $2.25 a day? How can he save money to retire when he becomes 60 at the present high cost of living?"[4] Thrift is a good safeguard against old age dependency when the income is sufficient. It should be encouraged in every possible way and defended against the aspersions sometimes cast upon

[1] Devine, *The Normal Life*, New York, 1917, pp. 178, 179.
[2] Lewis, *State Insurance*, Boston, 1909, p. 154.
[3] Hoffman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1908, p. 228.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

it by pseudo-economists. The War has taught us the lesson of the importance of saving. Nevertheless, the fact remains that for large numbers of people the income is too small to enable the family to maintain a decent standard of living and at the same time to provide a fund against the "rainy day" of old age.

Father Ryan has shown that 48 per cent of the male adults fail to get a living wage; or, if the company officers and firm members are excluded, 51 per cent receive less than $12 a week.[1]

The Almshouse. In the United States the final resort of all dependents, the aged included, is the almshouse, just as the general mixed workhouse in England provides a refuge for those who could be cared for nowhere else. We have already seen that there is a vast army of old people herded in the poorhouses of America. Probably more than one-half of the poorhouse inmates in America are homeless and helpless old folks. Being the resort of the wastrel and vicious aged poor, the poorhouse has so bad a reputation in England and the United States, that respectable old persons would usually rather starve than enter its hated doors.

Homes for the Aged. On this account there have risen all over the country homes for the aged. Sometimes these are endowed and admission is granted without the payment of an entrance fee. In most cases, however, an admission charge is made which partly assists in defraying the expenses of the inmates. In the latter case, part of the expense of maintenance is usually provided by endowment.

Such homes have the shortcoming that usually they do not provide for those who cannot pay an admission fee. They are very good for the class for which they are intended, but they do not touch more than the fringe of the problem of the aged poor.

Outdoor Relief. Private institutions and public authorities in many states provide a pittance for the care of the aged poor in the United States. Usually, however, it is not given in sufficient amount to sustain the aged person or persons in any degree of comfort. What it usually amounts to is slow starvation. Most of our poor relief laws provide against any outdoor relief, so long as the person has any resources whatsoever. Then, when the last penny is spent, a grudging and deterrent dole is given, on the theory that relief must be made as unpleasant as possible in order to deter frauds from seeking aid. As a policy on which to depend for the proper care of the aged dependents, outdoor poor relief, however, is a broken reed. Private organi-

[1] Ryan, *A Living Wage*, pp. 155, 156.

zations like charity organization societies have sometimes established a policy of pensioning from their funds certain selected old people.

Care by Relatives. From time immemorial the care of the aged has been a responsibility of their children and near relatives. Were such a plan always feasible, it would be the best and most natural solution of the problem. However, under our modern industrial conditions, it is often impossible for the children and relatives to afford the old person proper care or even any care at all. Investigations in England have clearly demonstrated that among the lower paid wage-earners it is absolutely impossible, with even the most careful management, for a son with a large family to support his old parents.

Moreover, in many cases the domestic harmony is disturbed by the presence of the aged and they are not happy. This condition, however, might be endured.

In large numbers of cases the aged person has no relatives upon whom he can depend. Therefore, some other provision must be made for such a person. To send him, after he has been a respectable person until old age, to the poorhouse is to curse his declining years with the stigma attaching to that institution.

Says Devine: "As between maintaining, if possible, a separate domestic establishment and going to live with sons and daughters-in-law, or daughters and sons-in-law, many would justly prefer the former. As between being boarded out in the family of a stranger and accommodation in a private or church institution, many would prefer the latter. But all four plans, and many variations upon them, are legitimate for those respectively who prefer them. Any of them is better than neglect, and some one or a combination of them is a possible means of caring for a very large proportion of those who are past work. We put savings and care by grown sons and daughters, therefore, as not only a natural, but a desirable provision for old age." [1]

Boarding Out. As a method of caring for those who have no relatives with whom they can live, and as an alternative to the poorhouse and the private home for the aged, it has been suggested that aged dependents be boarded out as dependent children are often cared for. This plan has not been tried in this country to any considerable extent. It would be an admirable substitute, however, for outdoor relief were the public authorities to adopt a liberal policy of paying for board. The homes would have to be selected carefully, and afterwards supervised in order that the evils which attended the contract

[1] Devine, *The Normal Life*, Douglas McMurtrie Co., New York, 1917, p. 181.

system of caring for paupers prevalent in many states earlier and still surviving in some, should not appear. It has the advantage that it would be a substitute for outdoor relief for those old people who need personal care.[1]

Insurance. The last 50 years has seen an enormous growth of insurance companies throughout Western Europe and the United States. With the development of other policies, the insurance companies have devised policies which provide for old age. These policies, for the most part, take three forms: Endowment policies, limited payment policies which are paid to the insured after 20 or 30 years, and policies maturing at 65. At their maturity the face of these policies is paid to the insured. Since they provide for the payment of the face of the policy at death, even though it occurs before maturity, they partake of the character of insurance.

Other kinds of insurance policies which are payable to beneficiaries at the death of the insured have as one of their purposes the protection of beneficiaries in old age. Another form of insurance policy is one which is not payable in a lump sum, but by annuities over a period of years or until the death of the beneficiary.

All of these forms of insurance are a method of saving, with the additional element of insurance in case the insured does not live out the expected term of life. However, all of them except annuities are subject to the danger of ill-advised investment. There is always a certain proportion of insurance policy beneficiaries who lose their money through foolish investments or through changed conditions and therefore would have to be cared for in other ways.

Industrial Pensions. A movement looking in the direction of old age pensions is the pensioning of the employees of a company under certain conditions after they have reached a certain age. A pioneer in this field in the United States was the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which inaugurated its old age pension policy in 1884. This policy has been followed by a large number of other railroads and by numerous industrial concerns.[2]

Industrial pensions are of three kinds: Contributory, partially contributory, and non-contributory, or service pensions.

The motives of the companies which have originated industrial in-

[1] Devine, *Principles of Relief*, New York, 1904, p. 134.

[2] For details see Seager, *Industrial Insurance*, New York, 1910, pp. 119-122; Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, New York, 1912, Chap. III; Henderson, "Industrial Insurance," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 489-616.

surance are chiefly economic. Such old age insurance is a means whereby the stability of the laboring force is assured. A man who knows that when he reaches a certain age, if he has given faithful service, he will be retired on a part-pay pension is less likely to leave the employ of the company than one who has no such expectation. In such concerns as railroads, it is of the utmost importance that continuity of service so far as possible be guaranteed. From the standpoint of the railroads and employing concerns the plan is worth all it costs. Its by-product in the welfare of the men is entirely commendable.

From the standpoint of the employee, the plan is not entirely an unmitigated good. Most industrial pension systems tend to prevent a transfer from one concern to another for better pay. So far, therefore, as wages are dependent upon competition between the employers, the old age pension scheme of industrial corporations prevents a man seeking better-paid employment. Says Professor Seager, "If corporation managers can be persuaded to substitute for their establishment pension plan systems that do not interfere with the mobility of labor, such full provision may be made through these systems and through special pension arrangements for public servants of all sorts, college professors, etc., that governmental action, except to provide for public employees, will be unnecessary. If, however, corporate pension plans continue to require those who benefit from them to serve for long years the corporate employer promising the pension, this method of providing for old age will prove inadequate. Wage-earners will have little enthusiasm for it; they will continue to change from employer to employer to better their condition, and a large, in the aggregate a very large, number will fail to secure such pensions because they will not have complied with the conditions." [1]

Public Service Pensions. The form of public service pension best known in the United States is the soldiers' and sailors' pensions. The principle upon which military pensions are based was expressed by a regulation of the Plymouth Pilgrims in 1636 when they enacted a regulation that anyone serving as a soldier who returned maimed should be maintained by the colony for the rest of his life. Eight years later the Virginia Assembly provided pensions for disability, and the Continental Congress passed the first real pension law in this country in 1776. From the time of the Revolutionary War down to quite recently the Government had more land than money. In addi-

[1] Henry Rogers Seager, *Social Insurance,* New York, 1910, pp. 144, 145.

tion to special grants made by Congress since the Revolutionary War, the Government up to 1906 had issued to men who had been in the army and navy 598,628 warrants for 783,030 acres of land. However, the United States has spent enormous sums for pensions. To the pensioners of the Revolutionary War it is estimated that $70,000,000 was paid by the Government; to the pensioners of the War of 1812, over $46,000,000; of the Indian Wars, $14,204,296; of the War with Mexico, over $51,250,000; of the Civil War, up to 1918, more than $4,917,000,000; of the Spanish War, over $51,500,000; to the beneficiaries of the regular establishment, nearly $43,000,000; and unclassified, over $16,500,000—or a total of $5,215,528,780. In 1918 we were still expending annually on United States pensions, $179,835,329.[1]

Professor Henderson has made a comparison of the annual expenditures for pensions in this country and Europe. "In the year 1891, Great Britain expended on military pensions, 5,410,822 pounds—less than $27,054,000; France, $29,857,000; Germany, $13,283,000; Austria, $12,245,000. The expenditures of the United States for the same purpose in that year were $118,548,959."[2] Thus, the United States was spending almost twice as much annually for the pensioning of its ex-service men as all of these nations combined.

Large numbers of the old Confederate soldiers have received pensions from the states of the South. Georgia has paid such pensions since 1879. Most of the other Southern states began the practice later. About 1904, 14 Southern states were pensioning old Confederate soldiers. While the figures available are not all for the same year, varying from 1904 to 1907, 12 states were paying annually $3,072,340 to 94,869 veterans.[3]

Says Devine, "The federal and state pensions, in theory merely a deferred recognition of services performed now half a century ago, have become in fact a main national provision for old age. Judged from that point of view, it is not an equitable provision. The federal pensions have been distributed mainly in the Northern states, where the need for old-age support is certainly not greatest. Their cost has been enormous. They have had no relation to proved need, to thrift, or to merit. As a provision for old age, they have violated every known canon of actuarial, ethical, and social policy. They are a cost

[1] *World's Almanac*, 1919, p. 232.
[2] Henderson, "Industrial Insurance," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XIV, p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72.

of the Civil War, and in that light alone could they be defended as devised and administered. And yet the federal and state pensions are not without some substantial justification in their social results. If the government had not expended the four or five billion dollars which it has spent in pensions, the problem of old-age dependence would have been far more pressing than it has been. Much of that money has been wasted; some of it has been demoralizing; but it has been one means of support, perhaps on the whole the best means that we have had after savings and maintenance by relatives.

"One minor reason for the long-continued poverty of Southern states, as compared with the greater economic prosperity of the North, has doubtless been the drain on its resources to care for its aged white and colored dependents. The pension fund, drawn from general taxation, has been expended in the North. Another fund, not so enormous but still large in the aggregate, has then had to be raised for the support of the relatively larger and poorer number who served the lost cause or were impoverished by the war. The result has been a serious national maladjustment, which cannot be without its effect on physical well-being and economic prosperity." [1]

While this provision for soldiers and sailors has been the most widespread service pension in the United States, a number of American cities have begun to pension policemen and firemen. In 1906 Mr. Butler reported 30 cities in the United States which had firemen's pensions and 26 cities with retiring pensions for policemen.[2] In some of the states the matter is regulated under state statute; in others, the control is with the city.

The terms of retirement vary from city to city and from state to state. For example, in New Jersey, policemen retire after 20 years. In Boston they retire after 25 years at one-half their former salary. For disability they receive from one-half to one-third of the former salary, and widows receive a pension of $300 per annum, and funeral expenses up to $1,000 are paid. In some of the cities the pension at retirement is a flat sum per month.

The theory on which these pensions are granted is the extra-hazardous nature of the occupation. In most places deductions are made from the policeman's salary for the partial maintenance of the fund. In addition, money from the liquor license and other license fees fre-

[1] Devine, *The Normal Life*, New York, 1917, pp. 179-180.

[2] Proceedings, *National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1900, pp. 481, 487, 612-615. Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, New York, 1912, pp. 193-228.

quently is turned into this fund. Much the same means are used to build up the firemen's funds, although in some cases part of the fund comes out of the taxes.

In America practically no other municipal employees, unless one counts the teacher, are pensioned. However, in Europe, "there is hardly a city," says Squier, "that does not make provision for pensioning all its employees after they have served a given number of years and have reached the age of 60 or 65." In some of the cities of Europe the plan is contributory. However, at least one-half of the European cities make no deductions from the wages of the employees for the establishment and maintenance of these funds.[1]

What actually happens in our American cities where we have no retirement pension is that the old municipal employees are continued on the payroll although increasingly inefficient. In Boston, for example, 60 per cent of all municipal employees over 65 years of age were reported as quite inefficient. Were there a retiring pension, this deadwood among the municipal employees could be removed, and more efficient persons could take their places.[2] Said Mr. John F. Crowell before the Conference on Social Insurance in 1917, "Standards of efficiency are beginning to have their effect upon the progress of the pensioning movement. Retirement at the age limit of 65 eliminates from government service, as well as private employment, a class of employees which facilitates the improvement of standards. Anyone familiar with Federal administrative conditions is aware of the difficulty of attempting to accomplish the best business results so long as a considerable proportion of the employees in any given branch or division is above the age limit of retirement; and it is equally difficult in planning their system of clerical work to have the quick-witted and alert men and women of 25 or 30 years fit into arrangements where the slower speed of the worker of 60 is the determinant of the rate of speed. Still more is the employee who overstays his efficient years a hindrance in any system of promotion. This leads to the conclusion that the government service, as well as corporate service, would be materially improved by a systematic provision for old-age pensions." [3]

A similar movement for the pensioning of teachers has been going on for a long time, both in the United States and abroad. Russia

[1] Squier, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[3] "Old Age Pensions," *Proceedings of the Conference on Social Insurance*, New York, 1917, p. 777.

established such laws as early as 1819; Saxony in 1840; England in 1848; France in 1858. In the United States the first movement of which we have record was made in Brooklyn in 1878. New York City secured the passage of the first law in 1894, and Brooklyn in 1895. At the close of the year 1911, Squier reports 22 of our states as having laws authorizing certain cities, usually the largest ones, to make retirement allowances to teachers after having taught a certain length of time.[1]

Wisconsin in 1911 passed a law establishing for the entire state the Teachers' Insurance and Retirement Fund. This is a partially contributory plan in which part of the funds come from the treasury of the state and part from an assessment of one per cent per annum, or not more than $15 per year for each of the first ten years of service, and two per cent per year, or not more than $30 per year for each successive year of service until the teacher shall have served 25 years, and partly from donations, legacies and interest.[2]

Maryland appropriates $25,000 a year as a pension for teachers who have taught at least 25 years, and have reached 60 years of age or become permanently disabled. Massachusetts follows still another plan in its law passed in 1908, applicable to all cities and towns in the State except the city of Boston. The providing of the funds is in the hands of the city council or the town authorities. Applicable to Boston alone is a special law providing for the pensioning of teachers.[3]

Some of the universities of the country have provided retirement funds for their teachers. Most of such plans in universities, however, have now been correlated with the pensions provided by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Carnegie Foundation has had to change its plan and now is endeavoring to provide insurance rather than to give pensions to teachers in certain colleges and universities on retirement. It still continues its provision for disability.

Civil Service employees were not pensioned in the United States until 1920.

For a number of years efforts had been made to have Congress pass a pension act for employees of the United States in the classified Civil Service. In the Sixty-second Congress there were presented five such bills. In all but two of these provision was made for contribu-

[1] Squier, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-192.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-185.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-154.

tions by the employees as the basis of the pension or annuity in old age. Lengthy hearings were held by the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. Nothing, however, came of the matter until the Sixty-sixth Congress, when an act was passed and approved May 22, 1920. This was a pension act with contributions by the employee of 2½ per cent of his basic wage. Its provisions included all employees in the classified service with a clause authorizing the President by executive order, on recommendation of the Civil Service Commission, to extend the scope of the act to include any employees of the United States not in the classified list at the time of the passage of the act. The employees are classified into six classes according to length of service. The oldest class consists of those who have been in the service 30 years; the class of those the shortest time in service includes those who have served for 15 years. The first are to receive at retirement 60 per cent of their average annual basic salary for the 10 years preceding their retirement. Those who have served 15 years at retirement receive 30 per cent of their average annual basic salary for the preceding 10 years. So for each of the other classes; each receives a percentage of his average previous ten-year salary represented by twice the number of years he has served. Thus, if he had served 27 years, he receives 54 per cent. The age of retirement is placed at 70 years, except that mechanics, city and rural letter carriers, and post-office clerks retire at 65, and railway postal clerks at 62. No retirement pension is paid until after 15 years of service. The act also provides for a disability annuity of the same amount as he would be entitled to at retirement.[1]

In 1920 New York State passed an old age insurance act, which provides that a man employed by the state may retire at 60 and must at 70; that he shall receive an annuity, the actuarial equivalent of his accumulated contributions at the time of his retirement, and a pension in addition to his annuity of one-one hundred fortieth of his final salary multiplied by the number of years of state service since he last became a member, and an additional pension equal to one-seventieth of his final average salary multiplied by the number of years allowable to him on account of service certified to him by his prior service certificate. This law also provides for disability retirement after 15 or more years of service, if a medical examination shows that he is incapacitated for duty.[2]

[1] Public—No. 215—66th Congress, S. 1699.
[2] Laws of New York, 1920, Chap. 741.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

These various schemes, generally involving contribution on the part of the beneficiary or applying only to certain classes, or to public servants, while excellent so far as people are able to take advantage of them, fail to meet the need of large classes of the aged in all countries. In spite of the development of insurance, of the preaching of thrift, or various forms of industrial and service pensions, in the United States the problem has not been solved. The poorhouses are still filled with old people. With the increasing complexity of life, the hardship of the aged has become more pronounced; the care of aged parents by their sons and daughters has become more difficult in our congested industrial cities. Students of the question recently have been looking into the facts more carefully, the result being that to-day there is a keener appreciation than ever before of the suffering endured by old people by reason of poverty.

A number of states of the Union have appointed commissions to study the subject of old-age insurance and pensions. In addition, by legislative direction the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin made a report on old age insurance and pensions. The Pennsylvania commission found that 43 per cent of those 50 years of age and over had no resources except their own earnings and that but 38 per cent of the aged population possessed any appreciable amount of personal property. The commissions of both Ohio and Pennsylvania showed that the problem was predominately a native rather than an immigrant problem. The Ohio report showed that, aside from Federal and state pensioners, only 3,000 were pensioned of 304,000 aged 65 and over. The Wisconsin report showed that every voluntary and contributory scheme had failed to attract any large numbers of the population, even with state subsidies, and that even compulsory insurance reaches the employed only in certain classes.[1]

Speaking of the schemes which we have discussed above, Frank W. Lewis says: "While we seem to have passed beyond schemes for universal pensions, probably permanently, the world has gone far—whether wisely or not will be discussed later—in the direction of pensions as a gratuity from the state, without compulsion, without con-

[1] *Report of Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions*, 1919; *Health, Health Insurance, Old Age Pensions*, Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission, 1919; Downey, *Report on Old Age Relief*, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Madison, 1915.

tribution, but with a sharp discrimination as to the need and merit of the applicant." [1]

Old Age Pensions in Germany. Germany was the first European country to inaugurate old age pensions. In that country they were a part of the German National Insurance scheme put into operation in 1889. Old age and invalidity insurance are both administered in Germany through insurance districts, 31 in number, each having its own insurance office.

The benefits under the German law are very small. Moreover, the plan is dependent upon contributions by the beneficiary. Old age pensions are available for those who have reached the age of 70 and have paid premiums for 1,200 weeks. Employers and employees contribute equally to old age insurance, the state adding to their joint contribution for each annuity a subsidy of $11.90 per year. The old age pensions are given without regard to earning capacity.[2]

In Denmark. Denmark, responding to the same general conditions as induced Germany to introduce old age insurance, in 1891 set up a system of old age pensions. It was a part of the revised Poor Law, designed to draw a sharper distinction between the undeserving aged poor and those who had been respectable and industrious.

The conditions under which an old person in Denmark may receive an old age pension are as follows:

1. He must not have been convicted of a crime or of a dishonorable transaction.

2. His income from other sources must be insufficient to provide the necessaries of life, or proper treatment in case of sickness for himself or those dependent upon him.

3. His poverty must not be a consequence of any action by which he has deprived himself of the means of subsistence for the benefit of his children or others.

4. During the ten years preceding his application he must have had a fixed residence in the country, and not have applied for pauper relief or have been found guilty of vagrancy or begging.

5. Finally, according to a proviso added in 1902, he must not have led a life such as to cause scandal nor have been convicted of drunkenness or immorality.

[1] Lewis, *State Insurance*, 1909, p. 157.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68, 70.

The Danish system is non-contributory. The pension is paid entirely out of the public treasury. The amount of it depends upon the cost of living in the locality, and that amount is determined by local officials.[1]

In France. The National Old Age Retirement fund dates in France from 1850. Intended primarily for wage-workers, and indirectly subsidized by the government by paying a higher rate of interest upon the deposits than the market rate, and administered by the state at no cost to the fund, nevertheless, the old age retirement fund has been a failure, so far as its success in reaching a large number of the aged is concerned. Most wage-workers find it impossible to pay even the small sums required. From 1851 to 1883 only 640,000 persons, an average of 19,000 per annum, out of a population of 35,000,000, took advantage of the law. Of those who took it, only 52.6 per cent were wage-earners, and of these about half were railroad workers, who had to take it. Hence, in those 36 years, only 160,000 workers voluntarily insured. This scheme was a contributory one.

In the face of these results the voluntary plan was abandoned. In 1895 the plan was made compulsory for mine workers as well as railroad employees. In the same year government subsidies were introduced. Even with the subsidies, however, less than 250,000 wage-workers voluntarily took advantage of the plan. It must be admitted that the plan was a failure so far as it was intended to solve the problem of old age. The most needy part of the population were unable to avail themselves of the fund.

In 1910 a compulsory old age insurance law was passed, modeled very closely upon the German system. Up to date the results show that the plan has failed as a provision for old age.[2]

In Sweden. In 1913 Sweden enacted a compulsory old age insurance law, much more comprehensive than that of either Germany or France. Unlike those of Germany and France, Sweden's law includes others besides the wage-workers, practically the whole adult population. The government also subsidizes the fund, so that for at least 30 years to come, until such time as the accumulations of the payments by the insured make up a considerable sum, practically the whole annuity received by those who are qualified by age will come

[1] Henry Rogers Seagers, *Social Insurance*, New York, 1910, pp. 132-134; Frank W. Lewis, *State Insurance*, Boston, 1909, p. 158.

[2] Downey, *Report on Old Age Relief*, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Madison, 1915.

from the government subsidy. Hence, the Swedish scheme is for the present more pension than insurance for old age.

Voluntary Insurance in Other States. In addition to the countries cited as having voluntary insurance for old age, Canada, Spain, Belgium, Italy and Massachusetts and Wisconsin in the United States have such systems. In every one of these the experience has been the same. The voluntary plan does not reach the classes most in need of protection. France and Belgium have held out special inducements in the shape of a rate of interest higher than the market afforded and subsidized certain classes besides, yet without any striking success.

In Australasia. Among English-speaking countries, the first to inaugurate straight old age pensions was New Zealand. That little island, so far removed from the old seats of civilization and the force of tradition, is so young that she can afford to make experiments. New Zealand passed her law in 1898 after it had been debated in the two previous parliaments. It provided pensions at 65, after 25 years residence, of 7 shillings per week. Those who apply must submit to public examinations to determine their need and their previous record. In 1905 the pension was raised to 10 shillings and the magistrate was authorized to conduct the examination of the applicant in his chambers. In 1907 New Zealand's example was followed by Victoria and New South Wales.

The law of Victoria eliminated the age qualification and provided that the pension should commence upon permanent disability, if the disability resulted from labor in the mines or any unhealthful or hazardous occupation. The law does not fix the amount of the pension, but prescribes a maximum of 10 shillings per week.[1]

In Australia the applicant must be 65 years of age, must have resided in the country for 25 years continuously before the date of his application, must have led a temperate and reputable life for the previous five years, must not have deserted husband, wife, or children, and must show need of assistance, on the basis of not having an income of more than 52 pounds a year or owning an amount of property not exceeding 310 pounds. Pensioners receive 26 pounds per annum. If, however, the income from other sources amounts to more than 26 pounds, the pension is reduced accordingly, the total income being kept down to 52 pounds a year.[2]

Concerning the effectiveness of these laws, it is claimed that they

[1] Lewis, *State Insurance*, 1909, p. 159.
[2] Seager, *Social Insurance*, p. 136.

work very satisfactorily. Their administration, it is said, stimulates public interest and creates a kindlier appreciation of the hardships of old age and the beneficence of the pension. Says Mr. Lewis, "The system has acquired so strong a hold upon the public in these Australasian colonies that it will be very difficult to effect any legislation in the direction of methods economically more sound." [1]

In Great Britain. The old age pension act of Great Britain went into effect January 1, 1909. It was modeled somewhat upon the general lines of the New Zealand law.[2] It provided for pensions of 5 shillings per week for persons having reached the age of 70 and who gave evidence of need. No one who has an income of more than 31 pounds 10 shillings is eligible. The pension is graduated for the people having an income of less than 31 pounds and 10 shillings down to 21 pounds per year. The person just under 31 pounds 10 shillings received 1 shilling per week, while the person having 21 pounds or less received the maximum of 5 shillings per week.

As originally passed, in 1908, no one could receive a pension who had been in receipt of poor relief within the previous five years. In 1911 that condition was removed from the law. In 1919 the maximum pension was increased from 5 shillings to 10 per week, so that now the income from all sources, including the pension, aggregates 20 shillings a week as contrasted with 13 shillings in the law of 1908. Other changes in the direction of greater liberality were also made in the amendment of 1919.[3]

The expense of the old age pensions in England has greatly exceeded anticipation. Mr. Asquith, in presenting the matter in Parliament, estimated the cost at from $30,000,000 to $37,500,000 a year. During the first year, however, 667,000 persons qualified and the expenditure for their pensions amounted to $40,000,000. These 667,000 persons constituted more than one-half the population of the United Kingdom 70 years of age and over.[4]

The movement for old age pensions in Great Britain was probably the result of the experiments of the Australasian colonies and of the system in Germany and in Denmark. However, the idea of pensioning the aged was not new in England. As early as 1876 the London Charity Organization Society—the District Committee of that organization for St. George's, Hanover Square—had raised a special fund

[1] Lewis, *State Insurance*, p. 159.
[2] Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
[3] *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. X, pp. 775, 776 (March, 1920, pp. 181, 182).
[4] Seager, *Social Insurance*, N. Y., 1910, p. 128.

for chronic cases and laid down special rules for the management. These allowances seem to have been looked upon by the committee as supplements of out-relief. The question first came up in the Council of the Society in 1876. The Council referred the matter to the Coöperation Subcommittee, which sent out a letter to 143 metropolitan charities inviting their coöperation in providing pensions for certain cases which otherwise would have to be sent to the almshouse. In 1877 the Tower Hamlets Pensions Committee was organized "to provide pensions, so far as its funds permit, for those worthy persons who seem by their character and circumstances to be worthy of assistance outside the workhouse." This work continued up to the time of the passage of the Old Age Pension Act, since which time it has provided for those who cannot live upon the 5 shillings per week provided for by that Act. In that year it provided pensions to 1,371 cases at an expense of 20,687 pounds.[1]

As to the granting of old age pensions by the state, "The Charity Organization Society has always been opposed to it, as it has to all plans for granting a stereotyped form of relief to large numbers of persons whose needs are very varying and only capable of being met by individual attention."

There is no doubt that the old age pension has taken care of many who were previously on the poor list. At the date of the removal of the pauperism disability provision, January 1, 1911, 122,415 paupers were taken over from the public poor relief officials by the pension authorities.

These various old age insurance and pension schemes, differing as they do in so many of their features, and yet similar in general outline, as either voluntary or compulsory insurance or straight-out pensions, show conclusively:

1. In every plan which is succeeding to any degree there is a considerable non-contributory element. The voluntary plans have succeeded only as they have had attached to them the government subsidy, as in Belgium, where about 40 per cent of the amounts paid in 1912 were from state funds. In Italy and France, where the funds were less heavily subsidized by the state, few workers were attracted to the scheme without compulsion.

2. That even with compulsion added it is impossible to raise from the payments of the wage-workers more than a small part of the funds necessary to keep the old from starving. In Germany and

[1] Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912*, London, 1914, Chap. XIV.

France for a long time the major part of the annuity had to be paid out of public funds. It will be so also in Sweden until the payments of the workers have accumulated and even when the system has come into full operation only about 40 per cent of the benefits will come from funds paid by the beneficiaries.

3. That no system, which does not take in unmarried, widowed and divorced women can solve the problem, inasmuch as women constituted, even before the destruction of males in the War, 62 per cent of the pensioners in Great Britain, 56 per cent in New Zealand, and 66 per cent in Denmark.[1]

The problem is important and probably will be solved in a better way. Says Mr. Squier, "That the problem is present; that it is widespread; that it deeply concerns our national happiness and prosperity; that its demands are insistent, and that the attempts at its permanent solution must be nation-, perhaps world-wide, cannot be doubted by an intelligent observer of economic conditions to-day. That there have been sporadic efforts at relief; that there have been "poor-law commissions" and other legislative investigations; that whole volumes have been written on the subject 'How to Relieve the Poor'; that now and then some industrial corporations or combination has made an attempt at the solution of the problem, so far as its own employees are concerned; that cities and states have provided pensions for certain classes of their employees; that societies have been organized for the practical operation of relief plans—all goes to show that a general, all-inclusive solution of this problem is imperative." [2]

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST OLD AGE PENSIONS

Increasing knowledge of the conditions surrounding large numbers of the aged has created a demand that there shall be something more for them than the poorhouse, than the uncertain savings for old age, and than dependence upon children. As to measures there is a division of opinion. While there is agreement that it is highly desirable that old people shall be independent, that neither poorhouse nor dependency upon children is satisfactory, we have, on the one hand, those who would provide pensions out of public funds only for those who have contributed during a certain number of years, and, on the other hand, those who insist that every respectable old person should

[1] Downey, *Report on Old Age Relief*, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Madison, 1915.
[2] Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States*, pp. 239, 240.

be provided the necessities of life at public expense without any contribution to the fund from which the pension is paid.

Arguments Against Non-contributory Old Age Pensions. It is urged that non-contributory pensions *undermine thrift.* "They must be contributory and they cannot be made effectually contributory without compulsion. Whether the wage-earner reaches old age poverty through his own fault or that of society, the fault should be corrected in its early rather than in its late stages, when we apply palliatives rather than remedies." [1]

That non-contributory pensions will discourage thrift is questionable. Says Professor Seager: "In my opinion, the idea that compulsory insurance against such a remote contingency as old age fosters thrift is illusory. As already suggested, providence and forethought are not developed through compulsion; are, in fact, almost inconsistent with compulsion. On the other hand, old age is only one, and not a very important one, of the contingencies that put a high premium, as society is now organized, on a saving disposition. It is desirable to save and acquire property to get on in the world, to give children a better start than their parents enjoyed, to be assured more than bare necessaries as old age comes on, etc. These, the strongest motives leading to saving, are unaffected by the guarantee of a small annuity out of the public treasury after a certain age has been reached, especially if one condition to securing the annuity is that the applicant should not have received poor relief up to the time when the application is made. The smallness of the pension in all the countries having old age pension laws (the maximum being only $2.50 a week in Australia and New Zealand), and insistence that during the years immediately preceding application for a pension the candidate should have lived a respectable and self-supporting existence, makes any discouragement of thrift in consequence of the policy quite improbable." [2]

Concerning the British plan, he adds: "It was because statistics showed that one-fifth of the population from 70 to 75, one-fourth of that from 75 to 80, and quite one-third of that over 80, were actually dependent on pauper relief that a more humane way of caring for the aged poor was introduced. In my opinion, there is quite as much reason for anticipating that the new policy will encourage thrift as for the contrary view. The guarantee of 5 shillings a week may encourage persons of advancing years, who before had nothing to

[1] Frank W. Lewis, *State Insurance,* Boston, 1909, pp. 167-168.
[2] Seager, *Social Insurance,* pp. 140-142.

look forward to but the workhouse, to make some saving to supplement this very small income. There is some truth in the view that people will make sacrifices for tea and tobacco that they will not make for bread and meat. Moreover, whatever the fact as regards saving for old age, there can be no doubt that the new policy will add to the incomes of families who feel the care of parents and grandparents a serious, even though not unwelcome, burden. The better provision for children that may result from this enlargement of family incomes should have a favorable effect on the rising generation. Finally, this and every other change which makes for confidence and certainty on the part of wage-earners should tend to encourage prudence and forethought and to discourage recklessness and indifference." [1]

Again, those opposed to the non-contributory old age pension argue that such a plan involves *injury to the self-respect of people.*

Among others, this point is urged by Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Insurance Company. He says: "A non-contributory old age pension scheme will not solve the problem of the dependent poor and will not prevent an increase in the burden of real pauperism; but, on the contrary, it will undermine and tend to destroy the self-respecting character of our people as citizens in a democracy where economic independence, achieved by individual effort, self-sacrifice, and self-denial, is, after all, the only aim and end worth while." [2]

Certainly it is open to ask whether a small pension which will keep the wolf from the door will result in the loss of self-respect as much as dependence upon children, often already overburdened, or dependence upon charity or the public poor official. "Surely the poor, when known individually, have plenty of exercise for these virtues of self-denial; it could not harm them to remove a few of their difficulties." [3]

It is further contended that such system of old age pensions would *break down the solidarity of the family* by destroying the sense of responsibility in children for the support of parents. Says F. Spencer Baldwin of the Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions: "Finally, the effect of non-contributory pensions on the family must be set down as a further objection to the plan. A non-contributory pension system weakens the bonds of family solidarity. It takes away,

[1] Seager, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143.

[2] Frederick L. Hoffman, *American Statistical Association Publications*, March, 1909, p. 367. See also Alexander, "Compulsory Insurance," *Proceedings, National Conference on Social Insurance*, 1917, p. 773.

[3] Mabel Louise Nassau, *Old Age Poverty in Greenwich Village*, 1915, pp. 99, 100.

in part, the filial obligation for the support of aged parents, which is one of the main ties that hold the family together. The supporters of the pension policy deny that this result would follow. They contend that, on the contrary, their plan would strengthen the family; they reason that the payment of small pensions to old persons would help to keep families together by making it possible for the children to retain the aged parent in the household in view of the addition to the family income that his pension would bring to the family income. While this might be true in individual cases, it can hardly be doubted that the general effect on the family would be disintegrating. The assumption by the state of the obligation to support the aged in their homes would undermine filial responsibility precisely as the guarantee of the public maintenance of children would destroy parental responsibility. The impairment of family integrity is, in fact, one of the most serious dangers threatened by recent experiments with non-contributory pensions." [1]

The reply to this has not been stated more effectively than by Miss Nassau, who says: "Now it seems to me that the small benefit given by a pension at the end of life would scarcely encourage men to be reckless in earlier years. And as I have tried to demonstrate from practical instances in the chapter, 'Difficulties of Saving for Old Age,' much saving for old age is impossible. Thrift is needed for wise expenditures and proper living, and is scarcely possible as productive of saving for old age." [2]

The calamity of breaking down family solidarity would be avoided in the opinion of Dr. Devine (*together with other forms of social insurance*) by a contributory system of old age pensions. He says: "Family solidarity also is an ideal for which future ages will have need, as past ages have needed it. Covert and indirect assaults on the family are part of much revolutionary propaganda, but increasingly in this country economic revolution is trying to free itself from old-world association with such attacks. There is no reason why conservative advocates of social insurance, whether for sickness, unemployment, or old age, should have any sympathy for sneers against the fullest development of family responsibility and solidarity. Social insurance rests upon the family in its integrity." Mr. Devine believes that non-contributory old age pensions, widows' pensions and all other

[1] Baldwin, "Old Age Insurance," *American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1913, p. 210.
[2] Nassau, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

forms of public poor relief involves another and opposing principle. He holds that individuals should make provision for exigencies of accidents, and age should be met by savings, the help of relatives, neighbors and friends; that old age and even sickness and unemployment are personal and family matters leading to dependence only under exceptional and unforseen circumstances; and that old age pensions are not on the same basis as sickness insurance, workingmen's compensation, unemployment insurance and compulsory old age insurance. He fears demoralizing paternalism, bureaucratic control, and political manipulation in the case of old age pensions. He considers that the compulsory feature will redeem old age insurance from those curses.[1]

Reply to this has been made by Mabel Louise Nassau in these words: "And surely families would not love their aged members less if they were not such financial burdens, but more. And of course no one would consider that pensions are a remedy for low wages—they are merely palliatives while wages are low. One might with equal accuracy say that we should not have hospitals for tuberculosis as it is a preventable disease, though no one doubts the need of hospitals till the disease is entirely eradicated!

"And there seems to be great fear that the poor will not have enough opportunity for self-sacrifice!" [2]

Finally, it is urged that a non-contributory old age pension would *reward the thriftless and slothful at the expense of the thrifty and industrious.* Mr. Hoffman presents this view in his paper read at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1908. "In brief, I hold that the agitation for state pensions in the United States is ill-advised in that the problem of poverty in old age, as generally met with, is primarily the result of ill-spent years, or ill-spent earnings, or ill-spent savings." [3]

That there is force in these arguments is undeniable. This position fits in well with the historic development of our economic theories and also with our individualistic conception of the causation of dependency. Those who oppose this reasoning, however, urge in reply that the opposition of insurance men to old age pensions is based upon selfish interest, and that others object to them because they represent a departure from our economic and social traditions. There are others who reply to the supposition that old age pensions would

[1] Devine, *The Normal Life,* New York, 1917, pp. 183-185.
[2] Nassau, *Old Age Poverty in Greenwich Village,* New York, 1915, pp. 97-99.
[3] Frederick L. Hoffman, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1908, p. 229.

involve the support of the idle and thriftless by the well-to-do and thrifty portion of the population by calling attention to the fact that at present the support of dependents, whether by private or public money, comes from the well-to-do and thrifty; that often he who is thrifty and well-to-do in early life is dependent at 65 or 70; and that everyone who has lived to old age in those countries which levy taxes upon common necessities has contributed to the welfare of the nation. They urge that a pension coming out of the taxes is no more a tax upon the thrifty than is a contributory scheme such as Germany's, since in any case only a small part comes from the pensioned individual himself, while the rest comes from the contributions of employers and from the taxes. It is also argued that if one has lived a useful life and has come down to old age without savings or relatives who can support him, he has earned care in old age without the stigma of charity or pauperism.[1]

Moreover, Professor Seager has criticized Germany's contributory system of old age pensions which has been used as a foil against non-contributory pensions. He points out that while Germany's system has succeeded in ameliorating old age poverty in that country, the contributory feature has not been imitated widely by other countries. The objections to that feature are that it lays a burdensome tax on employers not easily justified, since old age is not a result of employment and therefore should not be made a charge against the employer in so direct a fashion. Another objection is the awkwardness and costliness of administrating a system which covers many small collections over a long period of years unless it can be shown that compulsory contributions to old age insurance fosters thrift. Professor Seager believes, however, that compulsory thrift is almost a contradiction in terms. He says that those who have studied the reaction of Germany's system on German wage earnings are not agreed as to the effects.[2]

Reviewing these arguments in general it seems to the present writer that the most forcible one is that urged by Dr. Devine—that of the danger of political maladministration of non-contributory pensions.[3] England's experience has shown that political pressure causes the legislators to let down the bars against paupers.

Administration is very difficult in either case but when certain

[1] Squier, *Old Age Dependency in the United States,* pp. 316-327.
[2] Seager, *Social Insurance,* New York, 1910, p. 118.
[3] Devine, *Normal Life,* pp. 183-185. See also Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912,* London, 1914, p. 295.

qualifications are demanded in addition to old age the difficulty is very greatly increased. As for the other arguments they do not convince me.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF NON-CONTRIBUTORY OLD AGE PENSIONS

Those in favor of non-contributory old age pensions attempt to controvert both the arguments against any old age pension and those for such a pension based upon contribution to the funds out of which it shall be paid. They urge considerations in favor of a pension to which the pensioner has made no contribution except directly or indirectly by taxes.

Some favoring a non-contributory old age pension urge such pension for all who have reached a certain age and are in need; others favor a pension for such only as have not been lazy, drunken or otherwise of bad reputation. The advocates of non-contributory old age pensions range from Charles Booth, who wrote before the results of Germany's scheme had begun to appear and long before England adopted her old age pension plan, to Mr. Squier, who has written the most recent book upon the subject. The arguments offered are:

1. Poverty in old age is not in most cases the fault of the individual. Mr. Squier thinks that probably three-fourths of all adult males, and nineteen-twentieths of all adult females, in our great industrial army of eighteen millions receive in wages barely enough to provide food, shelter and clothing of the poorest sort, and that scarcely one wage-earner in ten is able to lay by in savings for the rainy day of invalidity or old age.[1] According to actuaries, of a thousand men living at the age of 20, 500 will survive at 65 and above. Of the 500, 200 will be in want. Eight-ninths of all the dependency in the United States, it has been estimated, is of those above 65.[2] Figures have already been given showing how close to the margin of mere existence the larger part of our wage-earners live. With those figures in mind one is disposed to give weight to the words of Mr. Lewis when he says, "But there is a growing tendency to discriminate; statistics have been patiently gathered and marshaled and they tend to show that a very large percentage of old age pauperism arises from misfortune rather than fault. It is idle to talk of thrift and saving without regard to the adequacy of wages." [3]

[1] Squier, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-297.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.
[3] Lewis, *State Insurance*, 1909, p. 149.

Mr. Booth's investigation in London showed that the main cause of poverty was old age itself. Thriftlessness and drunkenness accounted for a small percentage. He showed that about 70 per cent of the poverty in old age was the result of infirmities in old age, not the result of idleness or thriftlessness or vice. Said Mr. John Martin: "We have just learned that one of the most remarkable experiences this last winter, of unemployment, has been the capacity of the workmen on account of their savings in prosperous times, to do without relief during these hard times. Therefore we have had the experience of virtuous industrious, saving people, whose savings have been exhausted during the last winter. Now suppose they are brought to old age and its infirmities, and the next year to a condition of destitution, would it be fair to assert that they were brought to destitution on account of delinquencies of their own?" [1]

In many cases thrift is impossible because the earnings are not sufficient. Support by relatives is impossible because relatives have all they can do to support their own families, and self-support from savings is out of the question because savings have been exhausted by sickness and other calamities. Mr. Charles Booth believed that old age pensions would have a decided effect upon the morale of not only the old people themselves, but upon the younger age classes among the poor. He says: "The interests of each class are bound up with those of every other class, but most of all is this true of the relation between the bottom 'fourth' and the great mass of the people just above them in means—wage-earners doing more valuable work, better paid or more regularly employed, and makers of profit on a small scale. These will be found to benefit very much, though indirectly employed, if the standard of life below them is raised. In addition they will benefit directly by every shilling of the cost of their pensions. Other things are within their reach, and are every day more generally grasped. They subscribe to sick clubs, they insure their lives, they provide something for a rainy day. They organize trades unions to protect their business interests. They form themselves into building societies, and are learning to supply their more regular daily wants by coöperation. But they do not provide adequately—often not at all—for old age. It is too uncertain a matter; the principle of tontine is disliked; on any other principle the provision is too costly. The claims of the present and of others outweigh the

[1] John Martin, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, New York, 1908, p. 233.

claims of the future and of themselves. Yet this failure to provide for old age reacts adversely on everything else they do to better themselves. The fell influence of the Poor Law extends to them. In old age they may at last come to the workhouse, and this idea, especially as age draws on and savings are most necessary, cannot but be very discouraging. Against everything else they can surely provide, and perhaps a something more if it is to eke out the certainty of a small pension. And if, at the worst, savings are quite exhausted when they reach 65, some hospitable roof will be found to shelter them if they possess 5 shillings a week. Thus for this great class, the central class of our population, amounting perhaps to one-half of the whole, the pensions would, I believe, prove fruitful of blessings. They would as a class pay much less than they received back in money, but would benefit far more than the whole cost of their share to the state." [1]

2. Thrift and support by relatives will not solve the problem of old age dependency. The truth is that in the United States, at least, a great majority of those who come down to old age dependency are the victims of maladjustment. No matter what degree of thrift they possessed, they could not save because they did not receive a living wage. Therefore, as the workingman knows only too well, thrift as a panacea for old age dependency is a joke; a chimera. Thrift he does practise when he may, as is shown by the efforts he makes to pay his industrial insurance and his benefit society dues. Many times he skimps his family to lay by something against sickness and death. In a great many cases he comes down to old age dependent, because his savings have been spent, not because he has not saved.[2]

Mr. Rubinow in his "Social Insurance," sums up the answer to those who contend that thrift and support of relatives will solve the problem.

"(1) From two-thirds to three-fourths of all productive workers in the United States depend upon wages or small salaries for their existence.

"(2) From four-fifths to nine-tenths of the wage-workers receive wages which are insufficient to meet the cost of a normal standard of health and efficiency for a family, and about one-half receive very much less than that.

"(3) If a certain proportion of wage-workers' families succeed in

[1] Charles Booth, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, pp. 239, 240.
[2] Squier, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 259, 260.

attaining such a standard, it is made possible only by the presence of more than one worker in the family.

"(4) This condition, however, can only be temporary in the history of any workingman's family.

"(5) The increase in the standard of wages is barely sufficient to meet the increased cost of living.

"(6) An annual surplus in the workingman's budget is a very rare thing, and is very small.

"(7) The growth of savings-bank deposits in the United States is not sufficient evidence of the ability of the American workingmen to make substantial savings. A large proportion of these savings belong to other classes of population, and in so far as information is available the average workingman's deposit is very small.

"(8) The analysis of the economic status of the American wage-worker does not disclose his ability to cope with the various economic emergencies without outside assistance." [1]

3. Only non-contributory old age pensions provide a method of relieving all the respectable aged without the stigma of pauperism. Society already admits the duty of supporting the aged in some way. We care for them in the poorhouse if no other place is available. We authorize the incorporation of homes for the aged. There is no reason, therefore, why we should not care for them in a humane and constructive fashion. Says Professor Seager, "The payment of such pensions clearly has no tendency to increase the number of persons who pass the age of 70. Old age poverty is too remote from the calculations of youths and maidens to have any effect on marriage or birth rates. At most, assuring to old people bare maintenance after they pass a certain age can affect their number only by extending somewhat the length of life. No one can be so inhumane as to urge this as an objection to the policy." [2]

4. Moreover, pensions provide a way that does not discourage thrift, but rather encourages it. If one knows that by saving and industry he can be assured in his old age of some assistance in keeping the wolf from the door, there will be an incentive to meet the conditions by thrift and industry in order to secure that safeguard from want provided by a pension.

5. Again, a pension provides means whereby relatives otherwise

[1] Quoted by Mabel Louise Nassau, *Old Age Poverty in Greenwich Village*, New York, 1915, p. 105.

[2] Seager, *Social Insurance*, 1910, p. 140.

unable to bear the burden of support of the aged can do so without depriving their children of necessities. How often would the old parent be welcomed at the fireside were there provided some addition to the income so that such care would be possible without deprivation of one's own flesh and blood. In this way, the old age pension would prevent the disintegration of family life which the opponents of old age pensions sometimes aver would result. Furthermore, by providing an income for the aged dependent, it makes possible family life and care for him which would be denied in many cases because of the inability of the relative to support him. Says Charles Booth, "To have lived at all goes for something, to have asked no relief goes for more, and to have secured by savings, or through friendly feeling, or the loving duty of children, a chimney corner where 5 shillings a week will be adequate may be accepted as proof enough that the pension is not ill bestowed." [1]

6. **Furthermore, the old age pension provides a fund for those aged who have no relatives to care for them.** With a small pension they can be boarded out with families or placed in institutions, specially designed for old folks. An old age pension prevents the stigma of pauperism inevitably attached to the poorhouse or to outdoor relief. Says Miss Sellers, "Odd as it may seem perhaps, and quite illogical as it is, there is undoubtedly, in the eyes of the respectable poor, a fundamental difference between old age pensions and poor relief. Many an old man and still more old women, who would rather starve than accept poor relief, i. e., relief from the rates, accept pensions, i. e., relief from the taxes, gladly. Why it should be thus it would be difficult to explain, but thus it certainly is. There is a strong feeling among the respectable poor that they may become pensioners without losing caste; whereas, if they become paupers, it is otherwise; then their relatives may be ashamed of them. Many of them have told me, some with tears in their eyes, what a comfort it was to them to obtain their pensions, as they then knew that they need never become paupers." [2] A contributory pension would do the same, did it reach as many as the straight pension.

7. **The principle of old age pensions is analogous to the principle involved in pensioning the soldiers and sailors** with these exceptions:

(1) It is a pension for service not in war, but in peace, but it

[1] Booth, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, p. 237.
[2] Sellers, *Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1920, p. 35.

deserves no less serious consideration. The worker who has faithfully performed his duty to society merits no less kind consideration from society than the man who ventured his life for his country.

(2) Such pensions are for the aged only rather than for the young. In this respect they far surpass the pensions for soldiers and sailors. None of the pauperizing tendencies that characterize the latter attach to old age pensions. When people reach the age of 65 they are not likely to be pauperized by a supplement to their income, especially if they have been industrious, self-respecting people up to that time.

8. **Old age pensions also fit in with the present scheme of self-help such as insurance of various kinds.** In practice the old age pension is insufficient to keep old people on more than the barest necessities of life and is graded according to the income of the pensioner.

9. **Non-contributory old age pensions have distinct advantages** over an annuity based on contributions by the individual receiving it. These advantages are stated thus by Squier:

"*First:* Annuities purchased, either with or without state aid, do not provide for those now dependent or approaching dependency. Even if the government were to adopt a scheme similar to that recently promulgated by the French government, it would be at least two generations before all wage-earners could be provided for on the annuity plan.

"*Second:* Any annuity scheme that the government might prescribe by law would in all probability fail to be inclusive just as such schemes do in Germany and France, in that they provide for contributions or deductions from wages of wage-earners only; whereas, the experience in all nations is that any member of the merchant or moneyed class, who is usually exempted from compulsory contributions, may, in his old age, be even more dependent than a member of the distinctive wage-earning class.

"*Third:* Such a scheme would be unpopular in this country principally because of the sentiment of individualism heretofore referred to, and also largely because wage-earners, in their youth, object to paying for something which they may never receive; and most seriously object to being compelled to purchase that which they are unable to buy. It must be remembered in this connection that any annuity scheme for the solution of the old age dependency problem must, in the nature of things, be by governmental compulsion. Voluntary thrift has failed in this country to avail itself of the many oppor-

tunities offered for making provision for old age comfort, just as it has failed in other countries; that is to say, only the more provident of the great middle class of citizens have had the inclination or the ability, either to deny themselves comforts or luxuries in order to lay by money or accumulate property for the support of old age, or to make periodic contributions towards the purchase of deferred annuities. Whatever provision is made, therefore, in this country for the relief of old age destitution must be made through governmental compulsion, either state or national.

"*Fourth:* Any compulsory contributory scheme contemplates the accumulation of such a fund as to make such a scheme utterly impracticable from the economic and financial standpoint. This point may be illustrated in the following manner: Suppose that 76 years ago the national government had established a compulsory scheme by which every citizen, on reaching the age of 20, should contribute each year thereafter, so that, on arriving at the age of 70, he should receive from the government an annuity of $100 so long as he lived. Suppose that 92,637 persons, of the exact age of 20, had become amenable to this law each year, each contributing—under the American Experience Table—$2.58 per annum until his seventieth birthday or prior to death. When the scheme became effective in its operation as to all, the annual payments in annuities would be $32,689,950; the amount of annual contributions would be $9,265,482; and the remainder which interest on the funds would needs supply would be $23,424,468. On an interest assumption of 3½ per cent, the accumulation necessary to supply this interest earning would be $669,270,526. It must be remembered that this contemplates only 92,637 persons, entering each year at age of 20, and the continuance of the scheme for 76 years. Now by finding out how many times 92,637 is contained in the number of workingmen and workingwomen aged 20, and multiplying $669,270,526 by the quotient, a rough idea is obtained as to the enormous accumulation of funds in the hands of the government which such a system would finally involve. As there would be 3,582,285 persons between age 20 and age 70 contributing under this plan, the total lump sum required may also be roughly approximated by dividing the number of workingmen and workingwomen between ages 20 and 70 by 3,582,285 and multiplying $669,270,526 by the quotient. The finite mind also quails before the stupendous accumulations which such a scheme would necessitate; and the withdrawal of this immense sum from the capital of the country,

needed in its industrial development and welfare, and risk to the fund through pestilence, war or the untrustworthiness or mistakes of government officials charged with the custody and administration of such a vast sum, stamp this scheme as effectively un-American, unnecessary and well-nigh foolish.

"The solution of the old age dependency problem in the United States will not soon be reached by any plan thus far put forward by the annuity class of economists. Indeed, in the face of such points as are marshaled against it, the annuity proposition predicated upon any thrift scheme, may be considered a lost cause in this country; especially is this true when the advantages urged by the pension class for the solution they offer are carefully weighed. In its essence, the old age pension scheme is nothing more nor less than the nation's acknowledgment of the debt which the present generation owes the survivors of the past generation. Any man or woman who has lived for 65 or 70 years, doing the best possible, under all circumstances, even making due allowance for mental, physical or moral frailties, has contributed by life and work to the making of the world a better place to live in. Every civilized community feels the obligation to provide such an one with shelter, food and raiment; that is to say, threescore years or more of life and service are as so many due bills which the superannuated person presents to the working generation, and which that generation cannot deny or repudiate. What the pension class of economists urge is that the due bills of the old shall not be paid grudgingly and by a charity that suggests a beggarly condition; but in a manner that preserves and exalts the dignity of the old, sustains his self-respect and enables him to move among the younger generation as a patriarch honored for having lived and served." [1]

CONCLUSIONS

On the whole, I think we may conclude:

1. Carefully guarded old age pensions will prevent the degradation of the aged poor.

2. Any effective old age pension plan must be non-contributory because if made dependent on contributions which must be paid in years before, large numbers would not be eligible when they arrived at the pension age.

3. Old age pensions should be limited to those aged persons living

[1] Squier, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-338.

decent lives at the time of application. The continuance of the pension should be contingent upon sobriety of life.

4. Any old age pension scheme must be supplemented by three kinds of institutions to form a thorough-going program of caring for the aged. These institutions must be provided for those not living sober and respectable lives when they reach old age. These institutions are:

a. Poorhouses, or as they are called in some states, homes for the aged and infirm, should be provided for those to whom the poorhouse with its stigma would not be a living crucifixion.

b. Homes should be provided for pensioned respectable old persons who have no relatives with whom they could live; who cannot live by themselves because of their infirmity, and for whom must be provided some place where they will be comfortable with physicians and caretakers who will attend to their wants.

c. As an alternative to the home for the aged a boarding-out system should be devised for those who could better be cared for in a family than in an institution, but who have no relatives with whom they can live. Both the home for the aged and the boarding-out system should be supervised by public authority to insure proper care of the aged.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. What Becomes of the Aged in Industry. Todd, "Old Age and the Industrial Scrap-Heap," *Publications, American Statistical Association,* June, 1915.
2. Review *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions,* Harrisburg, 1919.
3. Review App. B, "Old-Age Pensions," *Report of the Special Commission on Social Insurance* of Massachusetts, House No. 1850, Boston, 1917.
4. Old Age Insurance in Europe. Frankel and Dawson, *Workingmen's Insurance in Europe,* New York, 1911, Chap. XII.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE INSANE

Introduction. With the exception of the poor and the sick the insane have received attention from society for a longer period than any other class of dependents. Perhaps for that reason their care has arrived at a more satisfactory point than that of any other class. From time out of mind the madman has excited the fear, if not always the pity, of men. The phenomenon of poverty waits upon the development of riches to excite public attention. Its victims are usually normal human beings and arouse pity only at the beginning, and then only by reason of circumstance. The insane, however, are different. Their condition is the result, not of fortune, but of something in themselves. They inspire fear in the beholder, because they are strange in their behavior. Hence, from very early days society has taken a positive attitude towards them and has attempted to care for them in some way.

The importance attached to the subject in the United States is indicated by the attention given to it in the various meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction from about 1875 down to about 1910, since when newer problems have come to the fore in the discussions and papers.

THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

In Great Britain. In 1908, 12.1 per cent of the total pauperism in the United Kingdom was the pauperism of insane and idiot poor. The insane and idiot poor constituted 3.2 per 1000 of the population.[1]

The insane and idiot poor increased from 1.4 per cent of the total pauperism in the United Kingdom in 1849, to 12.1 per cent in 1908. "The increase in the number of the insane is, in the main, evidence of the increased institutional treatment of this class, which has been adopted as much on medical grounds as on those of public order. Out of the whole number of insane in 1908, 86 per cent were in

[1] Blue Book, *Public Health and Social Conditions,* London, 1909, p. 55.

asylums and institutions specially provided for the insane and idiots." [1]

In the United States. In 1910 there were enumerated in institutions for the insane in the United States 187,791 persons, i. e., 204.2 per 100,000 of population. Since there is no indication of the number outside of institutions, we cannot say how many insane there are in the country. The Census Bureau has not ventured an estimate.[2]

Apparent Increase in Insanity: In 1910 the number of insane in institutions alone was 204.2 per 100,000 population while in 1880, a census in which the enumeration of the insane was much more complete than in any previous or following census, the number was 183.3. These figures would seem to show an increase in insanity in this country. However, a number of circumstances suggest that the increase has not been as great as these figures indicate. During these three decades there has been (1) a great increase in the number of institutions for the care of the insane; [3] (2) a prolongation of human life so that more people survive to the age when insanity manifests itself.[4]

THE SOCIAL FACTORS AFFECTING THE INCIDENCE OF INSANITY

When the data regarding insanity are analyzed carefully we find that insanity varies in different parts of the country; it varies as to age and sex; it is not the same for the country and the city; its incidence in races and nationalities differs; it varies with marital conditions, illiteracy, the use of alcohol, and vicious living.

Immigration. Of the total number of inmates of insane asylums on January 1, 1910, 28.8 per cent were foreign, and of the persons admitted to such institutions during 1910, 25.5 per cent were of this class. Of the total population of the United States in 1910 the foreign born constituted 14.5 per cent. It is evident, then, that the foreign born have an unduly large representation in insane asylums.[5]

[1] Blue Book, *Public Health and Social Conditions*, London, 1909, p. 55.

[2] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 12, 13.

In some states a great many of those outside of the enumerated institutions are in county poorhouses. "In these 87 county homes there is a grand total of 1,995 inmates, of which 23.8 per cent are insane." Gillin, "County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, Iowa City, p. 433.

[3] In 1880, 44.5 per cent of the insane in the country were in institutions, while in 1890, 61.2 per cent were thus cared for. Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

However, the difference can be accounted for in part by the greater number of children in the native population than among the foreign born. Most immigrants are past the period of childhood when they arrive in the United States. Nevertheless, the studies by the Bureau of the Census show that the high ratio for the foreign born is not entirely due to the differences between the two classes as to age. In each separate age group, the ratio is appreciably higher for the foreign born than for the natives. While the difference is less striking for certain age groups than for others, for all ages combined the foreign born show twice as large an incidence of insanity as the native.[1]

The index which shows the relative amount of insanity in the foreign born as compared with the native born, age being taken into consideration, is 70 per 100,000 for the foreign born to 57.9 for the native white,[2] i. e., as six to five.

When one considers the circumstances under which many of these immigrants lived (the Russian Jews within the Pale), the difficult economic struggle which they had in the old country and the even greater difficulty of adjusting themselves to the conditions in our country, their anxiety as to the future, the bad living conditions in the cities in which they congregate, is it any wonder that large numbers of them break mentally under the strain?[3]

Race and Nationality. Insanity varies with race and nationality. Of the hospital insane in 1910 the people from Ireland stood first in relative numbers. Switzerland stood second, and Norway third in the relative numbers admitted, and Sweden third in relative numbers enumerated in hospitals. Sweden stood fourth in admission and Germany fourth in those enumerated in hospitals. The negroes, in proportion to their number, have fewer representatives in insane asylums than whites.[4] It is probable, therefore, that some races and nationalities are more liable to mental breakdown under our conditions than others.

Age. Insanity is preëminently a disease of middle and later life. "Of the insane enumerated in hospitals on January 1, 1910, only 0.2 per cent were under 15 years of age and 11.9 were 65 years of age and over, while of the total population of the United States in 1910, 32.1 per cent were under the age of 15 and only 4.3 per cent had

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, p. 26.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

reached the age of 65.1. Thus, 62.5 per cent of the insane present in the hospitals on the first of January were under 40 years of age when first admitted, while only 36 per cent of them were still under 40 at the time of the enumeration." [1]

The following diagram (p. 274) from the Census Report indicates the age incidence of insanity.[2]

Insanity in Country and City. "Admissions to the institutions for the insane in 1910 were twice as high for people from the city as from the country and places with less than 2,500 inhabitants. The ratio increases, with one exception, viz., the cities from 25,000 to 50,000, with the size of the place.

"Some of this striking difference may be due to the greater tendency to place in institutions insane in the cities than in the country and smaller places. On the whole, however, it appears that the conditions in the city either attract thither those who have mental weaknesses or else that these conditions cause mental breakdown." [3] The real cause seems to be indicated by the Census figures on the incidence of alcoholic psychosis and general paralysis.

Sex. In every age period more males are admitted to hospitals than females. "In the total population there are 106 males to 100 females; in the institutions for the insane the ratio is 110.8 to 100; and among the admissions to such institutions it is still higher, being 128 to 100." [4] The explanation is to be found probably in the fact that "as would probably be anticipated, the figures show that alcoholic psychosis and general paralysis are much more frequent causes of insanity for males than for females. . . . Of the male insane, 24.5 per cent, or almost one-fourth, had one or other of these diseases, while for the female insane the corresponding percentage was only 6.9 per cent. It is evident that this is the main explanation of the fact that the ratio of admissions to insane asylums is higher for the male sex than for the female." [5]

"When the cases of alcoholic psychosis and general paralysis are

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, 1914, pp. 22, 23.

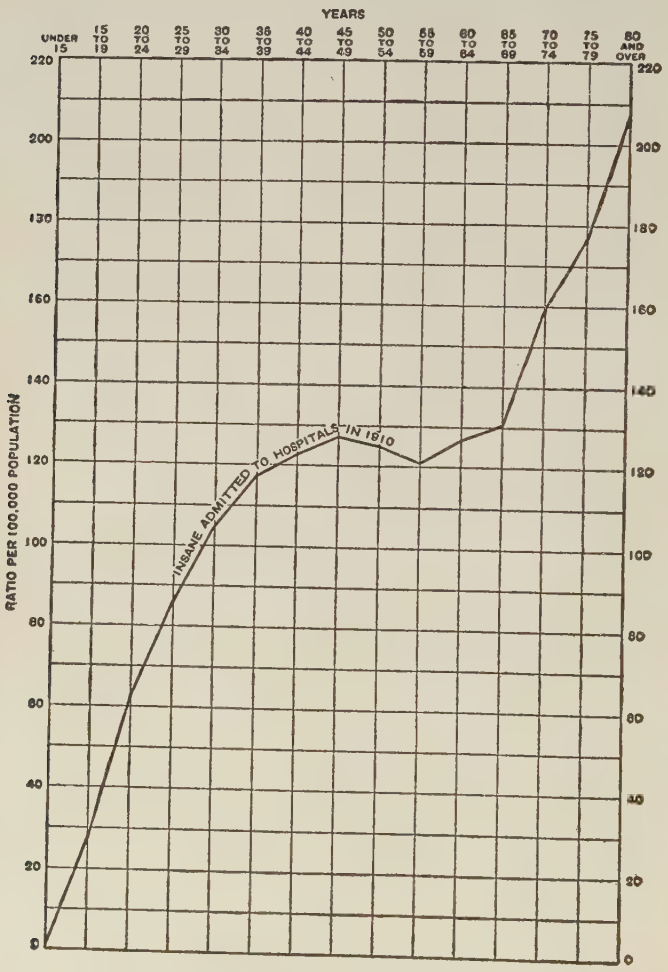
[2] Concerning this diagram the Report says: "It means not that there are more insane in old age than in middle age, but that there are more in proportion to the total number of old persons." *Insane and Feeble-minded in Hospitals, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, 1914, p. 23.

[3] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, 1914, pp. 48, 49, 54, 55.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

DIAGRAM 3.—RATIO OF INSANE ADMITTED TO HOSPITALS IN EACH AGE GROUP PER 100,000 POPULATION OF THE SAME AGE: 1910.



eliminated the ratio of admissions for the two sexes become practically identical." [1]

Marital Condition. Insane and those tainted with the disease are less likely to marry than the general population. Hence, the proportion of single men insane is thrice that of single men in the

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, 1914, p. 56.

total male population of the same ages in 1910. The contrast between the proportion of single females in institutions for the insane and the number of unmarried females in the total population is not so great as among the males. There are less than twice as many among the insane as among the same age groups of the total population. Possibly this is explained in part by the fact that women usually marry younger than men. It is also possible that the greater incidence of alcoholism and syphilis among men explains in part the phenomenon.[1]

Vice and Alcoholism. Of all those admitted to hospitals for the insane in 1910 one-tenth were suffering from alcoholic psychosis, and about one-sixteenth from general paralysis. Persons suffering from both these conditions combined constituted about one-sixth of the total number admitted in that year. These diseases are much more frequent among men inmates than among women. Of the men insane almost a fourth had one or the other of these diseases, while for the women insane only about one-sixteenth were affected.[2]

Chances of Recovery. Of the cases for which information as to the duration of the attack was obtained, 64 per cent had been insane for less than one year. In 9 per cent, however, of the cases, it had lasted more than five years.[3] Those admitted at advanced ages to institutions show the least possibility of recovery and discharge. If the patient does not recover soon after admission, there is small chance of any recovery. Over one-fourth of those admitted in 1910 were recurrent cases. This means that attention must be given to the after-care of the discharged and to preventive work.[4]

Naturally an exceptionally high mortality rate is found among the insane There is found an excessive rate for those below the age of 15. For the whole group in hospitals in 1910 the death rate was 76.1 per thousand inmates as compared with the rate of 14 for the total population in the registration area of the United States in 1916.[5]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE INSANE

Attention has been directed in Chapters X and XII to the fact that quite early in the Christian era provision was made for institutions called "hospitals" for the care of the poor and the sick. Lecky calls

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, 1914, pp. 47, 48, 55.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-59.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61, 63.

attention to the indifference manifested towards these unfortunates by both pagan and Christian antiquity.[1] It is a familiar fact that among the Jews from the days of the writing prophets of the Eighth Century B. C. the form of insanity which was known as possession by a familiar spirit was outlawed. In the days of Jesus the insane were looked upon as possessed by a demon. This conception of the nature of the malady continued down through the Christian centuries until quite recently.

No asylum for lunatics existed in antiquity anywhere in the Western World, although it appears that in Egypt and in Greece temples of Saturn and Asclepia cared for them. For the most part down to very recent times the insane wandered about, in Palestine lived in the rock-hewn tombs and in old ruins, neglected by society. In contrast with its stimulation of the care of the poor and the sick Christianity, with the exception of a few sporadic instances of provision for the care of insane monks and the care of milder cases in the refuges for the poor and sick called "hospitals," shared the indifference of paganism towards the insane. "Until the fifteenth century," says Lecky, "no insane asylum existed in Christian Europe." [2] However, there occurred sporadic instances of care by certain communities. Thus, "We find mention in history of such a place [asylum or place of restraint for the insane] established by monks at Jerusalem in the latter part of the Fifth Century. There is evidence that even earlier than this in Egypt and Greece the insane were treated as individuals suffering from disease. Egyptian priests employed not only music and the beautiful in nature and art as remedial agents in insanity but recreation and occupation as well. A Greek physician protested against mechanical restraint in the care of the insane, and advocated kindly treatment, the use of music, and of some sorts of manual labor. But these ancient beneficent teachings were lost sight of during succeeding centuries. The prevailing idea of the pathology of insanity in Europe during the Middle Ages was that of demoniacal possession. . . . Torture and the cruelest forms of punishment were employed. The insane were regarded with abhorrence, and were frequently cast into chains and dungeons. Milder forms of mental disease were treated by other spiritual means, such as pilgrimages to the shrines of certain saints who were reputed to have particular skill and success in the exorcism of evil spirits. The shrine of St. Dymphna

[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals,* New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 87, 88.
[2] Lecky, *op. cit.,* p. 88.

at Gheel, in Belgium, was one of these, and seems to have originated in the Seventh Century, a shrine so famed that lunatics from all over Europe were brought thither for miraculous healing. The little town became a resort for hundreds of insane persons, and as long ago as the Seventeenth Century acquired the reputation which still exists to this day, of a unique colony for the insane. At the present time the village of Gheel and its adjacent farming hamlets (with a population of some 13,000 souls) provides homes, board, and care for nearly 2,000 insane persons under medical and government supervision."[1] The Knights of Malta admitted insane into their hospitals. Spain originated hospitals for the insane in 1409.[2]

The history of the treatment of the insane may be divided roughly into four periods—the first, one of neglect and persecution; the second, that of restraint for the protection of society; the third, that of restraint softened by humanitarian treatment; the fourth, one of treatment based upon scientific study of the insane as diseased persons, and of prevention.

In the first and by far the longest the insane were looked upon as strange beings whose condition was due to occult influences either magical or diabolical. This period was characterized by the ostracism of the insane, based upon the belief that they were possessed by a demon.

The second was a period marked by harsh measures of restraint with chains if necessary for the protection of society, with very little regard for the welfare of the insane. Under the ideas dominant in this period the poor creatures were thrust into noisome jails and poorhouses and subjected to fetters, strait jackets, padded cells and other mechanical restraints.

The third was coincident with the growth of humanitarian conceptions. Pity entered and softened the treatment, but there was no rational understanding of the nature of the condition of the insane. Led by such humanitarians as Dorothea Dix, humanity began to demand that the insane be removed from the jails and poorhouses and confined in institutions where they might be made as comfortable as possible.

In the fourth period, the whole conception of the nature of insanity was changed, with consequent radical revolution in the method of

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, Art. "Insanity, III Hospital Treatment."

[2] Lecky, *History of European Morals,* New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 89.

treatment. Insanity now came to be looked upon as "a disease, and not a doom." Since it is a disease, it can in some cases be cured and, in any case, can be prevented if the conditions which produce it can be discovered and removed. Experiment made manifest the evils of restraint in treatment and showed that drugs must be replaced by more fundamental methods, such as occupations, hydrotherapy, massage, and the relief from the strain which induced the breakdown.

In England. "In time many of the insane were sent to cloisters and monasteries, especially after these began to be abandoned by their former occupants. Thus, 'Bedlam' (Bethlehem Royal Hospital) was originally founded in 1247 as a priory for the brethren and sisters of the Order of the Star of Bethlehem. It is not known exactly when lunatics were first received into Bedlam, but some were there in 1403. Bedlam was rebuilt as an asylum for the insane in 1676." [1]

In England the hospitals which had been founded in the Middle Ages under the impulse of the Church had as one of their objects the care of "men and women out of their senses and memories," as stated by a statute of 1414.[2] Probably many of these poor unfortunates were punished as criminals and witches, some of them with capital punishment.

In 1537 an institution in Bishopsgate Street, London, which had probably been a monastery, was handed over to the corporation of London as Bethlehem hospital for the use of lunatics. This, the first Bedlam, or Bethlehem, was moved in 1675 to Moorfields.[3] Similar institutions, few in number, seem to have been established in other places, but with these few exceptions, no provisions were made for this class of the sick until about 1750 when a number of others were established in various parts of England on account of the increased attention which had been called to them. The purpose, however, was not to care properly for these unfortunates, but to protect society. These institutions were chiefly in private hands and were as bad as they could be. They were practically prisons of the worst description. The inmates were in cells, chained to the walls and floors, flogged, starved and mistreated in such grievous ways that many of them died from the abuse. Such conditions remained uncorrected

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 11th Edition, Art. "Insanity, III Hospital Treatment."

[2] Ashley, *Economic History,* New York and London, 1910, p. 320.

[3] *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 9th Edition, Vol. XIII, p. 110; Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief,* Cambridge, 1900, p. 35; B. Kirkman Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy,* London, 1905, pp. 27, 125.

until about 1830. In fact, mechanical restraint in English asylums was not abolished until 1836 when, as the result of an investigation of a committee of the House of Commons, the abuses at the Bethlehem Hospital were brought to light. Tuke, a Quaker, had just before that called attention to similar abuses in the asylum at York, and with others instituted the York Retreat for the insane, in which methods of non-restraint were introduced.

In France. In France similar treatment of the insane prevailed until Pinel in 1792 was appointed in charge of the Bicêtre, the great Paris hospital for male lunatics. He at once struck off the chains and other means of restraint.[1]

In America. Colonial America inherited from England the ideas dominating the second of these periods of the treatment of the insane. In the early history of this country the insane were looked upon as beings from whom society must be protected. Since there were no institutions specially devised for their care, they were thrown into jails, if violent, or kept in poorhouses, if harmless but friendless. Reports of conditions in the places where the insane were kept sound strangely familiar to one who has read of the treatment of this class in English institutions before a new spirit was introduced. "Prior to the Nineteenth Century care of the insane in America was largely a local matter and was entirely custodial. There are no records in England, Europe, or America to the contrary. The purpose of confinement was for safekeeping and was accomplished in ill-ventilated and inconvenient cells or pens in the basements of hospitals and other places. This was the only care that the medical profession and the public deemed necessary for this most wretched class of human beings." [2]

In 1676 a law of Massachusetts delegated care of insane to the selectmen. In 1798 that state passed a law providing for commitment to the house of correction of all lunatics "furiously mad." In 1811 McLean Hospital was established and was opened in 1818.

In Rhode Island in 1725 a law was passed permitting inland towns to build houses of correction for vagrants and also for "mad persons." In 1742 care of all insane and imbeciles was given to the town council with power to appoint guardians for their estates. In 1828 Dexter Hospital was opened and in 1847 the "Butler Asylum for the Insane."

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Edition, Vol. XIII, pp. 110, 111.
[2] Kline, "Function of the Social Worker in Relation to a State Program," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 627.

Earliest action in this country for special care of the insane by specially constructed hospitals was taken by the Friends in 1709, which resulted in the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1751, a part of which was set apart for the insane and the first patients were admitted in 1752.

The first state hospital exclusively for insane was established in Virginia and is now known as the Eastern State Hospital at Williamsburg. This was incorporated in 1768 under the title of "Public Hospital for Persons of Insane and Disordered Minds." The first patients were admitted in 1773. The first law for creating a state hospital in New York was passed in 1842. This was the result of the efforts of Dorothea Dix. Through her efforts hospitals were established in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, North Carolina, and the District of Columbia. Thirty-two institutions in this country owe existence in whole or in part to her efforts.

Throughout the first half of the Nineteenth Century and during a considerable part of the latter half, most of the insane were cared for in poorhouses.[1]

It was Dorothea Dix who about 1837 with the encouragement and assistance of Dr. Channing began her investigation of the condition of paupers, lunatics, and prisoners around Boston, and who exposed the neglect and abuse which characterized our treatment of the insane. The conditions in which she found thousands of these poor people she described by tongue and pen in a way which challenged attention. She visited every state east of the Rockies, investigating the condition of the insane in poorhouses and jails. She appeared before almost every legislature in these states urging upon their consideration the hitherto unvoiced claims of the demented. Her work was not in vain. From that time forth states began to build asylums for the care of the insane, and to give study to the nature of the disease. While insane still continue to linger in county poorhouses and occasionally a state is found so backward in the matter that it permits them to be thrown into jails, most of the states have at least one institution for the care of the curable insane, some have institutions for the care of the chronics, and many have provision for rather adequate treatment or care of every insane person in the state.

The desire to protect the public from the insane suggested that these dangerous beings should be thrown into any place for safekeeping. In the early days the common jail was practically the only place in which

[1] *The Americana*, Art. "Insane, Institutional Care of the, in the United States."

they could be put for safekeeping. With the development of poorhouses, however, it comported better with people's feelings to have the insane confined in those institutions. Hence, Dr. Kline of Massachusetts says that "county care of the insane originated only as an emergency when no suitable provision could be found elsewhere and county jails were simply an emergency provision."[1] Nearly every state has a history of county care of the insane. In the development of the care of the insane several of the large cities established municipal hospitals before the large state hospitals originated.

The first asylum for the indigent insane established in this country was at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1832. New York established its first institution for indigent insane in 1843.[2]

With the establishment of the York Retreat by the Quakers in England, brutal restraints gradually began to give way to humanitarian treatment, following investigations by the Lunacy Commission of England and by various state boards in the United States. The movement began in the East with state hospitals for the care of all the insane and their consequent removal from county poorhouses. In the West, on the other hand, especially in Wisconsin, the same movement began with an attempt at reformation of the county institutions.

Another improvement in the care of the insane grew out of modern science. Before the development of modern medicine patients were flogged and bled in the belief that such measures had remedial effects. The discovery that insanity is the result of disease naturally brought mitigation of the harsh treatment they had hitherto suffered. At present probably no class of diseased or defective people is more fully cared for and more humanely and scientifically treated than the insane.

CHIEF FEATURES OF THE MODERN TREATMENT OF THE INSANE

With the building of state asylums begins a new epoch to the treatment of the insane. Strangely enough, however, for some time attention was given to the architectural grandeur of the institution rather than to its fitness for treating successfully these unfortunates. Hence, the state institutions throughout the country were large imposing institutions which cost enormous sums of money but were poorly adapted to the proper treatment of the insane.

The Structure of the Institution. The first British asylum for

[1] Kline, *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases,* Vol. III. p. 628.

[2] Kline, *op. cit.,* p. 628.

the insane was a monastery and the same was true of many of the early institutions on the Continent. What more natural, then, when the time came to build asylums that the style of architecture characteristic of institutions associated with insanity should be copied? These models in Europe and Canada gave the United States their early type of asylum, and led to what has been called the "cathedral era" of asylum construction.[1] These huge congregate buildings, constructed of expensive materials and fitted with almost palatial elaborateness, were very costly. Their expense ranged from $1,000 to $3,000 or even more per patient. It has been said that an examination of 55 of them built before the more expensive of them had been constructed in the United States showed the cost per bed of $1,074, while the cost of the most expensive hotels at that time did not average more than $1,500 per bed.[2]

It soon began to be felt by the more thoughtful administrators that these formidable buildings were ill-adapted to their purposes. The proposal to build institutions of detached units at first met with opposition but has steadily grown in favor because they were better adapted both to classification of the inmates and to better treatment of each individual. Hence, to-day the cottage plan is in favor. Even the larger institutions have developed alongside the larger building, cottages, pavilions and colonies. The system is not only cheaper to build, but classification of the inmates is possible, the violent can be separated from those whom their violence will disturb, and different types of insanity can be treated according to their special needs. The cottage system is not a modern ideal. Dr. Riggs says that "The segregate system, toward which we have been working, has, in like manner, long been an ideal, though for many years a neglected one. Dr. Woodward, of Worcester, in his annual report for 1832, says that to their present accommodations should be added a building as a retreat for incurables, lodges for the violent and noisy, a hospital for curable cases, and a pleasant home for convalescents."[3]

Pleasant Grounds. The ancients discovered the blessing of pleasant surroundings in the treatment of the insane. The temples, the most beautiful buildings of ancient civilization, were in some cases

[1] Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 257; Petersen, "From Vanves to Iwakura," *The Survey*, Vol. 29, p. 29 (Oct. 5, 1912).
[2] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
[3] Riggs, *ob. cit.*, p. 223.

resorts for the insane. Music was urged by some of the ancient physicians and we have the Bible example of David soothing the mind of Saul with his harp.[1]

After much experience the tendency at the present time is to place the institutions for the insane in quiet and pleasant retreats a short distance outside of a city. The grounds are beautified as much as possible, with quiet walks and pleasant vistas. The surroundings both within and without the buildings are restful.

Occupation: Farm and Garden. The earlier hospitals for the insane in the United States had in some instances quite extraordinary men as their superintendents. As we have seen, mechanical restraint was very little used. Some of them advocated such buildings as would enable them to classify the patients. As early as 1845, Dr. Earle of the Bloomingdale Asylum, New York, wrote concerning the remedial effects of useful employment, "Of all the means included under the head of moral treatment, manual labor, useful employment with the hands, justly claims preëminence over all the others."[2]

This emphasis was lost during the next 20 or 25 years. The reports of the asylums during the third quarter of the nineteenth century show that under the conditions of the large congregate institution diversified labor was not easily provided for the inmates. Instead, the emphasis was upon amusements and games in which the patients took very little interest.

Fortunately at the beginning of the third quarter of the century the reports begin to show evidence of a revival of interest in useful occupations in the treatment of the insane. Possibly, knowledge of the beneficial effects of such occupations as were tried in Great Britain and Germany may have wrought the change. At first, manual labor was introduced for those who felt inclined to work. Seeing the beneficial effects of occupations engaged in under the careful direction of the medical officer, superintendents and supervising boards extended the practice until within a short time some of the institutions were giving the "occupational therapy" to nearly half of their patients.[3]

Useful employment for the insane has so justified itself in the quarter of a century since Dr. Riggs reported on the matter before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1893 that to-day (1920) practically all the state institutions have either large farms

[1] 1 Sam. 16:14-23.

[2] Quoted by Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 248.

[3] Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 249.

attached to them or colonies at some little distance away. One of the most recent colonies for outdoor work for the insane to be developed in the United States is the so-called Wayne Farms in connection with the Eastern Hospital at Richmond, Indiana. Experience shows that for a certain class of the insane occupation at farm labor in the open air has a distinctly remedial effect. Moreover, it is a means whereby the crowded state institutions can be relieved of some of the pressure.

In Wisconsin farm work has been developed in connection with both the state institutions for the curable cases and also in connection with the 35 county asylums for the chronic insane. Says Mr. Lane concerning the Wisconsin plan, "Such is Indiana's solution of the growing problem of her insane. There are those in the state who look with envy on the more complete resort to farm life practised in Wisconsin. . . . This plan was worked out 33 years ago and for the past 18 years Wisconsin has kept abreast of the demands of her insane population for institutional care." [1]

With cottages and a given amount of farm land for purposes of garden and farming, classification of the patients according to their needs is much more possible than without such an arrangement.

METHODS OF COMMITMENT

As soon as the idea arose that the insane should be deprived of their liberty in the interests of public safety, their incarceration in some kind of institution began. Soon it was discovered that some sane persons were shut up as insane. While the number of sane persons so treated was probably much exaggerated, so great was the horror at such mistakes, that society established legal safeguards against it. Hence originated the legal commitment of the insane after trial by jury, a blundering method to obviate a rare abuse.[2]

In many states this unsuitable method still survives. In 1893 Dr. Riggs could say, "In the larger number of states, commitment is by the decision of a judge or justice of the peace. Medical testimony is usually required, although in three states is not demanded. In a limited number of states only is there commitment based on a physi-

[1] Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey,* Vol. 35, pp. 373-80, January 1, 1916.

[2] Earl of Shaftesbury declared that of the 185,000 certificates of insanity passing through the office of the English Commission on Lunacy in 50 years there was no evidence that one sane person was among them. Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1893, p. 227.

cian's certificate."[1] In 1910 judicial procedure was necessary to commitment in all cases except voluntary or emergency commitment.

Usually someone makes written application to a certain court or judge, or to the county commissioners of insanity, if such exist, alleging on oath that the person whom he is seeking to have committed is insane. The judge then causes two regular practicing physicians—in some states they are special medical examiners—to examine the person and report their conclusions. Usually these physicians may not be related by marriage or blood or interested financially or otherwise in the person concerned. The judge may then call witnesses and in some states may impanel a jury. After hearing the evidence, the judge or jury decides as to the sanity of the person. If it is decided on the evidence that the person is insane the judge issues an order for commitment. While this is the usual procedure, there are numerous exceptions.[2]

In general, there are four methods of judicial commitment in the United States:

1. Trial by jury and commitment by judge.
2. Commitment by judge upon the findings of a commission in insanity.
3. Commitment by a commission given judicial authority by the statutes.
4. Commitment by judge on findings of physicians, sometimes acting as commissioners of insanity.

In addition, emergency commitment without judicial procedure for a certain number of days is provided in some states. "The recognition of the need of emergency commitment is, it may be observed, one of the advances of the last 20 years. Obviously, the commitment laws should be so framed as, while preserving the liberty of the subject, to admit of the prompt sequestration of the patient, if dangerous to himself or others or if in a critical condition, such as the acute delirious mania in puerperal insanity. This advance is not yet general. The commitment laws of Massachusetts were altered in 1879 by enacting that every insane person, when committed to an asylum or hospital, whether public or private, should be held there under the

[1] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[2] Jury trial in 1910 was prescribed only in the laws of Colorado, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Wyoming. In Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Washington, and Wisconsin a jury may be demanded on behalf of the person supposed to be insane. The judge may call a jury in Alabama, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, and in New Jersey.

orders of some court, based upon evidence of which the testimony of two physicians is an essential part, to the effect that the person alleged to be insane is really in that condition, and further, that he is in need of the restraint of a hospital. This was amended in 1881 to permit the emergency commitment of insane persons upon the certificate of two physicians for five days, without judicial commitment, and also to permit of voluntary commitment."[1]

Voluntary Commitment. Voluntary commitment of patients was begun in Scotland by an act passed in 1862. Because the restrictions prevented people from taking advantage of its provisions as much as desirable, this section of the law was changed in 1866. Patients made application by letter to the Lunacy Commission, stating the asylum they wished to enter. On its sanction, the superintendent admitted the patient. The patient was permitted to leave on three days' notice. This plan worked well.[2]

In Massachusetts voluntary commitment has been authorized by law since 1881. The insane could not be detained more than three days after they had given notice in writing of intention to leave. The Massachusetts law was based upon such a law in Scotland and has worked well,[3] seeing that about 38 per cent of such applications have recovered. While in 1893 only three states provided for voluntary commitment, in 1910 in 15 states the statutes provided for it.[4] In most of these states there are limitations upon the time which a voluntary patient may remain without commitment and in some voluntary commitment is allowed only to pay patients. From the standpoint of the prevention of insanity, it is highly desirable that voluntary commitment be more widely extended.

CARE OF THE INSANE: ACUTE, CHRONIC AND CRIMINAL CASES

It is the settled policy at the present time that the various classes of the insane should be cared for separately. There should be one institution for the curable cases, another for the chronic or incurable, and still another for the criminal. Formerly the acute and chronic cases were cared for in the same institution, sometimes in separate wards and sometimes in separate buildings. Now under the state system of caring for the insane, certain institutions are set aside for

[1] Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 230.
[2] Letchworth, *The Insane in Foreign Countries*, New York and London, 1889, pp. 120, 121.
[3] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
[4] Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

the curable and others for the chronic cases. Since different methods of treatment are necessary, management and discipline are very much simpler when the two classes are kept in different institutions. In some states the criminal insane have been separated from both the other classes.

The establishment of state institutions for the care of the insane grew out of the recognition of the evils of county care.[1] With the development of state boards state and county care were compared in their results to the discredit of the latter. Then arose an agitation for the state care of the insane. New York was the first state to assume this obligation, but a number of the states, especially in the East, soon followed her example. At first the attempt was made to care for them all in state institutions. Up to the present that system has failed except as it has been modified by such devices as colonies and the boarding-out system. On the other hand, Wisconsin, while acknowledging the state's obligation to care for the insane, worked out the problem in a different way. Believing it impossible for the state to provide enough of the large and expensive institutions to care for all her insane her state board allowed the chronic cases to remain in the county asylum, while the state assumed a part of the expense of their care.

The debate between the advocates of these two systems has been long and sometimes quite bitter. Opinion has swung from one side to the other during the last 25 years.

When Wisconsin established her state board in 1871, the condition of the insane in her almshouses was as bad as in any state in the East. At first the board followed the eastern examples and attempted to care for the chronic insane by enlarging the capacity of its state asylum. In the next six years it nearly trebled its hospital capacity. Nevertheless, so many still remained in the poorhouses because there was no room in the state institutions, and the conditions in the county poorhouses had so improved that the state board came to believe that under careful supervision the chronic insane who were able-bodied could be cared for properly in county institutions. Therefore, a law was passed providing that when a county's insane could not be cared

[1] In 1870 "there were in each state two methods of caring for the insane; first, a state system, managed by state officers and responsible to the state; second, a county system, managed by county authorities and responsible to no one." "Through the abuses to which county care almost invariably gave rise, and through the efforts of the state boards to correct such abuses, the idea of state care for all the insane became strengthened."—Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, pp. 233, 234.

for in the state institutions, if a county built a county asylum, the state would pay that county $1.50 a week towards the cost to the county of caring for each person. This plan practically provided a bonus to the county which cared for its indigent insane under regulations and supervision of the board. Under this plan 35 counties have built county asylums for the insurable insane and may receive patients from other counties on payment of a small weekly sum by the county from which the patients come. For these cases the county receives also a sum from the state.[1]

Each of these county asylums is under the management of a local board of trustees, selected by the county board of supervisors, which trustees appoint the superintendent and other officers. These asylums are supervised by the state board and are regulated by rules made by the state board.

This system has worked unexpectedly well in Wisconsin. Dr. Lorenz of the State Psychiatric Institute recently stated to the writer that he believes that it is the best system in the country judged by every canon of proper care of the insane. He assures me that even the medical care, about which I entertained fears, is everything that could be desired.

In 1910, aside from county almshouses which did not segregate their insane, there were in the United States 248 public institutions for the care of the insane. Of these 140 were state hospitals, 98 were county institutions, including 49 departments of almshouses for the insane, 7 municipal institutions and 3 others. Of the 140 state institutions 127 were general hospitals for the insane, 6 were for the criminal or dangerous insane and 3 for chronic or incurable insane.[2]

Early in the modern treatment of insanity it was discovered in Scotland that certain patients could be released on probation. From every point of view, the system of parole is of advantage. The patient who has been sufficiently restored to be safe outside the institution is infinitely better off than within. The policy is also economical and so long as the patients are closely supervised, all the interests of the state are safeguarded. "In Scotland superintendents have power without the consent of the Lunacy Commissioners to liberate patients on trial for a term not exceeding 28 days. This practice has proved so beneficial that it is regarded with increasing favor.

[1] Riggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-244.

[2] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 79, 80.

"Patients may, however, be liberated on probation for longer periods, usually ranging from 6 to 12 months. This can be done only by the consent in each case of the Lunacy Commissioners. . . . Probationary removals were first authorized in 1862. . . ."[1] In the United States there are 24 states which have provision for the parole of patients from hospitals and asylums for the insane. In one of these, Tennessee, the law applies only to the insane in private institutions.

This privilege is, of course, extended only to those insane who are judged harmless either by the superintendent or the board controlling the institution. Usually the parole is for only 30 days, although in some states the time is 3 or 6 months. In some states, if he is not returned to the hospital within the time limit he must be considered discharged. In the others, the order of commitment stands until he is legally discharged.[2]

Boarding Out. Boarding out is another modification in the care of the insane. Boarding out is sometimes called the Scottish system. In 1887, about one-fifth of the lunatics there were boarded out. Carefully selected homes are used in which to place certain patients. In Scotland it is not the policy to place many in the same community, only two or three places having aggregations of boarded-out patients. Each family is examined as to its suitability, and is visited periodically to see that the patient is receiving proper care. It was devised in Scotland owing to the pressure in the institutions for the care of the insane.[3]

Boarding out the insane in families seems to have arisen at Gheel, Belgium. At Gheel is a colony for the Flemish insane. The colony grew out of the healing of the insane at the shrine of St. Dymphna in the Middle Ages. In the latter part of the eighteenth century there were 400 patients boarded there. In 1803, when organized government supervision began, there were 600 patients, while by 1885 the number had grown to 1,653. In this colony there is a group of buildings, one of which serves as the hospital from which those found suited to family care are boarded out in the families of the community. In the infirmary those requiring medical care are given treatment.[4]

In America the boarding-out system came to us by way of Scotland. Said Dr. Riggs, in 1893: "In Massachusetts, which has also in process

[1] Letchworth, *The Insane in Foreign Countries,* N. Y. & London, 1889, p. 124.
[2] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 83, 84.
[3] Letchworth, *op. cit.,* pp. 115, 130-139.
[4] Letchworth, *op. cit.,* pp. 239-278.

of erection a large asylum for chronic cases, an attempt has been made to naturalize the Scotch system of boarding out the chronic insane. The system was inaugurated by the State Board. In 1885 an act was passed permitting the boarding of the chronic and quiet insane at sums not exceeding $3.25 per week, such insane so boarded at the expense of the commonwealth to be visited not less than once in every 3 months, and all insane who are boarded out at the expense of towns and cities, and whose address is made known to the Board, to be visited not less than once in six months." [1]

This system has continued in Massachusetts with increasing favor up to the present time and has been copied by some other states. The only change in Massachusetts has been that "since January 1, 1915, the work of boarding out patients formerly cared for by the State Board of Insanity has been turned over to the various institutions. This has resulted in much more work for the social service department, both in making visits to the private homes where patients are boarded, and also investigating the homes of those requesting patients to board. The work of this branch of social service in an institution should permit of returning to the community many patients requiring a certain amount of supervision, who, without this, would have to remain under institutional care." [2]

The boarding out of patients has not extended as rapidly as it should. In 1910 there were only three states in which the law provided for boarding out patients. In Illinois any insane patient may be boarded out by the Board of Administration. In Massachusetts, any harmless patient, except those committed as inebriates, may be boarded out in families by either the State Board of Insanity or the trustees of the institution concerned, while in Minnesota an incurable patient may be placed at board by the superintendent of the institution.[3]

Some years ago a study was made in Massachusetts of the cases placed out in families. It was found that of the patients placed out over a period of 20 years, one out of every five had become self-supporting. Said Miss Ball recently, "The story of 34 years of care in families has demonstrated conclusively its practicability. Under

[1] Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1893, p. 241.

[2] Kline, *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases,* Vol. III, No. 1, p. 12.

[3] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, p. 74.

normal conditions and with proper supervision a definite standard should be maintained in this method of care, which is but one part of the entire plan of state care of the mentally ill. For such persons as are suitable for placing in families there would seem to be many of the benefits to be derived from institutional care and, in addition, a nearer approach to normal living." [1]

Out-Patient Departments. England deserves the credit for the device of the out-patient department in hospitals for the insane. Dr. Riggs calls it "an advance akin to voluntary commitment." [2] The purpose of the out-patient department, or clinic, is the free treatment of the acute insane during the incipiency of the disease in order to prevent its further development. Such a department was first opened in this country in 1885 in the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane. In Massachusetts "out-patient clinics were established in September, 1914, under the direction of the State Board of Insanity, in the large cities of the hospital district. The clinics are held in the evening in order that the patients out on trial who are at work need not lose any time in attendance. Notices are sent to all patients away from the hospital on trial visits who can easily report at the clinic in the city nearest their home. Notices are inserted in the newspapers calling attention to the clinics. The various charitable organizations and physicians in the district are also notified in order that persons may be referred for examination and advice.

"These out-patient clinics serve as a distinct aid to the after-care work of the social service department. If, for any reason, former patients do not report, the social service department investigates the reason immediately after the clinic. An opportunity is given relatives of patients in the hospitals to consult physicians. Quite a large number of persons visit the clinics voluntarily to consult regarding their own condition. The work of the out-patient clinics has been very satisfactory." [3]

Psychiatric Social Service. Another recent and important adjunct to the hospital for the insane is hospital social service. By this term is meant investigation of the social conditions in the family,

[1] "Family Care of Mental Cases," *The Survey*, Vol. 44, April 17, 1920, pp. 117, 118.

[2] Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 232.

[3] Kline, *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. III, p. 16.

in the patient's work, and in the community, under which the patient has lived and from which possibly he has suffered.

Social service in connection with a hospital was originated by Dr. Richard C. Cabot at the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1905 by taking a nurse who had done settlement work and having her investigate the conditions in the homes of certain patients. A year later the work was recognized as a regular department of the out-patient department of that hospital, and soon a like department was established at Bellevue Hospital in New York City.[1]

Hospital Social Service in Connection with Hospitals for the Insane. Hospital social service in connection with the institutions for the insane was first developed in New York. The State Charities Aid Association employed an after-care agent to work among those discharged from the hospitals. This worker found in the homes she visited in this work many other persons who were on the verge of nervous breakdown, and therefore came to the conclusion that not only after-care but preventive work was needed. As a result, the Mental Hygiene Committee came into existence under the State Charities Aid Association. After two years' experience, a social worker was appointed, in August, 1912, to do this preventive work. The success of this work has been such that this service has been extended to other hospitals in the state.

Massachusetts next installed social service in the State Hospital. With the opening of the psychopathic hospital in Boston a social service worker was employed, in the latter part of 1912, to look after the needs of all patients admitted. In 1913 the Danvers State Hospital took on a social worker to gather social data to assist in determining whether a patient could be released from the hospital and thus the number in the hospital lessened, also to supplement medical information on the patient, to secure coöperation of the community to which the patient returned and to give after-care to the returned patient. In the same year the Boston State Hospital installed such a worker. At present practically every Massachusetts State hospital has such a worker. Massachusetts is the only state now where the service is fully developed and is under state management.[2]

In Massachusetts the Commission on Mental Diseases has recently adopted social service, and it is being gradually introduced into the

[1] Kline, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 7.

[2] Kline, "Social Service in the State Hospital," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases,* Vol. III, No. 1, Jan., 1919, pp. 5-17; pp. 7, 8.

various hospitals connected with the Commission. Out of 14 hospitals, 10 are now engaged in some sort of social service in connection with the mental cases.[1]

Says Dr. Kline, of Massachusetts: "The recognition of the fact that social conditions play a large part in the causation of disease holds the hospital responsible for the welfare of the patient after discharge from the hospital. Hospital problems are therefore social as well as medical, and accordingly there is need of trained social service workers, as well as physicians. . . .

"If it be granted that the hospital exists for curative and reconstructive purposes, it then follows that the social aspects of disease and its treatment must be carefully considered. . . .

"Before the establishment of social service in the hospital it was practically impossible to extend hospital treatment into the community. Advice and treatment in reality began and ended inside the hospital. After-results were seldom learned by the hospital physicians. Many patients eventually returned for treatment, often suffering from the same trouble for which they first came for help. Directions and advice were constantly given and seldom fulfilled for various reasons, good or otherwise. Such a method of treatment is not only expensive but is in reality useless in some respects, if the underlying causes of sickness remain unknown, especially those relating to social conditions. With a social service established in the hospital, many of these needs are met satisfactorily." [2]

In Massachusetts, where social service is now most widely established, the following functions are performed by it: 1. "Investigation of special cases for specified purposes usually relative to after-care of patients who are under consideration for discharge or trial visit at home." 2. "The securing of histories, medical and social, outside the hospital." 3. "Home visitation or after-care of out-patients." 4. "Systematic boarding out of patients in private families." 5. "Connecting needy persons with the proper agencies." 6. "The weekly attendance upon the out-patient clinics." [3]

The value of such service depends much on the quality of the case work done, which in turn depends upon the natural ability and training of the social service worker. Since social service in connection with the insane has come into vogue, there is great need that those

[1] Kline, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, p. 631.
[2] Kline, "Social Service in the State Hospital," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 5, 6.
[3] Kline, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

who perform it be of the very highest fitness. The half-trained do more harm than good, for it is a delicate task which the social service worker has to perform. She must be skilled in making investigations, else the sensibilities of the families will be injured. She must have tact in suggesting changes in the family régime to which the patient is returning. From the standpoint of investigation she must know how to get the salient points which will help the physician to picture to himself the social situation, and thus know how to treat the case.

At the present time, while a number of schools are giving courses to prepare psychiatric social workers, it is to be feared that too many of them are sent out with too little training for the very difficult work they have to do. They must not only know case work thoroughly, but they must be skilled in case work with this particular kind of cases. It is to be hoped that those in charge of their training will insist that they take more training than is thought adequate for the family case worker.

This new movement is based upon the recent recognition that medicine has its social relationships. Social conditions produce physical and mental breakdown; therefore social conditions must be understood if a cure is to be attempted or prevention undertaken.

Temporary Detention of the Insane. In too many places at the present time the jail is the only place provided for the temporary care of the demented while waiting for examination and commitment. What a pity that a sick person who is no more a criminal than any other sick person should be lodged in the common jail! Says Dr. Riggs: "The matter of temporary accommodation of the insane, while the question of commitment is pending or during delay after commitment, is one of importance. In some of our large cities relief is given by houses of detention, usually established by municipal ordinance. In others, however, there is as yet no such provision. Delay may occur from many causes, and in the meantime often the only available place of detention may be the city or county jail. This is not only unjust and degrading, on general principles, but may be the cause of serious ill-consequences to the patient. It would be well if the example of Australia were more generally followed in America. In Melbourne and elsewhere they have lunacy wards in the public hospitals, and thus no time is lost in treating cases at the critical period." [1]

[1] Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 233.

Dr. Riggs thinks that the detention homes are a step in advance, but they are too often mixed up with local politics.

Some states have laws requiring the provision of such detention homes, or detention wards in the general hospitals. Thus, in Minnesota, the Board of Control is directed by law to establish such detention homes in all cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants. In California, the Board of Supervisors in each county is required to maintain in a receiving hospital or elsewhere in the county suitable room or rooms for the detention and treatment of those alleged to be insane for from 1 to 20 days. In Ohio, at the request of the probate judge, the County Commissioners are authorized to establish such detention hospital to be under the superintendence of a registered physician. And in Pennsylvania in 1911 was authorized by state law the establishment of psychopathic wards in general hospitals.[1]

ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION

The better treatment of the insane followed the establishment of State Boards of Charity. Intelligent supervision of the institutions for their care is absolutely necessary, as experience has abundantly shown. When their care was in the hands of local units of government, the insane were neglected and abused. When not abused, they were treated not as sick people, but as a menace to society.

New York was the first state in the Union to recognize the obligation of the state to care for all of its indigent insane.[2] Since then a growing number of states have been recognizing that duty and have either taken the care of the insane entirely out of the hands of the counties and municipalities or else carefully supervised them. The results have abundantly justified state supervision.

Even more important in some respects is it that the institution be in the hands of a competent administrator. He must be not only a good business manager, but he must be a competent authority in psychiatry. Few men have this combination of qualities, but when such a man is in charge of an institution the desired results appear at once. At present there are no schools where such men are being trained. They are happy accidents.

When such a man is found, he must not be hampered by politics.

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washton, 1914, pp. 72, 73.

[2] Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1893, p. 235.

He should be chosen with reference to his qualifications as superintendent, not to his party loyalty or political strength. Too often, however, the superintendents are picked because they happen to be friends of the party in power in the state at the time, often displacing a competent but politically obnoxious man. Only as the people appreciate the importance of having at the head of the institutions which care for the insane the best men obtainable, and insist that such men only be in charge, will the abuses which now disgrace some of our state hospitals cease.

Of the state boards dealing with the insane there are three different varieties:

1. Boards of insanity or lunacy commissions,
2. Boards of control or administration,
3. Boards of charities.

Nine states have the first.[1] In most of these states their functions are supervisory rather than administrative.

The type most frequently found is the third named, the State Boards of Charity. Except in Rhode Island and South Dakota, these boards are primarily supervisory, the administration of the institutions being in the hands of local boards of trustees.

Later to develop and fewer than the supervisory State Boards of Charities, but the type followed by 6 of the last 7 boards to be organized, is the State Board of Administration or Control. These boards not only administer directly the state institutions for the insane, but some of them are also charged with the inspection or supervision of county, municipal and private institutions for the insane.

In addition to these three general types there are in a few states boards and committees whose duties are simply visitorial, and a few other states permit the appointment by the governor of visiting committees. Thus, in Kansas the governor is authorized to appoint a visiting committee, and in West Virginia the legislature may appoint such a committee to investigate the hospitals for the insane biennially. In others, as Tennessee, for instance, the governor, judges, and members of the assembly are ex-officio visitors of the hospitals. In New York, in addition to the State Lunacy Commission, there may be

[1] California, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Utah and Vermont. In Utah, Montana and Nevada the duties of these boards are chiefly administrative. In other states they are chiefly supervisory in their functions. *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, p. 64.

appointed by the judges of the Supreme Court visitors to the state hospitals.[1]

No dogmatic statement concerning the relative value of these different methods of handling the institutions by a state board is possible. In general it may be said that any one of the three types of boards mentioned is preferable to the visiting committee appointed by the governor or the legislature. Such visiting committees are to be found in the early laws of almost every state, and where they still exist they are merely survivals from an earlier and less mature development of social institutions. Their members are not experts in the treatment of insanity, and therefore their findings are as apt to be wrong as right and in any case are useless except in the matter of downright abuse.

Between the three types of boards choice must be made on the basis of the complexity of the situation in a state, the size of the problem of the care of the insane and the past history of the state in the treatment of this class of social dependents. In a state like Massachusetts or New York, where through long years agitation for proper care of the insane has procured a public sentiment enlightened as to their needs and has interested a large number of intelligent people as members of the local boards of trustees, a supervisory board is probably best. In a state like Wisconsin, which in the history of the care of the insane has worked out a solution of the care of the insane on the basis of a joint state and county plan and where the state board has developed a system of supervision of the county asylums which is approved by the best psychiatrists in the state, such a board of control is satisfactory. As a matter of fact, in Wisconsin the State Board of Control really administers the two state hospitals and supervises the 35 county asylums, much as a State Board of Charities or Board of Lunacy in other states supervises the state asylums. The only difference is that in Wisconsin the state hospitals are administered by a state board rather than by local boards of trustees, and the asylums for the incurable are more numerous than are the state asylums in any other state. The Wisconsin system has the advantage that the patients in the county asylums are near their friends, while it has the apparent disadvantage that it is not quite as probable that there may be found 35 good superintendents as a less number. How-

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, p. 64.

ever, it can be said that the evils which were prophesied would occur under the Wisconsin system have not appeared.

The administration of local and private asylums should be supervised by a state board of some kind. The state has a duty to see that the insane in any institution within its borders have proper care. Unless that is done, abuses are sure sooner or later to arise. To do this the state must see that those who administer the local and private asylums are more than local political henchmen or disabled men who need a job.

The state must also assume at least supervisory control of those boarded out and those on parole. These patients must be visited, and those who have charge of them must have certain standards of care set for them and forced to come up to such standards. This means that state boards must see to it that the inspectors who look after these people are of such caliber as to require proper care and not merely perfunctory conformity to standards.

Perhaps no better summary of the duty of the state in the treatment of the insane has been made than that by Dr. Kline. He says: "The state policy of to-day, in the care of the insane, may be briefly defined as one in which all those factors which have a bearing upon mental health are carefully and scientifically considered. Reformed laws removing the insane from the care and custody of justices of the peace, overseers of the poor and jailers make it possible to give such persons medical care. The conditions surrounding them in state hospitals are arranged for the purpose of promoting physical and mental health. The development of occupational therapy, mechanical arts, recreative amusement, etc., has had a quieting and helpful effect upon patients; the policy of boarding special patients in private homes under good normal conditions; the establishment of psychopathic wards in general hospitals and psychopathic hospitals for the study of borderline and incipient cases and investigation of mental diseases, and the recent establishment of social service—are all indications of an enlightened policy in state care of the insane. Such care insures efficiency, standardization and uniformity and makes for progress." [1]

As a prophecy of the future, based upon what experts in the care of the insane now deem to be necessary, Dr. Frederick Peterson's words in writing about a colony for the insane at Vanves, France, and another of like character at Iwakura, Japan, are pregnant. He says, "Some day every city of over 200,000 inhabitants will have its

[1] Kline, *Proceedings, National Conference on Social Work*, 1919, p. 620.

psychopathic hospital within the city limits, and a colony for the overflow in the country nearby, modeled on the Alt-Scherbitz colony for the insane near Leipzig, or upon the Craig colony for epileptics near Rochester, N. Y. And every smaller city with a general hospital will have a psychopathic ward or department for the reception and treatment of emergency cases of insanity, instead of utilizing station houses and jails for the purpose." [1]

Prevention of Insanity. No social program can go far without it becoming apparent that problems of treatment lead directly to the question of prevention. The leaders in the treatment of insanity have seen this for at least a quarter of a century. Said Dr. Riggs, in 1893, "The prevention of insanity should receive at least as much attention as its cure, as it is the more hopeful field of the two in which to reap a harvest of healthy minds." [2]

Some of the measures already discussed, like psychopathic departments of general hospitals and out-patient departments, have a direct preventive aspect.

In addition to such measures, psychopathic institutes in connection with institutions for the care of the insane should be established for the study of the disease. In many of our states the law provides for the study of the diseases that cause insanity, and in a few attached to some of the institutions there is a distinct institution or a department devoted to the scientific study of insanity from the standpoint of medicine.

Social service has a very direct bearing upon the problem of prevention. It was devised to prevent a recurrence of the trouble. The family must be taught how to receive the returning patient. A change of attitude of some members of the family towards the patient is often necessary. The community must be taught how to treat the returned patient so that he can pick up the broken thread of his life and not have it broken again. Suitable occupation must be found, else the conditions which incited the breakdown may cause the malady to recur.

The public must be educated as to the nature of insanity. The conditions which contribute to the destruction of normal mental life must be removed. Ignorance must give place to knowledge and appreciation. The importance of timely recognition of the disease must be

[1] *The Survey*, Vol. 29, p. 29.
[2] Riggs, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 233.

inculcated in people, so that both for themselves and for those about them they may seek rather than shun early treatment. The incipient cases must be discovered. In this work the psychopathic social worker and the family social worker is needed. Teachers and employers should know more about the matter, so that they can recognize the early signs of mental breakdown. Doctors and nurses especially should be taught concerning premonitory symptoms. Clergymen and others consulted by people in trouble may serve, if informed, to discover the incipient case and before it is too late get him in touch with the right person or institution.

Mental hygiene societies can be of considerable assistance in securing the attention of the public. Newspapers should be used to give more information to the public on insanity and the means of its prevention and treatment.

The psychiatric institution should become universal. Its results should be published abroad. Seeking out the causes of insanity, it should give its results wide publicity rather than bury them in technical reports which only the few read. Exhibits and lantern slide lectures can be used to great advantage in teaching the public on this important subject.

Finally, the conditions which produce mental disease should be attacked without delay. The last few years have seen much publicity on the rôle of syphilis and alcohol in the production of insanity. Other conditions are not so well known. Fatigue, mental conflicts, depressing and debilitating conditions of life in home and factory, the stresses of puberty and the climacteric, the factor of general debility, whatever the cause, and heredity have received less attention. The education of the people as to the causes, so far as known, and as to the proved methods of treatment and prevention must proceed. Already enough has been learned as to the results of giving information to the people to justify going further. We have reduced the death rate of babies by education of the mothers. We have taught a whole people that excessive use of alcohol is destructive of human life and happiness. It is just as possible to bring to people the principles of mental hygiene. It should be done, for there is no more terrible and tragic thing in human society than a mind deranged. A body man shares with the animal. Man's most characteristic endowment is his mind, with its reason, its deeper and more expansive emotions, its social possibilities on which human society rests for its achievements and its amenities. To prevent bodily disease is impor-

tant; to preserve the mind, to prevent its breakdown; to promote mental health, is absolutely imperative for the happiness of the individual and the welfare of society.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Volunteer Patients in an Institution for the Insane. Adams, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1907, p. 434.
2. Village Care of the Insane. Lathrop, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1902, p. 185.
3. Family Care of the Insane in Massachusetts. Fish, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1907, p. 438.
4. Relation of Mental Defect to Industrial Efficiency. Powers, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1920, p. 342.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS

NATURE of the Disease. For at least 25 centuries epilepsy has been recognized as such. Hippocrates, born 460 B. C., described it and said of its prognosis, "The prognosis in epilepsy is unfavorable when the disease is congenital, where it continues to manhood or where it occurs in adult. We may attempt to cure the young, but not the old." [1] It was early named from its most characteristic manifestation, the seizure. The name the disease now bears, "epilepsy," is Greek in its derivation and means "a seizure." Mention of a case is to be found in the Gospels. A man brought his son to Jesus with the words, "Lord, have mercy on my son: for he is epileptic, and suffereth grievously; for oft-times he falleth into the fire and oft-times into the water." [2]

Dr. William T. Shanahan of the Craig Colony for Epileptics at Sonyea, New York, defines epilepsy as "a chronic progressive disorder, characterized by recurrent abrupt attacks or loss or impairment of consciousness, with or without convulsions, and usually accompanied by mental and oft-times physical deterioration." [3]

There are four forms of the disease usually recognized in medical literature—*grand-mal, petit-mal,* psychical epilepsy and Jacksonian or focal epilepsy.

The first is the most easily recognized form, because the patient falls in a seizure, usually froths at the mouth, has convulsions, and is usually unconscious for some time. The second differs from the first rather in degree than in nature. Usually the patient does not fall because the seizure is less severe. The attack is momentary, and is manifested by a slight flush or paling of the countenance accompanied by a gasp, a sigh or a momentary loss of consciousness. The patient does not fall usually. Sometimes there may be a slight giddiness or a faintness. Usually this form progresses into the first. The third named is less frequent in its occurrence than the other forms. The convul-

[1] Quoted by Barr, *Mental Defectives,* Philadelphia, 1913, p. 211.
[2] Matthew 17:14.
[3] From address at Illinois State Conference of Charities, Oct. 21, 1912.

sions are mental rather than physical and it is sometimes mistaken for insanity. The seizure increases in force usually for hours and sometimes for days, then gradually subsides. It is not followed by coma, but usually by a period of automatism, or a state resembling absent-mindedness. This is the type which often manifests itself in homicidal tendencies.

In the Jacksonian form the attack begins in some extremity of the body, the leg, the hands or the face. In this type the convulsions are confined to one portion of the body. Usually consciousness is not entirely lost.[1]

Cause of Epilepsy. The cause of epilepsy is unknown to the medical profession. They are agreed that it is a nervous disease, that certain conditions aggravate it, that it is rather closely related to certain other diseases of the nervous system and that it may be transmitted by heredity.

In some cases epilepsy seems to act as an equivalent of other nervous conditions in the stock. Thus, the epileptic may have a relative who is feeble-minded, another who is insane and still another who is only a "little queer." It is a disease which usually manifests itself in childhood. Barr says that it seldom develops after the age of 20.[2] If it appears after that age, the history of the case will generally show that there were convulsions in infancy or childhood. For example, a case described by the Bureau of Analysis and Investigation of the State Board of Charities of New York shows that a sister is of normal intelligence but nervous, the father had epileptic fits when a boy and for the last 5 years has had attacks of *petit-mal*. He has been in prison, never supported his family, and is alcoholic. Three sisters of the father were abnormal—one having had chorea when a child, another being very high-tempered, and the other very "queer." A brother of the father is feeble-minded. In the 9 cases investigated a strain of nervous instability ran through most of the families. Epilepsy itself appeared in the family history of 4 of the cases. "Fainting spells" appear in 3 of the cases. Clear cases of feeble-mindedness appear in 8 of the 9 cases. Alcoholism appears in 7 of the 9; insanity in 6 families, a total of 9 times. Many other manifestations of mental awryness appears in these families which indicate a defective stock.[3]

[1] Barr, *Mental Defectives*, Philadelphia, 1913, pp. 214-216.
[2] Barr, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 214.
[3] *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin*, No. VII, Albany, 1916, p. 55.

Barr and Spratling attribute 56 per cent of the cases coming under their notice to heredity.[1]

Among the exciting causes of its manifestation are blows upon the head, worry, excitement, injuries to the mother during gestation, difficult dentition, acute sicknesses and malnutrition. Intemperance and irregular living has also been suggested, but it is a question whether epilepsy manifests itself because of drink and vice, or whether these are a consequence of an epileptic taint.

Closely connected with the question of exciting causes as well as with the question of treatment are matters of food, age, and excitement. Experience with epileptics indicates that careful attention must be given to the food eaten, as to quantity and the kinds of food and how soon after eating the patient should go to sleep. Every physician who has worked in an institution for epileptics stresses the importance of providing easily digested foods, eliminating much meat, giving vegetables instead and providing when possible an amount of exercise sufficient to keep the bodily functions in good order.

Childhood is the age period when this disease appears most frequently. Says Letchworth, ". . . epilepsy is essentially a disease of the young."[2] Nothnagel finds it most common between the ages of 7 and 17. Barr finds that 66 per cent of his cases developed epilepsy between birth and the fifth year. Hasse, Gowers, and Gray find 75 per cent developing before the twentieth year.[3] A high death rate for epileptics would naturally cut down the number in later years.

Social Relations of the Disease. The importance of the disease is indicated by its high mortality rate, its relation to other social problems, such as dependency, crime, unemployment, vagrancy and vice.

Letchworth says of the relation of the epileptic to society, "The epileptic holds an anomalous position in society. As a child he is an object of solicitude to his parents or guardians. The street to him is full of danger, and if sent to school he is liable to seizures on the way or in the classroom. At school his attacks shock his classmates and create confusion. He cannot attend church and public entertainments, nor participate in social gatherings with those of his own age and station. Because of his infirmity the epileptic grows up in idleness and ignorance, bereft of companionship outside of the family,

[1] Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
[2] Letchworth, *The Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, New York, 1900, p. 8.
[3] Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

and friendless, he silently broods over his isolated and helpless condition.

"If the epileptic succeeds in learning a trade, business men are reluctant to employ him and artisans will not work with him, especially if sharp-edged tools are used. I shall never forget the shock experienced when I was a lad, in seeing a journeyman workman, a tall, manly, but sad-faced young man, fall at his bench with keen-edged tools within his reach, his dazed fellow-workmen moving in awe about him as he struggled in convulsions, with open eyes, set teeth, and foaming mouth. He was an ambitious young man, of good character, and a skilful workman; but he was obliged to leave his position on account of his infirmity and seek a new situation, where undoubtedly he had to go through the same experience. In such cases there is but one result—the breaking down of all hope and energy.

"The epileptic workman having a trade but unable to find employment, gradually sinks into a condition of public dependence. Frequently he is sent to the poorhouse, where he is brought into close association with a mixed and unsympathetic population, and where there is no special provision for his care or proper medical treatment." [1]

Hope of cure is very small. Some European experience indicates a probable cure in about 4 per cent, while the German Colony at Bielefeld claims 6.5 per cent of recoveries. The Craig Colony in New York early claimed that from 7 to 10 per cent might be cured, but the later figures from that institution indicate curability in about 2 per cent.[2]

Even worse than the prospect of death is the probability that before death comes to their relief gradual but steady deterioration of the mental faculties will occur. Says Barr, "Idiocy, imbecility or dementia will be found in fully 90 per cent of all epileptic communities." [3] And Dr. Munson of the Craig Colony adds: "Ultimate dementia is the future of most epileptics." [4] About 10 per cent of all epileptics become so insane as to require supervision at home or in asylums. "Hence the epileptic neurosis in an individual renders him about thirty times more liable to insanity than if he were normal." [5]

Unless of independent means the epileptic is almost sure to become

[1] Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.
[2] *Eugenics and Social Welfare Bulletin*, New York State Board of Charities, Albany, 1916, Vol. VII, p. 36.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 218.
[4] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, p. 295.
[5] Dr. Peterson quoted by Letchworth, *Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, New York, 1900, p. 5.

dependent. He cannot hold a job, for as soon as he is known to "have fits," others do not like to work with him. More important, if working for someone he is liable to have a seizure and let a team run away and smash up machinery, or injure a machine he may be tending in a factory, or, even more important, may be severly injured and thus subject the employer to either a suit for damages or compensation. Customers of a store are disturbed by seeing a clerk in a seizure and will avoid that store. Hence, the making of a living is almost an impossibility.

That unless the state provides an institution especially for them, these poor creatures drift into the poorhouses and there end their days is indicated by the statistics. Two per cent of those in the poorhouses of the United States in 1910 were epileptics; and about one-fourth of all defectives in those institutions at that time were epileptics.[1] In an investigation of the almshouses of Missouri by Professor Ellwood, published in 1904, over 5 per cent of the total almshouse population of that state were epileptics, while an investigation of the county homes of Iowa made by the writer in 1910 showed that in that state 2.6 per cent were afflicted by this terrible condition.[2]

Healy found in his study of 1,000 cases of juvenile delinquents in connection with the Juvenile Court of Chicago that from 7 to 7½ per cent of them were clearly epileptics.[3] All authorities we have been able to consult agree that epilepsy plays a very considerable part in criminality. This is especially true of psychic epilepsy and the automatism following a seizure in *grand-mal.* All agree that it is difficult for the layman to recognize it in many criminal cases, and that the law in most states gives no weight to the peculiar characteristics of the epileptic criminal.

A large number of the ordinary vagrants are epileptics. In a large number of the cases described by Healy the history is that the epileptic wanders away and can give no account of himself afterwards. He finds himself in places far from home and wonders how he got there.[4]

Epilepsy has very close relations with vice. Related closely to other mental defects, and characterized by sudden uncontrolled impulses, and often accompanied by early and excessive sexual development,

[1] *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1915, p. 42.
[2] Ellwood, *Condition of the Almshouses of Missouri,* University of Missouri, 1904, p. 11; Gillin, "The County Homes of Iowa," *Proceedings, Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 43.
[3] *The Individual Delinquent,* Boston, 1915, p. 416; "Epilepsy and Crime—the Cost," *Illinois Medical Journal,* 1912.
[4] For description of a case see Healy, *op. cit.,* p. 640.

epilepsy results in very many cases in very irregular sexual life. Says Healy, "When there is over-development of the sexual life, as unfortunately there so frequently is, the combination of all these typical characteristics tends to make the epileptic a great offender." [1]

Since epilepsy has such important bearings upon other social problems as well as upon the welfare of the epileptic, it is important to care for them in the way that experience teaches yields the best results for the patient and also for the protection of society.

EXTENT OF EPILEPSY

In most countries the number of the insane is fairly well known, while the number of the feeble-minded has been rather carefully estimated. But no such careful study has been made as to the number of epileptics, especially in the United States. So important is the disease, however, that it is highly necessary that we arrive at an approximate estimate of their number. While the Bureau of the Census has made special studies of the insane and the feeble-minded, no report has been made by that bureau of the number and the methods of treating the epileptics.

In certain European countries it has been found that the number varies from one per thousand of the population in Belgium to 2.57 in Switzerland. These numbers are probably below the actual percentages, since epileptics and their friends seek to hide the existence of the disease.

Studies made in different American states indicate that in this country there is about 1 to every 500 inhabitants.[2] In 1900 it was estimated that there were at least 113,000 epileptics in the United States.[3] This is probably too low, for Spratling in 1903 thought the number more than 140,000.[4] These estimates are based upon investigations made by individuals in different states of the Union,[5] but it is prob-

[1] Healy, *op. cit.*, pp. 418, 419.

[2] Letchworth, *Care and Treatment of Epileptics*, New York, 1900, pp. 14, 15; Munson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, p. 297.

[3] Letchworth, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[4] Spratling, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1902, p. 271.

[5] For example, Dr. Powell of the Institution for the Feeble-minded in Iowa made a study in 1897 getting reports from 800 physicians in the state and 70 poorhouses. His estimate, which he considers very conservative, was that there was at that time one epileptic to every 600 inhabitants in that state. Dr. Peterson of New York estimates that there the rate is 1 to every 500 of the population. Dr. Morris made the same estimate for Maryland. Dr. Drewry arrived at about the same estimate for Virginia.

able that in the studies which have been made many epileptics were overlooked. This is indicated by the figures for the men discharged from the army during the World War. Major Hutchins reported in 1918 that of more than 14,000 cases recommended for rejection by the examiners in the army of the United States about 35 per cent were for mental deficiency, while 12 per cent of them were for epilepsy. The percentage varied with the kind of troops. Thus, of the rejections from the National Army, i. e., the drafted men, 16 per cent were for epilepsy, while for the National Guards it was 10 per cent, for the Depot Recruits (volunteers) 8 per cent and for those in the Officers' Training Camps it was only 1 per cent.[1]

PROVISIONS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR CARE OF EPILEPTICS

In 1900 there were but 5 states in the Union which had made special provision for the epileptics in institutions set apart exclusively for their care.[2] In 1913 there were 9 states with colonies for epileptics separate and apart from institutions for the care of the insane or the feeble-minded.[3] In certain other states special provisions for their care are made in connection with institutions for the feeble-minded or the insane. In still others the epileptic is sent either to the asylum for the insane or the institutions for the feeble-minded. While Dr. Powell estimated that there were 1,200 in institutions for the feeble-minded in 1897, in 1910 according to the Census Bureau there were 2,444.[4] In still other states which have no institutions for the feeble-minded the epileptics are scattered in the state and county asylums for the insane and in the county poorhouses.[5] By 1918 the number of states providing special care had increased to 14.[6]

Save in those states which have special colonies for this class of defectives, the provision is not adequate for their proper care. Even those states which have separate departments for their care in con-

[1] Hutchins, "The Work of the Division of Neuro-Psychiatry in the Army," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1918, pp. 513, 518.

[2] Letchworth, *Care and Treatment of Epileptics,* New York, 1900, p. 15.

[3] *How the Uncared-for Epileptic Fares in Illinois,* by the Committee of Fifty, 1913, pp. 24, 25.

[4] Letchworth, *op. cit.,* p. 16. *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910,* Washington, 1914, p. 204.

[5] Thus, in 1910, there were reported 2,202 in the county poorhouses in the United States, *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910,* Washington, 1915, p. 42.

[6] Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin. Pollock & Furbush, *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. III, p. 78 (Jan., 1919); See also Hamilton & Hober, *Summaries of State Laws Relating to the Feeble-minded and Epileptic, National Committee on Mental Hygiene,* Pub. No. 12, 1917.

nection with institutions for the feeble-minded have resorted to a makeshift which is unfair to the epileptic.[1]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS

When the epileptic first appears in history he is looked upon, like the insane, as possessed by a demon. Hippocrates, the Greek physician (b. 640 B. C.), insisted in looking upon him as the product of natural causes but such an attitude was rare. Only in very recent times has the attitude of Hippocrates been vindicated by science.

As a result of the ancient belief the epileptic was persecuted when not neglected. He was driven out from home and friends, or thrown into foul prisons and dungeons or permitted to wander about in wild and desolate places abhorred by all. He was treated with severity, or given medicines concocted of horrible ingredients dictated by superstitious beliefs. Later, like the insane, he was thrown into jails, poorhouses and prisons, in order to protect society from his dangerous outbursts.[2]

The modern treatment of the epileptic dates back only to the middle of the last century. In 1848 John Bost, pastor of a Protestant Church at LaForce, France, near Bordeaux, built a home for friendless girls. Among them he found a sufficient number of epileptics to lead him to establish a separate house for them. Later he established a home for epileptic women. Each of these homes was built on the principle that they needed family care. He believed that outdoor life would benefit these girls and women, as well as the use of medicine. He also found that work in the open had a very good effect. Hence, while Bost established these institutions for epileptics as part of a colony for all classes of dependents, his experiment demonstrated that home life among his kind, isolation from others, and work in the fields, gave better results for the epileptic than any other kind of treatment.

The most famous colony for epileptics in Europe is that founded by von Bodelschwingh, a Lutheran clergyman, at Bielefeld in Westphalia. This was established about 1867 under the auspices of the provincial Committee of the Inner Mission of the Rhineland and Westphalia. It is, therefore, a religious colony and is under the care of the Westphalian Brotherhood and the Westphalian Deaconesses. It

[1] For detailed reasons see Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20-25; Spratling, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, pp. 259 ff.
[2] Letchworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 2.

has over thirteen thousand acres of land on which are scattered plain, unpretentious buildings which serve as homes for small groups of epileptics, with special buildings serving as church, school, gymnasium, hospital, and shops for various kinds of industry suited to the peculiar malady of these people. Crops of various kinds are raised, gardens abound, orchards are cultivated. In short, a widely varied industry is worked out so that each one may have some kind of work suited to his peculiar needs. Founded by a religious body, it is but natural that the church occupies a central place in the work, but religion is not the chief reliance in the treatment.[1]

In England the care of epileptics has been largely in private hands. There are a few hospitals for the treatment of this class of sufferers, but very few are institutions for their permanent care. The earliest of these English institutions was founded in 1888. There are four such hospitals in London and a few scattered throughout England, some of them influenced by the colony at Bielefeld, Germany. The best is that at Chalfont.[2]

In the United States the movement for special institutions for epileptics in part grew out of a recognition of the sad conditions which most of these sufferers endured in their homes and in the almshouses and jails and from the opposition of the superintendents of institutions for the insane and feeble-minded where occasionally they were kept. In such institutions their attacks were a disturbing factor, while in their lucid periods they felt degraded by association with dements and aments.[3]

In Massachusetts as early as 1882 the Hospital Cottage for Children was opened at Baldwinsville as a private charity. Later a part of the governing board was appointed by the state and a part of its expenses contributed from the public funds. It received children who were feeble-minded as well as children who were epileptics.

In New York in 1887 the Brunswick Home was incorporated as a private charity for epileptics. In 1902, however, 177 of its 248 patients were paid for by public funds.[4]

Ohio deserves credit for the establishment of the first public institution for epileptics in the United States. Its institution at Gallipolis

[1] Letchworth, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1894, pp. 191, 192.
[2] Letchworth, *op. cit.,* pp. 192, 193; *Hazell's Annual,* 1918, pp. 140, 360.
[3] Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity,* New York, 1904, p. 471.
[4] Henderson, *op. cit.,* p. 472: Letchworth, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1894, p. 194.

was authorized by the legislature in 1890. The credit for its inception belongs to the State Board of Charities and especially to General Brinkerhoff, its president. While the site selected was too small to permit the development of an ideal colony, the amount of ground has since been increased, and thus was begun in this country the state care of the epileptics in colonies designed to meet their peculiar conditions.

In 1896, after four years of agitation and investigation, Craig Colony, perhaps the most famous colony for epileptics in this country, was opened at Sonyea, New York. The site selected was an old Shaker settlement with numerous buildings scattered over an estate of 1,350 acres, later increased to 1,895 acres. A stream which crosses the estate serves to divide the colony for men from the colony for women. Speaking of the prospect in 1894, Mr. Letchworth said: "It would seem, with this magnificent estate for a foundation, and the favorable auspices under which it begins its existence, that we may reasonably expect in the Craig Colony the attainment of an ideal institution." The colony has realized this expectation. For a number of years it had as its head Dr. William P. Spratling, a very able superintendent, who has done more perhaps than anyone else to make the colony not only well but favorably known. Its board of managers and the State Board of Charities have kept it out of politics.

It is also ideal with regard to the natural requirements as to site, size, soil, water, drainage, and accessibility. It is at such a distance from centers of population that the epileptics there are away from the strain and temptations of life in cities. It provides an abundance of land for the inmates. Dr. Spratling thinks that there should be an acre of land to each inmate. They have a pure and abundant water supply, so pure that there has not been a case of typhoid fever or other water-borne disease since its opening. The ground is rolling and thus affords effective drainage. It is a combination of farming land and forest. The soil is fertile, a part of it permitting the making of bricks and the rest of it adapted to diversified farming. Seventy-five acres of the land in 1903 was in garden, and there was enough other land adapted to gardening to make a garden of three or four hundred acres, if desirable. The colony produces from the gardens through the labor of inmates almost all the vegetables required by the village and in 1902 sold more than 8,000 cans to other institutions. The agricultural colony provides the epileptics with outdoor labor and at the same time enables them to produce their food at a nominal cost.

Since the establishment of the Craig Colony, a number of other states have followed its example. While only 9 states have a separate colony for the epileptic, several others have established colonies in connection with institutions for the feeble-minded. One of the most recent of these is the state of Wisconsin, which has recently established a new institution at Union Grove, part of which is set aside as a colony for epileptics, the remainder being devoted to a selected class of the feeble-minded. A large amount of land has been purchased, and the building program will be completed in 20 years. A part of this plant is set apart as a colony for epileptics.[1]

INADEQUACY OF THE PRESENT PROVISION FOR THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS

Both in Europe and America provisions for this class of people are entirely inadequate. In Europe the few institutions for the special care of epileptics are mostly under private auspices and many countries have none at all.

In the United States only a beginning has been made in special provision for these unfortunates. In addition to the public institutions named, there are, to be sure, an increasing number of private institutions both for the treatment of epileptics on a commercial basis, and also for the care and treatment of epileptic patients, sometimes for pay, and sometimes as a charity. For the most part, however, these defectives are to be found in institutions quite unsuited to their peculiar needs. Since the subtler phases of their malady are not generally recognized, some epileptics doubtless are languishing in prisons. In most states, however, they are to be found in insane asylums, and poorhouses. There is no excuse for this scandal except that public attention has not been focused upon the problem and these unfortunates have too few spokesmen to plead their cause. Society has not yet recognized that for any defective class adequate care is the cheapest method of treating it and thus rooting it out.

COLONY CARE FOR EPILEPTICS

The care of epileptics in connection with other classes of defectives has long been tried and been found to be a failure. They are a disturbing factor in institutions for other classes and they feel themselves

[1] *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Control, 1917-1918*, Madison, 1918, pp. 10 and 11; Spratling, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1903, p. 259.

aggrieved in their lucid periods if they are kept with the insane or the feeble-minded. Then, their peculiar malady makes it possible for many of them to work a great deal of the time, but at only certain occupations. The question of discipline is complicated also when they are cared for in institutions for other classes. Moreover, the experience of the last 80 years of colony care of the epileptics has shown the superiority of that method of care.

Purposes and Advantages of the Colony System. I can do no better than to summarize the statement of Dr. Spratling, superintendent of the Craig Colony, on the advantages of the colony system.

1. The colony provides home life of a simple and elemental character, yet designed to supply the peculiar needs of the epileptic.

2. It preserves the individuality which in other institutions tends to be submerged or destroyed. In the colony there is no pressing and molding of the individual through routine life into a common type.

3. It provides vocations of all kinds and degrees for those who require them, ranging from the simplest kind of work to the most complex—"from weeding the cabbage patch to the making of brick and the construction of houses."

4. It provides an education adapted to the needs and capabilities of the individual. This education begins at the alphabet with some and ends in the learning of a profession for others.

5. It provides amusements and recreations not bound by rules or formality.

6. It provides for the organization of homes through the classification of inmates by placing congenial spirits together.

7. It provides for the special treatment of the diseased. This treatment can be more highly specialized and be of a more varied kind, inasmuch as specialists in this disease only are employed.

8. Provision can be made in a colony for the special care of different classes of epileptics by the adaptation of treatment, education, food régime, exercise, and employment to their various needs.[1]

9. It provides a method whereby an epileptic can live happily with his fellows, not experiencing the feeling of humiliation incident to his being in an institution for the insane or an institution for the feeble-minded. On the other hand, those institutions are relieved of his disturbing presence.

10. Finally, the colony provides the most suitable method, consider-

[1] Spratling, "An Ideal Colony for Epileptics," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1903,* p. 259 ff.

ing the happiness of the inmate, for his permanent retention and thus prevents the procreation of his kind.[1]

Education. The colonists attend schools and learn trades. There are a large number of children in the institution. These are graded into classes with teachers for each class. The boys attend the Sloyd School that fits them in 2 or 3 years to take up advanced carpentry. Some build houses and make furniture; others are apprenticed to the painter, the upholsterer, the printer, the blacksmith, the mason, the engineer, the laundryman, and other artisans.

There is a great deal of freedom in the colony—the hours of labor are short, and the inmates are led by their interest to work. They have plenty of time for amusement and recreation, such as baseball, football, indoor games of all kinds, reading, preparing for and giving plays, and for conversation and free intercourse like ordinary people in a village. Although there are no barred windows or locked doors, save for the few whose safety demands it, less than 1 per cent leave the colony without permission.

Home Life. The buildings of the institution are intended to secure home life for the inmates. The love of home, one of our strongest impulses, is one of the last to perish in the deterioration of the human mind incident to such diseases as epilepsy. These people long for home and the colony at Sonyea provides the nearest possible substitute.

Classes of Buildings. In addition to the hospital, there are three classes of buildings. Class 1 should house from 12 to 16 patients, and these patients should be the best. They should assume entire care of the household in all its details under the general supervision of a nurse or other employee. The Craig Colony has a number of such cottages. Dr. Spratling thinks that after insane, idiotic, or low-grade imbecile epileptics are debarred, approximately 20 per cent of all the colonists would live in this class of house.

Class 2 are houses which would accommodate from 25 to 35 persons and should be in charge of two employees—a cook and a nurse. These dwellings are more numerous in that they must house from 60 to 70 per cent of the entire population of the colony.

Class 3 should consist of the infirmary, combining home and hospital for the use of bed-ridden paralytics or other helpless cases. This type will have to house from 10 to 20 per cent of the colony and

[1] Dr. Spratling says: "Epileptics cannot be cared for successfully or even with partial success in any other way than under the colony plan." *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

there must be at least one such structure for each sex. In addition to these homes for the epileptics a number of community buildings for the running of the colony are to be found. In the construction of the buildings care has been taken to build the stairways with frequent landings so as to prevent long falls, and to eliminate all sharp corners and angles to obviate injury in a seizure. There is also a laboratory for original study and research. Such a colony provides the finest of opportunities for research into the causes and proper treatment of the disease.

Some have objected that the building of a colony very greatly increases the expense over an institution of the congregate type. But the cottages of this colony cost less than $390 a bed as compared with a cost of from $1,000 to $1,500 a bed in the large congregate institution. Says Dr. Spratling: "There is no question but the colony plan provides better maintenance at less cost than any other plan so far devised."

RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED BY COLONIES

Dr. Spratling believes that the colony produces a number of results which are impossible in any other kind of an institution for epileptics.

1. It effects cures in a larger proportion of cases than any other kind of institution.

2. It reduces the frequency and severity of attacks, in the majority of cases to a very considerable degree.

3. It provides special education adapted to make the epileptic in many cases self-dependent and able to make a living. Such an education cannot be got outside the colony.

4. It promotes the happiness of the individual in a larger number of cases than is possible in any other kind of institution. The epileptic lives in a congenial atmosphere, filled with kindly feeling, and among people of his own kind, therefore he feels at home.

5. It provides the most skilled forms of treatment known to the medical profession.

6. It gives opportunity for scientific research nowhere else to be found.

7. It prevents the reproduction of epileptics by their segregation.

With more than 140,000 epileptics in the United States at the present time, and with most of them free to marry and produce children, with others of them a distinct menace through their criminal impulses during and following seizures, and with large numbers of them living

a slow death in institutions for the insane and county almshouses, and with a number of notable examples of the proper care of the epileptic, it is important that the states of the Union which have not yet grappled with this problem in an adequate manner should now make provision for them at the earliest possible moment.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The Bielefeld Colony for Epileptics. *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1890, p. 264.
2. The Social Treatment of Epileptics. Letchworth, *Ibid.,* 1894, p. 188.
3. Industrial Education for Epileptics. Spratling, *Ibid.,* 1897, p. 69.
4. An American Colony for the Epileptic. Lane, "In the Healing Lap of Mother Earth," *The Survey,* Vol. 35, pp. 373-380.

CHAPTER XX

THE FEEBLE-MINDED

WHAT IS FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS?

THE term "feeble-mindedness" is comparatively new. The condition, however, is probably as old as the race and has been recognized to some extent ever since language began. Long ago mental defect was differentiated from other abnormal mental conditions. The fact that the Greek furnishes us the root of our word "idiot" shows that thus early such a distinction had been made. With the development of the study of disease and mental conditions, various other differentiations have been made in abnormal mentality.

The term "feeble-minded" is used to-day as a generic term to include all the varieties of mental defect. In general three grades of feeble-mindedness are now recognized. The first or lowest grade is the "idiot," ranging in intelligence from nothing up to the intelligence of a two-year-old child. The second grade are "imbeciles," who range in mental age from 3 years to 7. The third or highest grade, the "morons," have intelligence ranging from that of a child of 8 to that of a child of 12 or 14 years.

The idiots do not have sufficient mentality to enable them to properly care for their own physical wants. The imbeciles, while able to attend to their own wants, to care for their person and dress to some extent, and to comprehend fairly well what is said to them, show by the most elementary intelligence and social tests a subnormal mentality. The morons include high-grade defectives who, but for careful tests, would not be rated as feeble-minded. In each of these classes there are sub-classifications determined by not only the degree of intelligence but by social tests of conduct. Those of the third class are usually capable of some education since they possess a degree of mentality only slightly lower than that of an adolescent child, yet they are not able to progress beyond that point mentally. Their chief difficulty seems to be in the lack of that coördination of mental faculties which makes the normal individual amenable to the ordinary

social restraints. They do not possess a proper discrimination in the quality of actions.

Feeble-mindedness is due either to inherited mental defect or to arrest of the normal development of the brain. The latter may be due to pre-natal causes, to accidents at birth, or to subsequent accidents or diseases. It is estimated that two-thirds of the cases of feeble-mindedness are the result of defective heredity. We may define feeble-mindedness, therefore, as *mental defect inherited, or produced by conditions preceding, at, or soon after birth which prevent the normal development of the mind, with the result that the person is not able to manage his personal and business affairs with ordinary prudence, and to conform his actions to the conventional standards of social morality.*

Mental defect differs from mental disease in that the latter is due to some functional derangement of the brain which destroys the capacity for normal activity. In mental defect, or feeble-mindedness, however, the brain capacity has never been present which enables the individual to function normally. While inheritance figures in both, or each may be the result of causes other than heredity, the difference lies in the fact that in mental disease of all sorts, there is a deterioration of function, whereas in mental defect the brain has never been able to function properly.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

The recent prominence of the problem of feeble-mindedness is due in part to the introduction of more exact methods of measuring intelligence, such as the Binet-Simon tests and others based upon this standard series of intelligence tests devised by the great French psychologists whose names it bears, and in part to the discovery made possible by these tests that mental defect is much more frequently correlated with social delinquency than we had suspected. For centuries the "simpleton," the "idiot," and the "fool" have been recognized by observers. These new tests, however, provided an easily applied method much more exact than the ordinary social tests. These tests and the appreciation of the social significance of their results have greatly stimulated the study of the feeble-minded and have made possible a finer classification of these unfortunates.

Nevertheless, these tests have been applied only to certain groups rather than to extensive cross-sections of the general population.

The census of the feeble-minded, even in Great Britain, is not based upon careful measurements, but upon simple observation.

In Great Britain. The Royal Commission on the Feeble-Minded says of the situation in 1906, "With regard to the number of mentally defective persons, we may say that if the figures of the census which we have made in the districts which have been investigated are applicable to England and Wales generally, there may be estimated to be in the whole population (32,527,843) 149,628 mentally defective persons or .46 per cent, apart from certified lunatics. It may be estimated that of this total 66,509 or 44.45 per cent required provision. . . ." [1]

It is a pity that the figures from the draft of soldiers in Great Britain showing the proportion who were mentally defective are not yet available. However, the estimated increase in the number of mental defectives in England and Wales from 1901 to 1914, 13.2 per cent, is serious enough to challenge attention.

In the United States. Lacking a nation-wide census of the feeble-minded we must be content with estimates. These estimates vary from 2 to 4 per thousand of the population. Thus, Mr. Amos W. Butler, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of Indiana, says, "The most conservative estimate of the number of feeble-minded in this country is 1 in every 500 of the population." [2] On the other hand, Dr. Walter Fernald, Superintendent of the Massachusetts State School for the Feeble-minded, says, "It is conservative to say that there are at least four feeble-minded persons to each thousand of the general population." [3]

Fortunately, some of the results of the mental examination of the drafted men in the National Army during the World War are now available and these figures throw a flood of light upon the volume of mental defect. Between 2 and 3 per cent were rejected for abnormal nervous and mental conditions, of which conditions feeble-mindedness constituted the largest single group.[4] Of 14,000 cases recommended for discharge by the examiners in our army on account of mental defect or disease, 35 per cent were for mental deficiency.[5]

It is a great pity that we have no nation-wide statistics as to feeble-

[1] Report of Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, *House of Commons Reports*, 1908, Vol. 39, Vol. VIII of the Report, p. 6.
[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 360.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[4] Haviland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 522.
[5] Hutchins, *ibid.*, p. 513.

mindedness. Since probably about two-thirds of the cases are hereditary, it would seem as important to know the number of feeble-minded as to know the number of mules in the country. Surely this matter of mental defect lies at the very root of the nation's stock. Moreover, without a careful census of the feeble-minded, not merely a census of all grades lumped together, but of the number of each variety, it is difficult to work out a program for their care.[1]

Relation of Feeble-Mindedness to Social Problems. Feeble-mindedness is linked with almost every social problem. Many criminals are such chiefly by reason of mental defect. A shockingly large proportion of the immoral women have a mentality not above that of a 12-year-old child so that they were easily led astray. The feeble-minded clog the schools, interfering with effective teaching and creating moral difficulties on the playground. Industry discovers some of them among the victims of accident and others among the inefficients who cannot hold a job. Many of the confirmed drunkards are of this type, while the tramps which crowd the cheap lodging houses and fill the jails in winter furnish a surprising number of mental defectives.

In a previous chapter we have set forth all the facts available as to the casual influence of mental defect in the production of dependency. Our present task is to consider the methods by which this phenomenon may be controlled in the interest of these unfortunates and for the welfare of society. We are concerned with the measures by which society can abate this menace to the intelligence, the moral purity, and the social and economic efficiency of the race. What are the methods by which control has been attempted, wherein have those methods failed, and wherein have they succeeded? What further efforts by the intelligent, mentally sound, and socially responsible members of society are necessary to correct this weak spot in the race? The preservation of the economic and social efficiency of our population demands that the propagation of the feeble-minded be controlled and that their care be made a part of the program of the state for the benefit of all.

We have now had enough experience with the treatment of this class to see clearly what fruits the methods have produced, where they have failed, and where others have succeeded. Moreover, the science of heredity has supplemented experience. The humanitarian impulses have now for the first time the guidance of both.

[1] Haviland, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, pp. 522-527.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

However backward our provision for the feeble-minded may appear from the point of view of an ideal social policy with respect to this class, it represents an advance.

In Early Society. In primitive societies the defective was often left to die, especially if the defect was physical. The child, mentally defective, was destroyed by the Spartans along with the weakly children. Elsewhere such children were exposed to die or to be devoured by the wild beasts.

Those defectives who escaped this fate and manifested nervousness and eccentricities in later life came to be looked upon as possessed, and were abhorred by society. Among some peoples, for example, the Jews of the time of Jesus, they were driven into the wilderness to make their living as best they could. If the defective was merely simple and showed no violence and no eccentricities not easily understood, he was known as a "fool." The equivalent of this old English word is to be found in nearly all the Aryan languages. Among the ancient Romans fools were often attached to the houses of the wealthy for the amusement of the family. "The custom, which originated among the Romans, of harboring the fool in wealthy homes for his mountebank services was not the inhuman practice it has since been represented. It is more humane to laugh at the fool than to ignore him; it is more humane than to maltreat him." [1]

In Christian Europe the idiots and imbeciles for a long time shared with the insane and epileptics the neglect and horror of the people. However, in the time of Constantine (Fourth Century A. D.) it is reported that the Bishop of Myra cared for idiots and imbeciles. Uphrasia, in the family of Theodosius, is also alleged to have devoted years to the care of these classes.[2]

In medieval times the fools wandered about the country, looked upon by the people with superstitious awe as *"les enfants du bon Dieu"* or "innocents." Often they were attached to the establishments of the nobles.

Only a little later than the work of the Bishop of Myra and Uphrasia, the Moslems seem to have given some attention to the feeble-minded. The Koran, with an insight rather marvelous for

[1] Mott, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1894, p. 168.
[2] Barr, *Mental Defectives,* Philadelphia, 1913, p. 25.

that day, urges that the faithful care for these incompetents. It says: "Give not unto the feeble-minded the means which God hath given thee to keep for them; but maintain them for the same, clothe them, and speak kindly unto them." [1]

Unfortunately, the Protestant Reformers seem to have gone back to the earlier way of looking upon these people, for we find that Luther and Calvin considered the feeble-minded people to be "filled with Satan." [2]

Modern Treatment of the Feeble-Minded. The modern treatment of the feeble-minded begins in the middle of the Seventeenth Century in France with the hospital Bicêtre, under the auspices of Saint Vincent De Paul. Concerned as he was with the care of children, he began his institutional care of them by receiving children feeble both in body and mind. So far as the feeble-minded were concerned, his chief incentive seems to have been to prevent them from suffering from neglect.

The first attempt to teach an idiotic boy through the training of the senses was made by Itard on a wild boy found in the Department of Aveyron, France, just after the French Revolution.[3] Nearly 50 years later, in 1837, the Frenchman Seguin became interested in the experiment of Itard with this wild boy, and on this basis founded in Paris the first school with the avowed object of educating the defective.[4]

In the United States the first institution was a "school for idiots." In 1851 New York State opened an experimental school. Then followed Pennsylvania, Ohio, Connecticut, Kentucky, and Illinois. Up to 1874 these seven states were the only ones making provision for the care of this class. All these states commenced the work as an experiment on the theory that what the defective needed was education and that this education must consist in a development of the senses. The public was indifferent, when not skeptical. These early

[1] Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[2] Barr, *ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] Barr, *ibid.*, pp. 29 and 30.
[4] "Dr. Seguin, 'the apostle of the idiot,' opened his first school for the idiots of the Hospice des Incurables in 1837; and this was positively the first scientific attempt made to develop the idiotic mind. Heretofore imbeciles had roamed at large, the prey to destitution, misery, and any form of abuse which the unscrupulous and the cruel might put upon them. Or, where the necessity for their protection was recognized, they were admitted into institutions for other classes of unfortunates. The majority of imbeciles for whom any provision was made were housed in almshouses or lunatic asylums." Mott, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1894, p. 169.

enthusiasts did not see always the definite limitations to the education of the feeble-minded, but it is due to their emphasis that methods have been devised for the education of such defectives in sense perception and in manual arts.

Said Dr. Powell in 1897, "The specialists of to-day have, however, virtually abandoned the belief that the school training of imbeciles can ever develop and restore them to safe citizenship. . . . We do not now regard the school training of the feeble-minded child the ultimate aim and end; but, as the education of the normal child is only preparatory to a participation in the activities of life in the great world, so we propose by similar means to prepare the mentally weak for the exercise of their limited activities in their circumscribed world —in institution life, after the preparatory period is passed, during which each one is fitted to fill his niche according to the degree of his ability." [1]

Later it has been perceived that beyond a certain point education is impossible for some, and that custodial institutions must be provided for those educated to their natural limits who cannot be given careful supervision at home, and for the uneducable idiots and low grade imbeciles.

Recent experiments in the institutions for the feeble-minded have made it quite clear that large numbers of them, those below adolescence, and some of those trained in the institutions, may safely be released on parole to their relatives or placed with people who will take an interest in them. Of course they should always be under supervision from the institution.

Only recently has the colony for the custodial care of certain classes of the feeble-minded been devised.

PRESENT PROVISIONS FOR THE CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

As the result of the development of care for the feeble-minded in the United States since the middle of the last century, we should expect, perhaps, a greater number of institutions than actually exist. Until the last few years, however, the development has been very slow. In 1890 there were only 24 institutions in 16 states for the separate care of the feeble-minded. The remainder of the mental defectives was either in almshouses, asylums for the insane, in prisons, in reformatories, or at large. In 1904 the number of states making

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1897, p. 293.

provision for their separate care had increased to 25 with 42 institutions; in 1920 to 31 with 63 institutions. In 1914 only 7 states had failed to make special provision for them.[1]

In 1890 only 5,254 were in special institutions, 2,469 were in hospitals for the insane, and 7,811 were in poorhouses. In 1904 the number in special institutions numbered 14,347, while 16,551 were in poorhouses. In 1910 the number in special institutions had risen to 20,731, while in almshouses there remained 13,238. In 1918, according to Pollock and Furbush, there were 39,381 feeble-minded persons in institutions in the United States, 36,277 in public and 3,104 in private institutions.[2] Thus it appears that in recent years the trend has been to segregate these unfortunates in special institutions.[3] Nevertheless, not over one-tenth of the feeble-minded are cared for in special institutions.[4]

Institutional care of the feeble-minded has become almost entirely a function of the state for a number of reasons:

1. There is a tendency to regard all dependents as wards of the state.

2. State institutions are superseding the poorhouses as places for their care, since their proper care is a public responsibility.

3. The conviction has been growing that the feeble-minded should be cared for, not only for their own sakes, but also for the protection of the public, and hence it should be a state function, since the enforcement of the law for their segregation cannot be left to private institutions.[5]

In 1910, of the 63 institutions, 35 were public and 28 were private,[6] but the private institutions usually are small and intended chiefly for those whose guardians have plenty of money and who wish to have the child removed from public scrutiny. Forty-eight of the special institutions are in New England, the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central geographic divisions, leaving

[1] Pollock and Furbush state that on Jan. 1, 1918, there were 30 state institutions for feeble-minded in the United States and 9 more for feeble-minded and epileptics. *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. III (1919), p. 78. In addition there were 33 private institutions for feeble-minded. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[2] Pollock and Furbush, "Annual Census of the Insane, Feeble-minded, Epileptics, and Inebriates in Institutions in the U. S., Jan. 1, 1918," *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[3] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, p. 183.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 184. In 1910, 93.1 per cent of all inmates were in public institutions.

only 15 for the rest of the country, the West and South.[1] Says the Census Report, "The small numbers and the low rate per 100,000 of population, in the Southern and Western divisions by no means prove that feeble-mindedness is not proportionally as prevalent there as in the Northern and Eastern districts, but merely that the states of those sections have not yet faced the problem of dealing with the situation. That the three great Southern divisions should report but six feeble-minded negroes in special institutions . . . all in the one state of Tennessee, is simply evidence that the Southern states have made practically no provision for the institutional care of this class of defectives." [2]

A PROGRAM FOR THE TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

What, now, are the elements in the program which experience has shown necessary for dealing with the feeble-minded? Three general characteristics must mark any such program. The defective stock must not be permitted to propagate; society must be protected from danger by feeble-minded individuals; and, the feeble-minded themselves must be so treated as to be as happy and as little burden upon the taxpayers as possible. To accomplish these purposes, the following measures are helpful:

1. **Methods of Commitment.** A difficulty often met with in securing proper care of the feeble-minded is their commitment. In many states it is impossible under the law to commit anyone to an institution for the feeble-minded unless he is very patently an idiot or a low-grade imbecile. As a consequence, numbers of feeble-minded have been sent to asylums for the insane, to jails and prisons because feeble-mindedness is not understood by either the public at large or by the judges and juries.

Recently, therefore, efforts have been made to modernize the commitment laws. In one of the best commitment laws, that of Illinois, the following points are significant:

(1) The term "feeble-minded person" is "construed to mean any person afflicted with mental defectiveness from birth or from an early age so pronounced that he is incapable of managing himself and his affairs or of being taught to do so, and who requires supervision,

[1] *Insane and Feeble-minded in Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, p. 185.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

control, and care for his own welfare, or for the welfare of others, or for the welfare of the community" and who is not an insane person under the Illinois law.

(2) Commitment is only on petition by any relative, guardian, or conservator, or any reputable citizen of the county, verified by affidavit, and based upon information and belief.

(3) A hearing is set to determine the truth of the information alleged in the petition. The testimony of witnesses and the report of a commission appointed by the judge to examine the supposed feeble-minded person forms the evidence on which decision is based.

(4) The Commission is composed either of two reputable physicians of the county or of a physician and a psychologist.

(5) If the hearing on the petition shows that the person is feeble-minded, the judge commits.

(6) Any change in the status of the person so committed, such as discharge, transfer from one institution to another, must be made through the court of original jurisdiction, after hearing in which the friends or relatives, and the superintendent of the institution in which he has been detained shall be given an opportunity to be heard.

Such procedure allows weight to the results of the examination of experts in the subject and represents a distinct advance over the historic trial with witnesses, counsel and jury as in a criminal trial.

2. Segregation. Defectives who cannot be carefully supervised should be segregated. At present with so few institutions for the custodial care of the feeble-minded, such a policy is impossible. Practically every such institution in the United States has a long waiting list of persons adjudged defective by the courts. The number of such institutions would have to be greatly increased before those from whom society should be protected, and who need safeguarding from the vicious elements of society can be properly cared for. The costliness, however, of custodial institutions is so great that other methods must be devised.[1]

3. Sterilization. It has been suggested that since one of the objects of the care of the feeble-minded is to prevent their reproduction, they should be sterilized. A few Middle Western states have provided by law for sterilization in the case of those defectives who are in the reproductive period of life and whose defect is hereditary. Wisconsin's law permits the State Board of Control to sterilize those

[1] Fernald, "A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective," *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, pp. 403, 404.

feeble-minded persons in the State Institution for the Feeble-minded who show defective heredity and who by such an operation will not only be denied progeny, but will also be relieved of certain perverted sex tendencies. At the present stage of surgical science, it is possible to perform this operation upon men with very little difficulty and without any special inconvenience to the patient.

So far as we can judge from the reports of those states in which it has been practised to any considerable extent, only good results follow. For a number of years it was practised in the State penitentiary of Indiana. The report of Dr. Sharp indicates that it was followed by no evil results and in many cases with decided benefit.[1] In Wisconsin it is practised upon the feeble-minded alone. The legislature of 1913 authorized the State Board of Control to appoint at such times as they find it necessary, one surgeon and one alienist of recognized ability, together with the superintendent of the state or county institution concerned, to examine into the mental and physical condition of such persons. These experts and the superintendent of the institution in which the feeble-minded are to be found are to examine, at the request of the State Board of Control, any inmate and report to the board on the mental and physical condition of such person. If the report shows that procreation is inadvisable, the State Board of Control may cause to be performed such operation for the prevention of procreation as shall be decided safest and most effective.[2]

In pursuance of this policy the Board of Control had a physician investigate certain feeble-minded and epileptics confined in the Institution for the Feeble-minded. Thirty-six family histories were traced out and after further study by a committee made up as stated above, the committee advised that in 24 of these cases procreation was inadvisable. A hearing was held, notice being given to the relatives who could be located, and in all other cases to the guardian or to the county judge who committed the patient. During the months of July and August, 1915, operations were performed upon 22 male cases; in May, 1916, 35 female patients in the Institution for the Feeble-minded were investigated and operated upon during the summer. In 1918 the board's report shows that 150 inmates of the Home for the Feeble-minded have been subjected to this operation, divided about equally between the two sexes. As a result many of them have

[1] Sharp, "Rendering sterile of confirmed criminals and mental defectives," *Proceedings, National Prison Association,* 1907, pp. 177 ff.

[2] *Report, State Board of Control of Wisconsin,* Madison, 1916, pp. 5, 6

been paroled and the board reports that most are doing well, but few having been returned to the Home. The board avows the intention to continue these operations.[1]

The advocates of sterilization expect that it will absolutely protect society against the propagation of the unfit. Its critics oppose the measure partly on the assumption that the right to have progeny is an inalienable right, partly on religious grounds, and partly from uncertainty as to which cases should be required to submit to this operation. Among the scientific doubters as to the value of sterilization is Professor Guyer, who, before the Wisconsin State Conference of Charities and Correction in 1913, said: "We must not forget, however, that when we put sterilization into effect we are going to have to deal with individual cases, not general averages. And just here, it seems to me, is the crux of the situation when confronted by the defective individual in a practical case: What criteria are we going to use to determine whether this particular individual should be sterilized or not? Nearly all of the 11 states which have sterilization laws specify insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and criminality.

"When it comes to insanity I strongly suspect that those who have the selection of the examining board will have difficulty in finding an alienist who is willing to take the responsibility of deciding just which insane individual shall be operated on and which not, for among the insane there are so many kinds and degrees of mental unsoundness and these of such varying and yet unknown eugenical significance, that a positive decision is frequently out of question. Of the 27 or more recognized forms of insanity, who knows with any considerable degree of certainty which are heritable, which not?"

In Wisconsin this difficulty has been solved by the Board of Control in a very sensible way. It limits the application of the law to begin with to inmates of the Institution for the Feeble-minded, and applies it only to those whose family histories show an undeniable taint.

Such caution is justified by the fact that there has been absolutely no difficulty created for the State Board in the cases operated upon. Under this method the danger of the experiment is reduced to a minimum. In all cases it permits the possibility of parole without the danger of procreation, although in most cases it does not do away with the necessity of careful supervision of those on parole to prevent their abuse.

4. Parole under Supervision. For some time in institutions for

[1] *Report, State Board of Control of Wisconsin,* Madison, 1918, p. 7.

the segregation of defectives, the practice of parole under supervision has been in operation. Massachusetts has led in this constructive experiment.

The practice was begun in Massachusetts because of the great pressure upon its Institution for the Feeble-minded. Dr. Fernald and the commission having charge of the institution, decided to try paroling those whose conduct indicated that they would probably do well under careful supervision. A large staff of supervisors traveling about the state was employed, a careful investigation of the factory and the home into which these boys and girls were to be placed was made, and very careful follow-up supervision was instituted. Dr. Fernald reports that in 1919 the institution had 300 boys on parole earning on an average $16 a week. These boys have been trained in the institution as far as possible. Experience so far has indicated that under careful state supervision and by educating the people with whom they work as to their care, the use of parole may be extended very much more widely than has been believed possible.

Not so many girls have been paroled in Massachusetts, but even girls may be placed on parole if careful investigation of the homes which they occupy is first made and constant supervision is given them in the home. In case they do not do well, they are brought back to the institution and given further training. When it is found that they cannot be trusted on parole, they are then put in permanent custodial care. If sterilization should be practised it is believed that a much larger use of the parole is possible.

5. Colonies for Feeble-Minded in Custody. A stumbling block to the care of the feeble-minded is the enormous expense of supporting large numbers. New Jersey and Massachusetts have blazed the way to the economical custodial care of imbeciles, high grade idiots, and low grade morons who would be dangerous or in danger at large by establishing a colony connected with the parent institution, but at some little distance, as in the Waverly Colony in Massachusetts, and the Menantico Colony in New Jersey. Wild land has been improved by a colony of selected men sent thither from the parent institution. It has been found that the higher defectives under direction can very economically clear and drain land and prepare it for useful cultivation. At Menantico in New Jersey they even made the cement blocks and built the buildings in which they were housed. In this institution they were housed at the cost of $300, compared with the cost of $1,500 per inmate in the parent institution.

At Rome, New York, Dr. Bernstein has developed a series of farm colonies for boys. In 1920 there were 11 of these in operation. A part of them were for ordinary farming operations and a number were reforestation colonies. In some cases the reforestation work is done for the State Conservation Commission; in others for the institution itself. In addition, some of these boys were allowed to work for farmers nearby.

Concerning the reforestation work, Dr. Bernstein says, "I believe that this is one of the largest and best pieces of work that we can do. It increases the value of the real estate, whether owned by the state or by private persons, and at the end of a few years the state reaps its reward both from increased products and increased taxes. In this way we shall be making valuable and productive much waste land that otherwise would lie idle indefinitely, especially while labor costs as it does these days." [1]

Dr. Bernstein plans to use morons to colonize abandoned or unoccupied farms, which are so numerous in New York State. He says, "In addition to earning their livings on these farms and improving the land and buildings, the boys would have spare time to put in helping farmers who are much in need of such labor and thus further contribute to their support." [2]

Another promising experiment is that begun by Dr. Bernstein at Rome, New York. In 1914 he established a working girls' colony in connection with the institution and in 1906 a boys' farm colony. The girls' colony is the most interesting because it has shown that feeble-minded girls may be employed in a more useful way than is possible in an institution. A large house was secured in the town in charge of a skilled matron. A social visitor inspects their working places and their street deportment. These girls are hired out as domestics in the homes of the city at 50 cents per day, but most of them live in this home, which also serves as their social center. The girls are carefully selected, none being markedly defective. The plan is so to train these girls that they can be released on parole and earn their own living in domestic service. In this plan they are at once trained and tested as to their capacity to live safely outside an institution.

Sixty-seven girls were thus colonized at first, 25 being returned to

[1] "Colony and Extra-Institutional Care for the Feeble-Minded," *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-6 (Jan., 1920).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

the institution during the year, 9 for social offenses, 9 because they had not received in the institution sufficient training, and 7 others because of sickness or because they were worth more in the institution. They earned $3,278.81, making themselves more than entirely self-supporting. In fact, it required only about one-third of their earnings to meet the expenses of the colony.

A marked improvement in the condition of the girls was noticed. Dr. Bernstein says, "I do not hesitate to declare that the results of our year's experience amply justify us in deciding to go on with the work. . . ."

Other colonies were established about the institution at Rome because of the success of the first. In addition to domestic service, a colony has been started at Oriskany Falls to allow girls to work in the knitting mills. Requests have been received from nine other places for colonies. The mill colonies are promising for girls who require close supervision, for the supervisor who accompanies them from the colony to the mill acts as forewoman in the mill and thus can act as instructor for the new girls. In the domestic service colonies, including hand laundering and serving, girls who have been trained for a time there are mingled with new girls in training. At one of them a night school has been introduced and younger girls are kept there in training for a year before being allowed to work in homes.

Of 200 girls passing through the girls' colonies in the first three years, only 35 were permanently returned. Of the 165 out earning their own living, 77 had been paroled, 63 discharged after parole, 14 still were on parole, and 88 remained in the colonies. In 1918 there were eight of these colonies, all for domestic service except two mill colonies.

The more trustworthy girls at domestic work are allowed to sleep at the home where they are employed, but the colony remains their social center and to it they must report regularly.

Dr. Bernstein says that from one-fourth to one-third of the girls committed to his institution can be safely placed in such colonies. For such this method of care costs only $85 a year while it costs $280 a year to care for a girl in the institution. Careful supervision on parole has helped to make the experiment a success.

These various experiments indicate that we are about to see a new development in the care of the more trustworthy defectives, which will at once fit them for useful lives in the world, be much less costly to the state while they are in training, and make room in the institu-

tion for those who cannot be colonized or paroled. Says Dr. Bernstein, "The results of the colony system we have found to be more self-respect, more hope, more happiness for individuals, and for the institution an atmosphere of hope that stimulates energy and industry, lessening the number of discipline cases." [1]

So far in the experiment careful selection has been made of those who are placed on the colony for the policy should not be employed with all feeble-minded. It can, however, be used to make them happy and contented while they are usefully employed producing a large part of the cost of their care. Like practically every other experiment in the use of those defective industrially, much depends upon the managerial ability of the official in charge.

6. The Training of the Feeble-Minded. The first attempts to deal with the feeble-minded assumed that all they needed was training. With infinite patience Itard in France and Seguin, first in France and later in the United States, attempted to give the feeble-minded an education. They soon learned that the feeble-minded cannot be educated as are normal-minded children. Their dulled senses must be trained by simple means. Their sluggish organization must be stimulated by physical and psychological methods, and the education which is attempted must be suited to their capacities.

In our best educational systems the children who are two or three years backward in their grades are placed in special classes. While the special classes for the backward children is a movement in the right direction, it is now felt that after a certain stage has been reached, these children cannot be properly cared for in the public schools and should be sent to institutions specializing in the training of such pupils. Individual attention based upon study of each case must be given them.

Moreover, in the special institution they are among people of their own kind and are not subjected to the abuse of the pupils in the public schools where they are often the butt of jokes and sometimes the objects of brutal attacks and abuse.

In the special institution their training should extend to the utmost development of their capacities for practical usefulness. Then if their condition warrants it, they can be paroled; if not, they can be retained in as useful a place as possible in the institution or its colony.

[1] "Colony and Extra-Institutional Care for the Feeble-Minded," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. IV, pp. 1-28.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. History of the Treatment of the Feeble-Minded. Fernald, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1898, p. 203.
2. The New York Experiment in Colony and Institutional Care of the Feeble-Minded. Bernstein, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1920, p. 359.
3. A State Program for the Care of the Mentally Defective. Fernald, *Standards of Child Welfare,* Children's Bureau Publication, No. 60, Washington, 1919, p. 399.
4. Review Goddard, *The Kallikak Family,* New York, 1912.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

IN this chapter our concern is primarily with the dependent normal child. The mental defective and the physically handicapped child are considered in other chapters.

The problem falls naturally into two parts—the problem of the infant, and that of the older child. In the one case the task is to secure the survival of the child; in the other his proper education and moral development. Infants, unless carefully tended, show an astonishing tendency to die. Throughout the country as a whole even at this day with its emphasis upon child welfare, 1 out of 10 born dies before it reaches its first birthday, while 1 in 4 or 5 perishes before the fifth birthday. In the institutions for children the death rate has often run as high as 75 per cent of those received.

However, after the child has attained the age of 5 or 6, he shows a very high vitality as compared with the infant. But with the increase of his viability comes the problem of his social development. He is rapidly learning about the world in which he lives, including the characteristics of the human beings by whom he is surrounded. He is imitative and therefore must be provided examples worthy of imitation.

The Hopefulness of Charitable Work with Children. No class of dependents offer such possibilities as children. They are plastic beings. Hereditary tendencies being equal, the child can be molded much more easily than the adult already more or less fixed in habits, and possessing ideals good and bad. Response to treatment is much more emphatic, therefore, in the child than in the adult. Neglected, the child is much more likely to revenge himself on society for such neglect than the adult. Properly cared for, taught by good example and noble precept, the child is much more likely to develop the characteristics necessary for usefulness and success.

Most children live in sight of the end of the rainbow. Possessing the will to live and to achieve no acquired pessimism shadows their

path to a better future. They dream dreams. In their adolescence they build their "house of dreams," to use Jane Addams' phrase. With proper treatment, therefore, they grow up into useful citizens, as the work of every modern, well conducted child-placing institution attests. Constantly children taken from the meanest environment, from the poorest homes, placed in a good environment surprise us by turning out well.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

While the interest in the care of dependent children in an organized way is comparatively recent, it is not entirely new. Let us look, then, at the chief steps in that development.

The Origin and Early Development of the Care of Destitute Children. As a background of the picture the exposure of certain children among savage tribes to-day and among the peoples of antiquity must not be forgotten. Infanticide and abortion were common.[1] These practices also flourished among the classic peoples.[2] Lychurgus and the Roman Decemvirs ordered the slaughter of deformed children.[3] Christianity finally put the ban upon abortion and exposure.[4] Emphasizing as it did the value of the immortal soul, it was but natural that the harsh treatment of child life should have been condemned. Constantine, in order to lessen infanticide by indigent parents, ordered that children who could not be supported by their parents should be fed and clothed at public expense.[5] Thus the first Christian Emperor put into operation the provisions made by the Antonines.

The problem was attacked in still another way by early Christianity. As we have seen in a previous chapter, Christianity very early began to manifest itself as a gospel of love and charity. In order to lessen the necessity of disposing of children, poor Christian parents were assisted by the charity of the church.[6]

Very early in the history of the church institutions for children (*brephotrophia* and *orphanotrophia*) were founded by the church. Lecky says that they are among the earliest recorded charitable institutions of the church.[7]

[1] Sumner, *Folkways*, Boston, 1907, pp. 314-320.
[2] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, pp. 20-34.
[3] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. IX, p. 482.
[4] Lecky, *op cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 22, 23.
[5] Lecky, *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[6] Lecky, *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[7] Lecky, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Foundling hospitals did not grow up until the early part of the Middle Ages.[1]

Says Lecky, "This minute and scrupulous care for human life and human virtue in the humblest forms, in the slave, the gladiator, the savage, or the infant was indeed wholly foreign to the genius of paganism. It was produced by the Christian doctrine of the inestimable value of each immortal soul. It is the distinguishing and transcendant characteristic of every society into which the spirit of Christianity has passed." [2]

During the Middle Ages wherever Christianity spread there grew up in connection usually with the hospitals and in certain cases with the monasteries, the care of orphaned children and foundlings. The date of the establishment of many of these cannot be ascertained. As one illustration of the way in which these institutions grew up in connection with churches in England, certain of those providing for children in Medieval England may be cited. For example, about 1400, many wills allude to St. Katharine's Asylum or Hospital for Widows, Orphans, and Bedemen. The Daughters' House was a home for waifs and strays, orphans chiefly, placed in danger through the neglect of their friends and deserted and brought into the hospital of St. Sepulchre, guarded and educated there.[3]

In 1280 St. Leonard's at York maintained an orphanage.[4]

The Situation Just Preceding the Nineteenth Century in Europe. The institutions for the care of children just before the opening of the Nineteenth Century in Europe were chiefly orphanages and foundling asylums, for the most part under ecclesiastical control, developed during the Middle Ages.[5] In 1702 the Royal Asylum of St. Anne was founded in London, and 1727 Mr. Andrew Gardner, a merchant of Edinburgh, endeavored to obtain benefactions for maintaining and placing in school ignorant, idle and vicious children whose parents were either dead or unable to maintain and educate them. In 1713 Addison had pointed out the necessity for a foundling hospital chiefly for illegitimate children. A Mr. Coram led the crusade for such an institution, and finally secured a royal charter in 1739. This royal charter refers to the "great numbers of helpless infants daily

[1] Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 32; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th Ed., Vol. IX, p. 482; Nelson's *Loose Leaf Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 147.
[2] Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 34.
[3] Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, London, 1909, p. 26.
[4] Clay, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[5] Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy*, London, 1905, pp. 158, 159.

exposed to destruction" and suggests that child murder was also as frequent as illegitimate birth.[1]

With the establishment in England of almshouses and workhouses destitute children were placed in these institutions, a procedure which was to have unguessed consequences in the misery of children. Workhouses were erected especially for children.[2]

Outdoor relief was used in England to care for children as well as adults. With the development of apprenticeship, pauper children came to be bound out as apprentices.

Development of the Care of Children in the United States. The four methods of caring for children which we have seen in use in England—orphanages and foundling asylums, the almshouse and workhouse, outdoor relief, and binding out—were reproduced in early America.[3] As almshouses were built, children were placed in them. For a long time in many parts of the country these were the only institutions for the care of destitute children. From these institutions they were sometimes bound out as apprentices. When outdoor relief developed, some destitute children with their families were cared for in this fashion. Gradually there grew up special private and public institutions for the care of children.

Private Institutions for Children. Private institutions for the special care of children grew up early in the United States. The first orphan asylum in the United States was one attached to the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, established in 1729.[4] Nine years later the Bethesda Orphan House at Savanna was opened by George Whitfield. These two early institutions were forerunners of a considerable number of others. By 1800 institutions for the care of children under private auspices had been established in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston.[5] By 1851 77 more such institutions had been founded.[6]

After 1850 the institutions for children rapidly multiplied. Folks states that not including some central and western states, 47 new institutions were organized in the fifties, 79 in the sixties, in spite of the Civil War, and 21 in the first half of the seventies.

[1] Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.
[2] Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 115.
[3] Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children*, New York, 1902, p. 3, and Chapter 2.
[4] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[5] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 44, 45.
[6] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Of those founded before 1850 there were in general four types:

1. Those founded by the orphan asylum societies from philanthropic motives.

2. The orphan asylum organized as a distinctly religious institution under the control of church authorities.

3. The endowed orphan asylum established usually by bequest and managed by a board of directors as a trust, such as the Poydras Female Orphan Asylum in New Orleans and Girard College in Philadelphia.

4. Institutions for special classes of children such as the Philadelphia Association for the Care of Colored Orphans organized by the Friends in 1822, a day school established by the Friends for alien children near Buffalo in 1845, and a home for children of destitute seamen organized in 1846 in New York City, and established on Staten Island.[1]

After 1851 several new types of institutions and organizations for the care of children were founded. For example, the New York Juvenile Asylum organized by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1851, and institutions for infants and maternity hospitals and foundling asylums, such as St. Mary's Asylum in Buffalo, incorporated in 1852, the New York Nursery and Child's Hospital in 1854, the New York Infant Asylum in 1865, the Massachusetts Infant Asylum in 1867, and the Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity in New York City in 1869, besides many others of a similar nature were established.

Another new type was the temporary home for children, such as the one established in Boston in 1847, in Philadelphia in 1856, and the Sheltering Arms established in New York City in 1864. Most of these were intended to be merely receiving homes from which the children were bound out or adopted or placed out on contract. There is a good deal of evidence that these institutions used the placing-out system merely as a means of disposing of their older children rather than as a means of benefiting the children, and exercised little if any supervision over those placed out.[2]

Another new type was the Children's Aid Society, such as the New York Society, founded in 1853, the Baltimore Society in 1860, the Boston Society in 1865, the Brooklyn Society in 1866, the Buffalo Society in 1862, and the Philadelphia Society in 1882. These institu-

[1] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 60.
[2] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-65.

tions gathered up vagrant and homeless children, provided temporary homes for them, gave them an education by day and evening schools, established reading rooms in the buildings, endeavored to bring to bear upon them religious influences and eventually placed large numbers of them with families in the country.[1] At present there are such societies in 37 cities, 27 of them being in the State of Pennsylvania.[2]

The New York Society in 1912 reported that it has placed in country homes 28,961 orphans and deserted children, besides 28,144 older boys and girls whom it had placed in remunerative situations in the country, and 48,588 persons, mostly children, whom it had helped to reach friends and employment in the West besides restoring 10,266 runaways to parents. It estimated from its records that 87 per cent had done well. Only one-fourth of one per cent had committed petty crimes and were arrested, and two and three-fourths per cent had left their homes and disappeared. The majority of its boys and girls had become farmers or farmers' wives; it cites, however, a number who had attained exalted positions in the communities in which they had been placed. For example, 1 became governor of a state; 1, governor of a territory; 2, members of Congress; 1, justice of a supreme court, 34 became bankers; 36, lawyers; 6, railroad officials; 18, journalists; 95, teachers; and many others occupied lesser positions.[3]

Another important development is the National Children's Home Society which grew out of an organization originally with the purpose of assisting deserving young people to get an education. Its purpose is to place homeless children in families where they can have normal home life. It really is a federation of about 30 state children's home societies. In each state where such an organization exists there is a state superintendent with an office and clerical force. Often there are district superintendents covering various sections of the state for the purpose of finding homes for children, following up those already placed, and replacing those who do not fit where they have been placed. Sometimes there are local advisory boards to assist the district superintendents in their work for the children. Recently there has been a tendency to supplant the central receiving home by boarding out the children until placed, as in the public child-placing

[1] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-71.
[2] *Nelson's Loose Leaf Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 85a.
[3] *60th Annual Report of the New York Children's Aid Society*, 1912, pp. 11 and 12.

system of Massachusetts. In a number of states the children's home society is the leading child-helping agency, even in some states like Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan, where there is a state public school with a placing-out system.

Originally the National Children's Home Society was intended to superintend the work of the state societies and appoint their superintendents. After a short time, however, this plan was given up and each state society took out a state charter and now works independently. The national organization now functions only as a federating body with an annual conference for the discussion of methods of work.

At present the functions of the children's aid societies and the children's home societies are much the same, the children's aid societies being found more in the East and the children's home societies in the Middle West. The South depends as yet chiefly upon institutions for the care of homeless children, although the child-placing agencies are growing in that section.[1] Among these private child-placing agencies are a number of church organizations. In 1910 there was a total of 107 known to the Child Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation.[2]

Among societies sometimes caring for destitute children are those "for the prevention of cruelty to children." The first of these was the New York Society organized in 1874. The movement has spread until in 1916, 44 such societies were in existence in the United States. Similar in work are the humane societies, of which in 1916 there were 328 in the United States.[3]

The Day Nursery. The children of women who work outside their homes often suffer from neglect. Children too young to be sent to school are left at home, sometimes locked in the house. They have to look after their food themselves and often suffer from hunger. They are in danger of fire and accidents in the home. They are without that care which every child should have. When sick they must be left without proper care or the mother has to stay away from her work.

To relieve such a situation day nurseries were started. These institutions are places to which the working mother may bring her children below school age, and those in school during the summer and

[1] Hart, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, New York, 1910, pp. 145-147.
[2] Hart, *op. cit.*, Chapter 10.
[3] *Nelson's Loose Leaf Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, pp. 84, 85.

have them cared for while she is at work. The children are fed, kept clean, provided play facilities, given a nap, and in some cases are given nursing and medical care. Of course no children with contagious or infectious diseases are received. In many cases the mother is taught better methods of feeding, clothing, and caring for her children. A small fee is charged the mother for the care of each child.

The day nursery is merely a makeshift. For them should be substituted measures which enable the mother to remain with her children rather than go out to work and leave their care to others. Either outdoor relief or mothers' pensions should be used instead. The presence of a large number of working mothers in any community points to the need of social measures which will enable them to remain at home in caring for their children rather than supplementing the income or making a living for the family.

PUBLIC CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Before 1875, with the exception of children cared for in the private institutions just cited, the almshouse and outdoor relief were practically the only recourse. Says Folks, "The public care of children during the first three-quarters of the century follows, in the main, the changes in the care of adult paupers, although in the larger cities provision was made for them separate from the adults but under the same administrative control. The movement as a whole was toward an increased use of almshouses and a relative diminution of outdoor relief. The farming out and contract systems passed largely into disuse and in some states were forbidden by law." [1]

However, the authorities of the almshouse as early as 1849 endeavored to take care of some of the infants by boarding them out at nurse. During the first three-quarters of the century indenture or binding out children from the almshouse was a common practice. Even yet the laws allowing the poor authorities to bind out children from the almshouses remain upon the statute books.

As early as 1844 Dorothea Dix reported adversely on the care of children in almshouses in New York State. In 1856 a select committee of the New York State Senate condemned unsparingly the harmful effect of almshouse life upon the children. Finally 20 years later New York passed a law excluding children from almshouses.[2]

[1] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.
[2] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39.

Steps to remove children from almshouses were taken in some of the other states as early as in New York. In 1866 Ohio authorized county homes for children. In 1872, Massachusetts abolished the almshouse department in connection with the state primary school for destitute children at Monson, and in 1875 New York passed a law forbidding the retention of children over 3 years of age in poorhouses, and required that they be placed out in families or maintained in private institutions at public expense.[1]

About this same time the practice of binding out children and keeping them in institutions for educational purposes began to be abandoned, and by 1875 had largely passed into disuse.[2]

State Care of Destitute Children. The first State Institution for Dependent Children was established in Massachusetts when in 1866, following the establishment of the Board of State Charities in 1863, the almshouse at Monson was declared to be a state primary school and the children were not to be designated as paupers. This school, however, was limited in its care to those children who were state charges, that is, who did not have a settlement in any county in the state.[3]

In 1868 the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, dissatisfied with the results of the state primary school, began to board out and place out the children from the institution, and thus originated an epoch-making device for handling destitute children which led to the abandonment of the state institution at Monson in 1894.

In 1874 Michigan established the first state public school for the care of dependent children, county as well as state. It differed from the Massachusetts State Primary School in that it conceived the institution as a temporary training school from which children should be placed in families. It devised the system of state and county agents for placing and supervising children. In the beginning it was intended as the place to which all children from county almshouses should go and be placed in families.[4]

This plan has been followed by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Colorado, and to a certain extent also by Rhode Island and Montana.

Soldiers' Orphans' Homes. Similar in nature but designed in the beginning for the special care of soldiers' orphans were the State

[1] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39.
[2] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[3] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Hart, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, New York, 1910, p. 53.
[4] Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 54.

Soldiers' Orphans' Homes which were established in many states following the Civil War. Many of these have since developed into state homes and schools for indigent children.[1] In the states of Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois these institutions have become really state schools for indigent children from which they are placed in families.[2]

Care in Private Institutions at Public Expense. A third general method is the care of dependent children in private institutions at public expense, a compromise measure between the private institution and the public institution. Its origin seems to have been an accident. We noted above that in 1875 New York prohibited the retention of children in almshouses. As early as 1811 New York State had appropriated $500 yearly to the New York Orphan Asylum. In 1817 the Catholic Orphan Asylum was given a similar appropriation. An increasing number of grants were made, both from the New York City Treasury and from the State Treasury up until 1857. In 1870, $150,000 was appropriated to orphans' asylums. In 1870 the city appropriations to orphan asylums in the city of New York met the entire expense of the institutions.[3]

While the payment of subsidies to children's institutions from the State Treasury was forbidden in the constitution of New York State in 1874, the passage of the law forcing children out of the almshouses gave impetus to their care in private institutions at county or city expense.[4]

The result of this public subsidy system was a very great increase in the number of institutions caring for children and a decided check to the practice of placing them in families. Thus from 1875 to 1900 the population of New York State increased 55 per cent, while from 1875 to 1898 the number of children in institutions supported by the public increased 139 per cent.[5]

In 1894 New York endeavored to decrease the increasing tendency to place children in institutions and to check the growing expense of their maintenance in this way. A constitutional convention in 1894 forbade the legislature to compel towns, cities, and counties to make appropriations to private institutions and provided also that no payment should be made by any city, county, or town for an inmate of a

[1] Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 55; Gillin, *Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, pp. 197-217.
[2] Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
[3] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-119.
[4] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[5] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

private institution unless the inmate had been received and retained pursuant to rules established by the State Board of Charities.[1]

As we shall see, the expectations of those who hoped much from these constitutional changes were disappointed.

PRESENT SYSTEM OF CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

As the result of the development which we have traced for more than a century, we have in this country to-day seven systems for the care of dependent children—(1) care in almshouses, (2) the State school with placing out, (3) county children's homes, (4) support in private institutions at public expense, (5) boarding out, (6) placing out directly through private organizations or by state authorities, and (7) temporary care in private institutions for children whose parents for the time being are unable to care for them.[2]

Care in Almshouses. This system, originally very general, has proved to be quite unsatisfactory and is gradually dying out. Yet, in 1900 only 12 and in 1913 only 14 states had excluded children from almshouses.[3] And in 1910 there were 2,486 (3 per cent of all enumerated) below 16 years of age in these institutions.[4] The South Central, the East South Central, and the West South Central had the largest proportions of children in their poorhouses.[5] Nearly half of the children were under 5 years of age.[6] These figures show a decided decrease in the use of the poorhouses for dependent children. To a marked extent they are being used for the aged and infirm. Children are being cared for in other ways.[7] Most of those remaining in almshouses are either under 2 years of age or are illegitimate children.[8]

State Schools. In 1910, 18 states had public institutions known as state schools for children. There were also 5 municipal institutions.

[1] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 126.
[2] Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[3] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 79; *Summary of State Laws Relating to the Dependent Classes*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1914, pp. 13-309.
[4] *Paupers in Almshouses, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1915, p. 35.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 36
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[8] The states having the largest numbers of children in almshouses in 1910 were Massachusetts (209), Pennsylvania (297), Ohio (165), Illinois (162), Tennessee (154), Virginia (151), West Virginia (148), Kentucky (144). *Ibid.*, p. 116. One of these states, Pennsylvania, is one of the 12 which Folks cites as having laws forbidding children over two years of age to remain in almshouses. Over one-half of these children had both parents living, one-third had mother only living, and over 27 per cent of them were illegitimate. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

In these 23 places there were 4,614 inmates.[1] While these institutions constitute only 10 per cent of the children's institutions in this country, in 1910 they contained 15.8 per cent of the inmates of all institutions for children.[2]

County and City Children's Homes. In 1910 there were 92 county homes in three states—50 in Ohio, 17 in Indiana, and 7 in Connecticut—with 7,518 inmates.[3] There were only 5 municipal institutions for children at that time and these held only 445 inmates.[4] The county home system has not proved to be the success its sponsors had hoped for.[5] It is expensive, it has difficulty in securing properly trained people to manage it, and it tends to become a catch-all for all kinds of dependent children.

Support of Public Charges in Private Institutions. Nearly 40 per cent of the private institutions for the care of children and 46.3 per cent of the societies for the care of children received appropriations from public funds. The institutions received $5,516,694 or 28.8 per cent of their total income. The societies received $699,413 or just one-third of their total income.[6] Up to 20 years ago the tendency in many of our states was to provide in private institutions for children maintained at public expense.[7]

The experience of New York and California which have this system reveals a constant tendency to sustain an ever larger number of children at public expense in private institutions. In New York this tendency continued from 1875 to 1894.[8] In California, where, as Folks says, the private charities have been told by the state to take care of as many children as they like as long as they like, and that the state will pay the bills, the system shows a steady increase in the number of state-supported children in private institutions.[9] From 1890 to

[1] *Benevolent Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1913, pp. 27, 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 83.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[5] Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children,* New York, 1902, pp. 111-114.
[6] *Benevolent Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1913, p. 79. "In the United States there are 110,000 children in 1,200 private institutions for the care of dependent children, of whom 37,094 are in the State of New York in private institutions which receive public aid, including 25,397 in 39 New York City private institutions receiving public aid."—Strong, *Report to Governor Whitman,* Albany, 1916, p. 91.
[7] Says Mr. Strong, "In 1894, among the children under the age of 16, one child in every 35 was an inmate in such institution."—Strong, *op. cit.,* p. 10.
[8] Folks, *op. cit.,* p. 127.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

1900 the number of children supported in such institutions by the state increased 51.4 per cent, while the population of the state increased only 22.9 per cent.

Moreover, this system usually shows an increasing cost to the public. Says Folks: "The amounts spent by the states of Michigan and Minnesota for the care of destitute children seem almost ridiculously small when compared with the amounts expended in other states; yet there is every reason for believing that the needs of the destitute and neglected children are nowhere more adequately met than in those states." [1]

Under this system the children tend to be kept too long in the institution. Mr. Charles Strong, who investigated the State Board of Charities of New York for Governor Whitman, reports that nearly 20 per cent of the children discharged from institutions in that state during the year ending September 30, 1915, had spent more than 3 years in the institution and nearly 10 per cent over 5 years, some over ten years.[2]

While in most states having this system some state authority is supposed to inspect the institutions, Mr. Strong found in New York that the staff of inspectors under the State Board of Charities was utterly inadequate in number and was poorly paid.[3] His investigation has shown that the education furnished the children in such institutions is inadequate. The State Board of Charities had no rule calling for vocational training in any form. It itself reported that in many of the institutions the methods, organization, and facilities for manual and industrial training in their simpler forms, which are required by the constitution, were far behind the needs. Classes were too large, the teachers not qualified. The secretary of the board stated in 1912 that the children of 12 institutions had only 2 hours' school work daily, some children not being in school at all, that the teaching force was poorly equipped, and that little industrial training existed except such as the children picked up in caring for the institution.[4]

Commissioner Strong believes that the public subsidy system for children's institutions has in it the seeds of dissension. He says: "It has always seemed to me obvious that the 'New York system' as it is called, of granting public aid for the partial maintenance and training of the inmates in private institutions—necessary in a measure as

[1] Folks, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[2] Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 102.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-104.

it has come to be, and possessing reciprocal advantages to the municipality and the private benefactor—has within it nevertheless seeds fruitful for dissension when rigid official inspection enters." [1]

Every well-recognized authority on child care agrees that the system is of dubious value at the best, and at the worst is intolerable. It is not easy to see how, where it exists, the system can be changed at once, how in a state like New York with vast numbers of such institutions, and with such large numbers of children to be cared for, this system could be supplanted immediately by any other. In the course of time, however, such a system could be displaced by a combination of the state school system such as exists in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, with the Massachusetts system of placing children directly in families without the use of an institution. Wherever the system has not been established it should not be allowed to strike root.

Boarding Out and Placing Out. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey board out children until they are placed in free homes. Massachusetts and New Jersey place them directly through public officials. In Pennsylvania the counties hand over dependent children to the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, which by means of its numerous branches places the children directly in free homes.[2]

During 1910, 15,072 children were placed in families by institutions for the care of children, including orphanages, children's homes and asylums, receiving-homes and juvenile court detention homes.[3] In addition, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, humane societies, and home-finding societies, placed in families for board, adoption or indenture, 14,019 more. Thus a total of 29,091 children were placed in family homes in 1910.[4]

Massachusetts has the most perfect system of this kind in the United States which is entirely under the control of the State Board of Charities. The only children left in almshouses in Massachusetts are defective children and children with mothers. In 1911 of 4,500 destitute and neglected children in the state's care and custody, more than two-thirds were at board. Through the boarding-out system the death rate of infants was greatly reduced.[5]

[1] Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[2] Folks, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.
[3] *Benevolent Institutions, 1910:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1913, pp. 26 and 30.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[5] Brackett, "Tendencies in the Care of Destitute and Neglected Children in Massachusetts," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 96.

Mr. Brackett is authority for the statement that the cost of placing children in Massachusetts "is still less than the cost in any institution which can be recommended by a White House conference." [1]

Massachusetts has found no difficulty in securing enough good homes for the placement of children. Her experience has not shown that the use of boarding homes cuts off the supply of free homes. Dr. Brackett believes that institutions for temporary care until children can be placed are not necessary. For good placing and for boarding out to work successfully until they can be placed in free homes, there must be enough skilled visitors to supervise thoroughly their care and investigate homes carefully before they are placed.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania do not have as unified a system as Massachusetts. New Jersey handles the problem through her State Board of Children's Guardians, and Pennsylvania by arrangement with the private Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society. Only in Massachusetts is the system as good as or better than the State Public School with its placing agents and close supervision, such as is found in Michigan and Minnesota.

EVALUATION OF THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

The efficiency of the State Home and School for Dependent Children rests upon the personnel of the institution, the adequacy of the force it employs to place and supervise the children and the alertness of the state board which controls it. In the states in which this plan has had its greatest success these conditions have been measurably fulfilled. The State Home and School has distinct advantages if it is properly supported and efficiently manned. The funds are more likely to be adequate than for private institutions. With a wise board it is possible for supervision to be closer and more directly under the control of the state board. Parents are not so prone to throw their children upon a state as upon a private institution, but will find some way in which to care for them themselves. Properly conducted it is not subject to the objections almost inevitable in subsidized private institutions. In our best states the state institution shows a better record than the best county homes from which children are placed in families. Its only successful competitor is the Massachusetts system for placing dependent children directly in homes from families with whom they are put to board until they can be placed. In Massachusetts

[1] Brackett, "Tendencies in the Care of Destitute and Neglected Children in Massachusetts," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, p. 96.

the placing agents are under the direct control of a very efficient State Board of Charities.

In actual practice the state institutions for dependent children suffer from inadequacy of funds and too few persons to place the children, so that large numbers of them collect in the institution instead of being placed in normal homes. Moreover, in states which have not adequate provision for feeble-minded and physically disabled children, the State School and Home is likely to be a harbor for these unfortunates. It is the only place to which such children can be sent and since they are very difficult to place they remain while the normal children flow through the institution to homes. The difficulty, of course, calls for the care of these defective and disabled children either in a separate plant or in different institutions.

On the other hand, the best private child-placing institutions have set a splendid example. As in private charity organization societies the standard of good work has been set, so in the best of our private child-placing agencies, standards and technique have been worked out which must be followed if the care of dependent children is to be successful.

The White House Conference on Dependent Children. A great impetus was given to the care of dependent children by a conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909 at the White House in Washington. In this conference the best experience of the nation was centered upon this problem. Its conclusions have had wide attention. It set standards which have had a decided influence on the work for dependent children. A summary of its conclusions will indicate their fundamental nature: (1) Since the home is the highest and finest product of civilization, the child should not be deprived of a home, except temporarily. Except for unusual reasons the home should not be broken up for poverty, but only for inefficiency and immorality. Children should be kept with their own mothers, except when the latter are unfitted to give them proper care. Mothers should be given help in accordance with the relief policies of the community in which they live, but preferably from private rather than public sources. (2) Preventive work rather than curative should be the constant aim of society. Legislation is urged to prevent dependency, and coöperation between agencies in preventive work is suggested. (3) Home rather than institutional care is advocated. "The carefully selected foster home is for the normal child the best substitute for the natural home. Such homes should be selected by a most careful process of investiga-

tion, carried on by skilled agents, through personal investigation, and with due regard to the religious faith of the child." Adequate visitation must follow. (4) For the institutions for temporary care of children until placed out and for those who cannot be placed in homes, the cottage system approximating family life for the child is advocated. (5) Caring for dependent children should be restricted to those organizations which have incorporated in a state. (6) State inspection is necessary if the state is to do its duty by its wards, no matter whether the child be cared for by a private or public organization. This inspection must be by trained agents. (7) The education of dependent children should be supervised by a state agency to make sure that dependent children receive as good educational advantages as other children. (8) Every child-caring agency should keep careful and accurate records of the child's parents and its near relatives. Each year the circumstances of those children whose parents have not given up their legal guardianship should be ascertained and recorded. The results of an investigation of the condition of each child should be carefully kept. Only on the basis of records resulting from careful and frequent investigation of all the facts bearing upon the welfare of the child and the circumstances of those legally responsible for the care of the child can proper care be given these wards. (9) Careful medical examinations of the children should be made often enough that any defects may be corrected. Suitable instruction in health and hygiene should be given them. (10) Restrictive legislation by states to prevent the bringing in of dependent children from other states is deprecated. (11) A national voluntary organization interested in child-helping is desirable, to standardize methods of caring for children and to assist in securing the passage of proper legislation in each state. (12) The conference urged the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau.[1]

These standards have helped educate those dealing with the care of dependent children. The Federal Children's Bureau was established and has been of the greatest value not only in stimulating interest in the care of dependent children, but also in making studies concerning the causes of infant mortality, of dependency and of delinquency.

[1] *Charities,* Vol. XXI, pp. 987-990.

STANDARDS FOR THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Out of the experience of caring for dependent children certain general principles have been evolved which the Children's Bureau has published as the normal standards for such care.

1. In general for all children needing special care there are certain fundamental rights. These are "normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded." [1]

2. The state has the ultimate responsibility for children who are in need of special care by reason of unfortunate home conditions, physical, or mental handicap or delinquency. While private organizations may undertake to discharge this responsibility of the state, they must do so under the supervision of that ultimate authority.

3. In the discharge of that responsibility, the state must see to it that the neglected or dependent child is provided normal home life Such a home demands primarily the basis of an adequate income. It must also furnish the proper guidance in order that the child's personality may be developed to usefulness.

4. When mothers are competent to care for their own children, the state must see to it that the home is not broken up merely for poverty. An income must be provided by the state in the absence of any other resource sufficient to enable the mother to maintain her children suitably in her own home, and without resorting to such outside employment as will deny her children proper care and oversight.

5. A state supervisory body like a State Board of Control or a State Board of Charities should be charged with the responsibility for the regular inspection and licensing of every institution, agency, or association incorporated or otherwise which receives or cares for mothers with children or children who are dependent or without suitable parental care. It should have authority to revoke such licenses for cause, and to require reports and prescribe forms for reports. This inspection must be in the hands of people who are acquainted with the standards of proper care and are skilful in securing the adoption of such standards.

6. When the welfare of the child demands it, he should be removed

[1] *Minimum Standards of Child Welfare,* Children's Bureau, Washington, 1919, p. 10.

from his home, but only when the home cannot be made a fit place for the child. He should not be permanently removed from home unless other than conditions of poverty affect the home. If the child is removed temporarily until the home can be reconstructed, he should then be returned.

7. Children who must be removed from their homes should be provided home life as nearly normal as possible to safeguard their health and to insure for them the fundamental rights of childhood named above, except for disabled and defective children.

8. In placing children, the following principles should be observed:

a. In seeking a temporary foster home for a child consideration should be given to many circumstances, among them health, mentality, character, family history, reputation among neighbors, ability to furnish adequate moral and spiritual training, experience, education, income, environment of the family, and sympathetic attitude toward the child. Usually they should be families of the same religion as the child's parents.

b. The child, before being placed in other than a temporary foster home, should be carefully examined as to his health, mentality, so far as possible his character, and the history of his family. Any physical defects and any diseases should be corrected before placing. If the child has congenital syphilis or has a history of mental defect in the family, that certainly should be made known to the foster parents.

c. Complete records must be had of the child to understand his heredity and personality, and his development while under the care of the agency.

d. Particular attention should be given to the careful placing of defective children, or those who require care adapted to their peculiar needs.

e. A complete record of each foster home should be kept giving the information on which approval was based, together with entries showing the contacts of the supervising agents with the family after placing, and stating the condition and care of the child. In this way special abilities in the families will be developed and conserved for children and if another child is later placed in the family, reinvestigation need not be so thorough.

f. Supervision of the children placed out must be frequent enough by properly qualified and well-trained agents to make sure that the fundamental rights of the child are being cared for. It has been sug-

gested that periodical physical examinations of the children so placed should be made.

g. Where children are boarded out the investigation must be no less careful and the foster parents must be trained for their task.

h. Transfer of the legal guardianship of the child should not be permitted without the consent of the proper state department or court of proper jurisdiction.

i. In case of adoption the court should make a full inquiry into all the facts connected with the family and the child before awarding the child custody.

9. Children should not remain in institutions for dependents any longer than is necessary to have them properly placed. The children who are there should have their rights safeguarded as far as that can be done in an institution. They should be carefully studied frequently to ascertain whether they should return to their own homes, be placed out, or be transferred to institutions better suited to their needs. So long as they are in the institutions efforts should be made to see that as nearly a normal family life as possible is provided for them.[1]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Functions of State Board in the Care of Dependent Children. Williams, "State Supervision of Agencies and Institutions," *Standards of Child Welfare*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 60, Washington, 1919, p. 313.
2. Japan's Treatment of Dependent Children. Namaye, "Child Welfare Work in Japan," *Ibid.*, p. 321.
3. Principles of the Care of Dependent Children. Hart, "The Conclusions of the White House Conference—Ten Years After," *Ibid.*, p. 339.
4. The Care of Dependent Children under a County Board. Taylor, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1920, p. 36.

[1] The author is indebted for the main points in the discussion above to the publication of the Children's Bureau already cited. See *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12.

CHAPTER XXII

DEPENDENT CHILDREN: CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

THE extent of the problem of illegitimacy has been indicated in a previous chapter. With 32,000 white children in this country born of unmarried mothers every year,[1] with a public sentiment contemning the innocent child, and with laws which in most states place almost the entire burden of support and practically the entire disgrace upon the mother, we have a problem which demands the attention of students of society. The ramifications of illegitimacy are many. It flouts morals and is a factor in crime. Since many mothers of illegitimate children are mentally defective, we are face to face with the proper care of defective girls.[2] Seeing that the unmarried mother is so handicapped both by her child and by her shame that it is difficult for her to make a living, illegitimacy is also a factor in dependency.[3]

Lecky's words concerning the prostitute, whom he describes as "the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people," and who, he says further, "is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex," and who is "the perpetual symbol of the degradation and sinfulness of man"[4] might be applied, in view of the treatment accorded her in most civilized countries, to the unmarried mother. For in some cases the unmarried mother is the victim of seduction, giving her misplaced affection with all the devotion of innocence, instead of a woman

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem,* Part I, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Washington, 1920; see also Part II, Washington, 1921, the most important study thus far made in the United States. In Boston 1 out of every 23 births and in Massachusetts 1 in 44 is illegitimate.

[2] Considering together the mental condition of the parents and grandparents, 19 per cent of the 2,178 children (in Boston) had a heritage in which there was known to be insanity, feeble-mindedness, or other subnormal or abnormal mental condition or probable feeble-mindedness, or subnormality." *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem,* Part II, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 75, Washington, 1921, p. 40.

[3] The best measure yet available of the burden of dependency caused by illegitimacy is that stated in the recent study of the problem in Boston. Of the cases handled by the child-caring and child-protecting agencies in Boston in 1914, 13 per cent were children born out of wedlock, costing the agencies $124,000 a year. *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[4] Lecky, *History of European Morals,* New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 283.

"who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust." Perhaps she is the more to be pitied because she has not abandoned herself to evil; she has been deceived and then abandoned by the craven partner in her sin. Leffingwell has well drawn the pitiful figure of this tragic creature in the words, "Against the background of history, too prominent to escape the observation from which it shrinks, stands a figure mute, mournful, indescribably sad. It is a girl, holding in her arms the blessing and burden of motherhood, but in whose face one finds no traces of maternal joy and pride. There is scarcely a great writer of fiction who has not somewhere introduced this figure in the shifting panorama of romance, appealing for pity to a world which never fails to compassionate imaginary woes; now it is Effie Deans in the "Heart of Midlothian"; now Fantine, resting by the roadside with Cosette in her arms; or Hester Prynne, pressing little Pearl against the scarlet letter as she listens from the Pillory to the sermon of Mr. Dimmesdale. Who is this woman so pitiable, yet so scorned? It is the mother of the illegitimate child. By forbidden paths she has attained the grace of maternity; but its glory for her is transfigured into a badge of unutterable shame." [1]

Not all the unmarried mothers belong to this type, however, if a study made in Milwaukee recently has any significance for the situation generally. The Milwaukee Conference on Illegitimacy made a study for the Federal Children's Bureau of 362 babies born out of wedlock in that city. This study showed five different types of unmarried mothers:

1. The young, deceived girl, under 18 years of age constituted 11 per cent.

2. The normal girl over 18 years of age made up practically 32 per cent of these unmarried mothers.

3. The subnormal and feeble-minded girl constituted about 8 per cent.

4. Forty-one per cent of these cases were girls with previous sex irregularity and other delinquencies and otherwise poor character.

5. Another 8 per cent of them were women who were or had been married and were widowed, deserted, divorced, or separated from their husbands.[2]

[1] Leffingwell, *Illegitimacy and the Influence of Seasons upon Conduct*, London, 1892, pp. 1, 2.

[2] Drury, "The Unmarried Mother and Her Child." *Proceedings, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, 1918*, Madison, 1919, pp. 61-68. The study

While our sympathies are not touched so much by those who are older and more experienced, our reason tells us that the children of these women no less than of the younger women must be cared for. Moreover, the problem is not only for sympathy so much as for intelligent concern for the rehabilitation of these women and the proper care of these children. Uninstructed sympathy may reach the young girl seduced, who has "loved not too wisely but too well." It requires a wise social sense to deal properly with the older offender, especially one who has been in trouble before. She, however, is the one whose problem must be solved. She is the one who will be only too glad to forsake her child to go out and repeat her error. No less important, therefore, than the unmarried mother who has been deceived is she who has become the mother of a child after numerous experiences, and whose character has long been lost to innocence. She must be properly treated, else her mistake will be continued with serious damage to society.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREATMENT OF THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD

In early society the treatment of the illegitimate child and its mother was both better and worse than in modern society. Even though the child was not malformed or a hybrid, in some savage societies it was more likely to be killed than legitimate children. Half-white children in Australia are killed. On some islands of the Solomon group illegitimate children are killed. In Samoa the unmarried practise abortion.[1] The Kabyles kill all illegitimate, incestuous and adulterine children. The mother who would spare such a child suffers death.[2] For the illegitimate, infanticide seems to have been quite the usual thing. Sumner thinks that infanticide has flourished or vanished according to the severity of treatment given to mothers of illegitimate children.[3] When infanticide was condemned by public sentiment, abandonment of illegitimate infants increased. The emphasis of the Church upon the religious condemnation of infanticide and its rather early provision for foundlings gave added impetus to the abandonment of fatherless children.

just published by the Federal Children's Bureau on *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part II, Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921, indicates much the same conditions in Boston—19 per cent had had illegitimate children before, and 13 per cent since the study.

[1] Sumner, *Folkways*, Boston, 1907, pp. 316, 317.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 320.

Institutions for the care of abandoned infants and orphans were established very early in the Christian era, but it is uncertain whether exposed children were admitted.[1] Even before the advent of institutions for foundlings, however, they were cared for by the church.[2] Foundling institutions are not found before the sixth century.[3] In the late Middle Ages they are found scattered all over Western Europe in the large cities, following the decree of the second Council of Nicea, A. D. 787, that one such institution should be established in every city.[4] The first of these seem to have been established at Milan in the very year of the Council (787). We know of one at Montpelier in 1070, at Rome in 1212, at Paris in 1362 and at Venice in 1380. From that time on mention is made of the existence of such institutions in many other cities.

The invention of a special form of receiving apparatus known as the *tour* must have occurred at the close of the eleventh century for we find it established at Rome in a hospital built by Pope Innocent III before 1200. This institution soon afterwards is found in Italy, Spain and Portugal. It originally was a basket placed at the door in which a child could be placed by the person who brought it, and from which it was taken into the institution to be cared for. No questions were asked. Apparently its invention was inspired by the hope that thus the prevalent infanticide could be diminished. It was introduced officially into France and Belgium in 1811, but was eliminated in Belgium in 1860 and in France in 1862 because of its influence in promoting illegitimacy, and the high death rate of infants in the institutions in which they were kept.[5]

Modern Foundling Asylums. What may be described as the first foundling asylum along modern lines was established by St. Vincent de Paul at Paris in 1638. However, from 1452 to 1789 in France the law imposed on the *seigneurs de haute justice* the duty of caring for all children found deserted in their territories. At the Revolution among the first constitutions were provisions that the state should undertake the support of foundlings as a debt. Under that régime for a time premiums were given to the mothers of illegitimate children, whom the Revolutionists called *enfants de la patrie*.

[1] Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1883, Vol. II, p. 32.
[2] Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I, p. 482.
[3] Lundberg and Lenroot, *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Washington, 1920, p. 43.
[4] Nelson, *Loose-Leaf Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 147.
[5] Lundberg and Lenroot, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

Under the laws establishing *L'Assistance Publique,* initiated by a decree of January, 1811, and amended by many other laws passed since, foundlings are among the *enfants assistés.* They are placed in a departmental asylum for a short time from which they are placed out in country districts, usually apprenticed to a peasant until their majority, and are under the guardianship of the administrative commissioners of the department. The state pays the whole cost of inspection and supervision. Often unmarried mothers are given "outdoor" relief for the care of the child temporarily to prevent desertion. These and other expenses of the care of the children are borne two-fifths by the state, two-fifths by the department concerned and one-fifth by the commune. In Italy the old type of foundling asylums still flourishes.

In Austria, where as in most other European countries they were established under private auspices, they were given legal status by Emperor Joseph II in 1781. In 1818 they were declared to be state institutions and were supported by the state until 1860 when they were handed over to provincial committees and were made to depend on provincial funds. Connected with these were asylums for mothers of the children. The mother may enter free with her child if she is willing to serve as nurse or midwife for four months, or if she gets a statement from the "poor-father" of the district testifying that she is unable to pay. If able she pays for the child's care. At the age of two months the child is placed out for 6 or 10 years in respectable homes in the neighborhood and looked after by the authorities.

In Germany, while foundling asylums were established quite early, they have long since been abolished. Instead, foundlings are cared for by being placed directly by the local authorities at board or placed in institutions designed for the care of dependent children.

In the United States institutions to take care of foundlings arose about the middle of the last century. In 1864 a temporary home for deserted children was founded in Boston. Out of this developed the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, chartered in 1867. While the death rate of infants in almshouses in that state had been as high as 85 per cent, the rate in this institution was reduced to 19 per cent. In 1869 in New York City was established a foundling asylum. In 1871 Chicago's Foundling Asylum was established. Soon similar institutions sprang up in many other places as a result of the effort to get children, mostly foundlings, out of the poorhouses. In many cases such children were taken care of by orphans' asylums, chiefly under private auspices.

Methods of Caring for Illegitimate Children Growing out of the Failure of Foundling Asylums. The motives which led to the establishment of foundling asylums were various. Among them were the motive of training them in the religion of the organization which built and conducted the institution. Perhaps wider in its appeal was that of rescuing the children from the debasing influence of the almshouse. A third motive was the hope that in a special institution for children the appalling almshouse death rate among infants would be lessened.

While some of these hopes were realized in the foundling asylum, others have been doomed to disappointment, while new problems have risen in such institutions. The institution *does* succeed in training children in the religion of the institution, so that some religious organizations, intent upon the eternal salvation of the child's soul, have been slow to recognize the importance of the defects of the institution for these children. While foundling asylums in some cases have succeeded in reducing the appalling death rate of infants therein, other methods have succeeded better.[1] Recent investigations have shown that in spite of all efforts to save the lives of infants in such asylums, they die at a rate which condemns the institution. Commissioner Strong found that in such institutions in New York as late as 1916, while the death rate for infants under two years of age in the state at large was 87.4 per thousand, for 11 institutions in the state the rate was 422.5, or five times as great.[2]

Moreover, in such institutions, especially such as are paid for their services at so much per child out of public funds, the sanitary conditions are often bad, the education of the older children is neglected, and they miss that training in useful knowledge which should enable them to succeed in life. How can a child which grows up in an institution where everything is provided for it, with no personal responsibility for learning to do things which every child in a home learns to do, and which have such a decided influence in developing initiative and judgment in the conduct of life, compete successfully with the child which is brought up in a normal home where it is taught to take its share in the orderly and successful conduct of the home?

As a result of the observation of the effects of the old kind of insti-

[1] In some institutions for foundlings the death rate has risen as high as 96.7 per cent. For details see Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives and Delinquents*, Boston, 1901, pp. 105, 371.

[2] *Report of Charles H. Strong to Governor Whitman*, Albany, 1916, p. 120.

tution life upon children of this kind, various new methods have been devised better to care for this unfortunate class.

A number of the older institutions have transformed themselves with new methods which simulate the conditions of a normal home. Thus, Dr. Reeder has made over the New York Orphanage at Hastings-on-Hudson into an almost ideal institution. It is not in the crowded city, but out in the country. It is not a pile of buildings of the older institution type, but an assembly of cottages around which are flower beds, gardens, chicken yards, animals under the children's care as in a home. In each cottage there are children of all ages, few enough in numbers so that the house-father and -mother may give them that individual attention so necessary if children are to develop as they should. The children have each his responsibility for a due share in the work of the institution. He has his pets; he earns money and spends it. The institution is his home in a real sense. The buildings are so built that each child has plenty of air and sunshine. Every attention is given to his health and development. The school is a real school, and is supplemented in the training of the child by careful attention to his mental and moral growth in every activity of his life there.[1]

This is one of a number of institutions for the care of children, among them foundlings, which have changed themselves to approximate the conditions in the normal home. There seems to be a need for institutions for foundlings and other children, although Massachusetts appears to have got beyond any such need, as we have just seen.

With the development of modern methods of caring for children described in the previous chapter naturally illegitimate children shared in the benefits. In some cases such children are placed out by private societies placing children in homes; in other states where public authorities place out children the child born out of wedlock is placed out just as other destitute children; in Massachusetts they are boarded out or placed out in free homes along with other children, under supervision of the Board of State Charities.

In 1873 there was established in Boston and six years later in Philadelphia and still later in New York the plan of placing both mother and child in homes in the country usually at service, but sometimes

[1] Reeder, *How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn.*
(For a brief description of the principles at the basis of his institution see Reeder, "Study of the Child from the Institutional Standpoint," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1907, pp. 265-273.)

at board. The Boston institution is known as The Society for Helping Destitute Mothers and Infants. It places both married mothers left destitute with small children and mothers with illegitimate children in these ways. This organization grew up to care for children *without separating them from their mothers*. From November 1, 1915, to October 31, 1916, 310 cases were assisted, of which 246 were unmarried mothers and their children.[1] In Philadelphia this plan of caring for unmarried mothers and their infants was adopted by the Children's Aid Society. Later it was extended to Buffalo, Chicago, New York, and other parts of the country by different kinds of societies dealing with this problem.[2]

Illegitimate children have shared with other children the benefits of state supervision of the agencies placing them in homes or caring for them in institutions.

Growing out of the experience with foundling homes and general hospitals, maternity homes, and similar organizations have developed agencies which give expectant mothers advice and care and provide for the after-care of mother and child. It has been discovered that mother and child must be kept together when possible for several months in order that the child may have a chance at life. By after-care mother and child can also have the benefit of careful supervision as to health, while the mother can be trained to care properly for the health of herself and her infant.

Outstanding examples in this country of such institutions for unmarried mothers are the Florence Crittenton Missions and the Salvation Army Maternity Homes.

In England of late special attention has been given to the care and training of mothers before and after confinement and hostels have been founded where they may board and leave their babies, going daily to work, but caring for their infants at night. The National Council for the unmarried mother and her child is backing the movement.

In France *L'Assistance Publique* gives assistance to unmarried mothers until the children are 3 years old, requiring the mothers to nurse their children if they are able to do so. The Department of the Seine is also giving a premium for breast feeding amounting to 200 francs a year. Payment is made through women visitors of *L'Assistance Publique*. To those who do not nurse their infants but

[1] *Report of the Society for Helping Destitute Mothers and Infants, 1915-16,* Boston, 1917, p. 21.

[2] *Report, International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy,* Chicago, 1893, Vol. on Care of Children, pp. 60-64.

who attend regularly the infant consultations a bonus is paid when the child is a year old.[1]

As a result of the War, Italy, the country where foundling asylums have been less changed than in most of the countries of Europe, has at last awakened to the importance of protecting infants, including illegitimate children. The Sub-Committee on Health of the Italian Commission for the Study of Measures Necessary for the Period of Transition from War to Peace, urged that the country make permanent the temporary measures brought about by the War and take new measures for the purpose of making secure the lives of the mothers and children of Italy. It urges the abolition of the old classifications of abandoned, mistreated, natural, legitimate, illegitimate, adulterine children and mothers. It urges the enactment of a law on inquiry into paternity. Its recommendations also include the reformation of foundling asylums and the enactment of a law requiring that these asylums insist that all mothers, married and unmarried, nurse their own children for one year unless they are absolutely unable to do so. It suggests the payment of a monthly allowance by the foundling asylums to the mothers or their maintenance with their children in the asylums. In the latter case the asylums are to be called "mothers' asylums." It advocates also the abolition of the turn-cradles and all similar methods of easy admission of foundlings to the institutions.

Home visiting to follow up the registration of births and to give assistance to the mother and infant is practised in some of the cities of the United States, chiefly under private auspices. In England the same practice exists in the cities which have adopted the notification of births act.

In three states, Maryland, Minnesota, and North Carolina, the separation of mother and child within six months of birth except by consent of the authorities who are charged with the care of the health of the mother and child, is forbidden. In Maryland and North Carolina, however, there is no provision for the support of the mother.

Public supervision and care of the unmarried woman, even before she becomes a mother and after the birth of her child for some time, has been provided in Norway and Sweden. In Germany and Austria during the War such care was given and since the War a beginning has been made in such care in France and Italy. In the United States

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Washington, 1920, pp. 45-48.

state supervision and care of unmarried mothers and their infants is not provided for except in Massachusetts and Minnesota. The illegitimate children elsewhere are not cared for by public authorities except as they are included among children who are placed out after separation from their mother. Only Minnesota and Massachusetts undertake the supervision of unmarried mothers and their children.[1]

Thus some progress is being made in the handling of this age-long and difficult problem. With the progress of knowledge and the growth of social experience, instinctive and sympathetic methods of dealing with the unmarried mother and her innocent child are yielding gradually to rational methods. When society once reaches the place where consideration for the social welfare rather than tradition, dogmatic, and impulsive considerations weigh in social judgments and inspire the laws dealing with this difficult problem, greater emphasis will be given to prevention rather than brutal repression, and for retribution there will be substituted curative and preventive measures.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CARE OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

The experience of ages has brought to light certain fundamental principles necessary to deal successfully with the unmarried mother and her child.

Registration of all Births. No complete picture of the problem of illegitimacy can be obtained until we have fairly complete registration of births. In Germany, where most detailed study of the problem has been made, complete birth registration has been practised for years in the interest of military service. In France and Norway studies have been made because of special interest in the problem.

Furthermore, proper care of the child and its mother is impossible without birth registration. Minnesota has made the registration of all births compulsory, largely for the purpose of discovering the child born out of wedlock. Only in that way can the State Board of Control, upon which devolves the duty of seeing that the child has the "nearest possible approximation to the care, support and education that he would be entitled to if born of lawful marriage," begin to discharge its responsibility. Moreover, the law in that state requires that any maternity hospital, or infants' home, or other public or private hospital use due diligence to ascertain whether a woman who has come to the institution for care before confinement will give birth to

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Washington, 1920, pp. 45-48.

an illegitimate child, and if so to report that fact to the State Board of Control so that the Board "may offer its aid and protection in such ways as are found wise and expedient to the unmarried woman approaching motherhood." [1]

Proper Care of the Mother before Birth of Child. The shame of the mother makes such care difficult, but not impossible. With proper provision for pre-natal care of mothers, and good publicity concerning the importance of advice before confinement, it will be much less difficult than now to get girls to attend clinics and hospitals. Often now they go to a physician or some "doctor" who has a reputation for abortion in order to get rid of the unborn child. It is probable that part of the unusually high death rate of illegitimate infants is due to the lack of proper care of the mother before confinement.

In Minnesota and Norway provision is made for the notification—in Norway by the physician or midwife consulted, and in Minnesota by any hospital to which the woman comes for care or advice—of the pregnancy of an unmarried woman, and report on the birth of an illegitimate child to proper authority.

In Massachusetts the State Infirmary receives unmarried women who are about to become mothers for confinement. On their discharge the State Board of Charity has administrative control of such mothers and their children. It carries on follow-up work on the cases of mothers and babes leaving the institution. Of 81 children born at the Infirmary during the year, 59 were illegitimate. During the year 1918, 307 cases of this kind were under care by the board. At the close of the year 129 girls were at service with their babies. A large proportion of these cases are feeble-minded. Yet a study of 50 of these girls who have been under the care of the board from 3 to 5 years shows that 47 of them support themselves in spite of their mental defect and that 44 of them provided partial or full support for their infants as well. All but one of these had the babies with them for at least a year, with the result that their maternal affection was given a chance to develop. Thirty-four of the group have done well. Other agencies getting mothers with illegitimate children turn over their cases to the board. Hence, the social service work of the board for this class of mothers is broadening constantly.

Furthermore, the board undertakes to place the illegitimate children as it does any destitute children, giving them the same supervision

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part I, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Washington, 1920, pp. 45-48.

through social service visitors as it gives to any of the minor wards of the State.[1]

The work of the two states of Minnesota and Massachusetts deserves earnest study and indicates a tendency which is full of promise. Until some better plan can be devised, these plans offer the best hope from the standpoint of the discharge of the state's responsibility for illegitimate children.

Mother and Child Must Be Kept Together for a Time. Quite generally the practice is to separate the child from its mother at a very early date after birth. In the study made in Milwaukee in 1916-1917, of 362 cases 55 per cent of the infants were separated from their mothers, 70 per cent of these before they were a month old, and 85 per cent before they were 3 months old. Is it any wonder that 1 in every 6 of them die? Only 3 per cent of these mothers were unable physically to care for their babies.

In the course of the investigation the reasons alleged for separating mother and babe varied. In 10 per cent of the cases in which they were separated it was alleged that the mother was too young; 7 per cent were feeble-minded; 27 per cent were said to be morally unfit; 23 per cent were said to be financially unable to keep their babies. Yet, in every one of these cases, except those physically unable to nurse the child, there was no excuse in social policy for the separation. Since the death rate for artificially fed infants is three and a half times that of breast fed babies, it was inexcusable that there should not be provision so these women could have been kept with their babies for at least the first six months.[2]

Moreover, the best way to develop that sense of responsibility that many of these women lack, and which is necessary if they are to be reclaimed, is to keep with them the child. Our foolish concern for the reputation of the girl and her family blinds us to the necessity of considering first the welfare of the child, and *then* the development of moral responsibility in the mother. Experience has shown that by proper effort most of the women who have parents can return with the child to the home of the parents. When they have no home it is possible to get them a place where mother and child can live while she earns their living. Where that is impossible, the mother capable of rearing her child could be boarded with it until she can

[1] *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, 1918*, Boston, 1919, pp. 119-133.

[2] Drury, "The Unmarried Mother and Her Child," *Proceedings, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, 1918*, Madison, 1919, p. 66.

get a place at work with her child, or until the child can be safely separated from her and properly placed in a good home.

Placement of Mother and Child. It is highly desirable that mother and child in all cases where the mother is a fit person to have charge of her child, and where both are physically sound, should be placed in a position where the mother can earn her way and support her infant. The testimony of most agencies which have had experience with these cases shows that to relieve the mother of her responsibility for her child, not only breaks the chief bond by which she may be saved from a repetition of her mistake, but produces on the minds of others a conviction that the mother of an illegitimate child can easily shake off her responsibility. Moreover, it confirms the current opinion that the chief concern of society should be for the *reputation* of the women rather than for the development of her *character*. Furthermore, it substitutes tenderness for the families concerned for consideration for the welfare of the innocent child and the moral development of the mother.

While such placement is difficult, it is not impossible, as the experience of the Boston Society for the Care of Destitute Mothers and Infants, and of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity shows. It should be less difficult than ever before to place such mothers now that the servant problem is so acute.[1]

Establishment of Paternity. The laws of most of our states on the establishment of paternity in illegitimacy cases is a travesty on justice. In many of our states the mother herself must make the complaint. In some of our most advanced states anyone can make complaint and start action for the establishment of paternity. In two of our states, Massachusetts and Minnesota, a state board is charged with the responsibility of seeing that paternity is established if possible.

While the establishment of paternity is often a difficult matter, in a progressive state like Minnesota "the State Board of Control is counsel for the child and has something to say as to whether or not that child shall have a legally responsible parent . . . and not leave it to the schemes and machinations of attorneys and the families of the persons who are involved." [2]

In Minnesota if ever a man has admitted paternity or is adjudged

[1] See Murphy, "The Unmarried Mother at Work," *The Survey*, Feb. 28, 1920, pp. 641, 642.

[2] Hodson, "Securing a Children's Code for Minnesota," *Proceedings, Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work, 1918*, Madison, 1919, p. 54.

to be the father of the child he is thenceforth subject to all the obligations for the care and maintenance and education of the child and to all the penalties for failure to do the same which may be imposed under the laws of the state upon fathers of legitimate children of like age and capacity. If he fails to support the child he is proceeded against as in a criminal action and if he deserts the child or leaves the state he is guilty of a felony and can be brought back on a process of extradition.[1] We shall never make much progress until we have made every effort to place responsibility upon the father as well as upon the mother of the illegitimate child.

Legitimation. Norway has led the world in its provision for the legitimation of children born out of wedlock. It gives the child born out of wedlock the same right of inheritance from the father after paternity has been established as a child of legitimate birth. It is entitled to the father's as well as to the mother's family name.[2]

Sweden's law is less advanced from the standpoint of the welfare of the child than Norway's. It gives no right of inheritance from the father except in the case of "betrothal children." It does, however, place the responsibility for support on both parents.

In the United States the most advanced legislation on the legitimation of children provides only for the legitimation by the subsequent marriage of their parents, or in some cases if the man who marries the mother adopts the child.

Public Responsibility for the Care and Education of the Child. The illegitimate child, as every other child handicapped by birth or later circumstances, is a ward of the state. The state should stand in place of the parent in the interests of the child. In Minnesota the Board of Control acts as the agent of the state in the discharge of this responsibility. In Norway and Sweden the state provides for the care and upbringing of such unfortunate children. The state cannot properly neglect this important duty.

Supervision of Unmarried Women and Children. States cannot discharge their social responsibilities and neglect to supervise unmarried mothers and their children. The practice of Massachusetts and Minnesota should be adopted throughout the country. A sufficient force of inspectors should be employed to give proper attention to

[1] Hodson, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[2] *Norwegian Laws Concerning Illegitimate Children,* Children's Bureau Publication, No. 31, Washington, 1919, pp. 14-27, and *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem,* Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, 1920, pp. 40-41.

these women and their children in the interests of society as well as the welfare of these wards of the state.

Disposition of Children of Mothers Unfit to Care for Their Infants. The children born out of wedlock to those mothers who are physically unable to nurse their babies will generally have to be disposed of in some other way. If possible, it should be kept with its mother, allowing her to care for it, and either artificially feed it or provide a wet nurse.

If the mother is unfit morally to have the care of her child, nothing else can be done in the interests of the child than to have it placed either in a special institution or placed at board or placed out where it will receive home care.

Doubtless further experience will indicate modifications of these principles as time goes on. By keeping clearly in mind, however, that the primary consideration is the welfare of the child and secondary the welfare of the mother both physically and morally, progress can be made in the solution of this difficult and important problem.

The Federal Children's Bureau has suggested the following points to be observed in a program for the care of children born out of wedlock:

1. Complete investigation of family history and circumstances.
2. The study of the child's physical and mental condition and characteristics.
3. The placing of the child in a properly qualified family home or, if his condition requires, in an institution suited to his needs.
4. Careful supervision of the child's health, education, and moral and spiritual development.
5. Complete records of the child's history, and of his development and progress while under care.
6. Vocational training for the child and helpful supervision while he is becoming self-supporting.
7. Particular consideration of the needs of children handicapped by defective heredity.
8. Coöperation between agencies and the fullest utilization of the resources of the community.[1]

PREVENTION OF ILLEGITIMACY

Constructive and preventive measures should be put into operation as well as wise measures to deal with children born out of wed-

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem,* Part II, Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921, pp. 68, 69.

lock and to redeem their mothers to a normal life. The Children's Bureau has suggested the following points in such a program:

1. Improvement of industrial and economic conditions, resulting in better standards of living.

2. Raising the level of general education, and providing for all children opportunities for moral and spiritual development, including training in standards of morality and conduct.

3. Provision of opportunity for wholesome recreation, properly safeguarded, and supervision of commercialized amusements.

4. Removal of degrading community influences.

5. Adequate provision for the diagnosis and care of the mentally subnormal, including institutional provision for the feeble-minded and the defective delinquent in need of such care, and special training and supervision in the community.

6. Special protection for young people of both sexes who are surrounded by dangerous influences or who show tendencies toward wrongdoing; improved standards of case work with families and children, with special reference to the detection and removal of the influences that menace the welfare of children.

7. Assisting and safeguarding mothers of children born out of wedlock, to the end that they may gain a position of independence and self-respect in the community and that they may not repeat their unfortunate experiences.[1]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Illegitimacy in the National Capital. Ottenberg, "Fatherless Children of the National Capital," *The Survey*, Jan. 30, 1915, p. 459.
2. The War and Illegitimacy. Lundberg, "The Illegitimate Child and War Conditions," *American Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 3 (July-September, 1918).
3. A Comparative Study of the Laws Concerning Illegitimacy. Freund, *Illegitimacy Laws of the United States and Certain Foreign Countries*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 42.
4. Prevention of Illegitimacy. Watson, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, p. 102.

[1] *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part II, Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, 1921, p. 72.

CHAPTER XXIII

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

THE stigma of ordinary charity long ago fastened itself to its recipients. Private charity, as in the Charity Organization Movement, has tried to overcome that handicap by emphasizing service rather than relief. Pity for the helpless mother left with young children prompted search for a method by which help could be given such a mother that should not carry the taint of charity. If her necessities were relieved by the public poor relief official, then she and her children were forever branded with the term "pauper." Many private societies, while endeavoring to remove the stigma of "pauper" from all their cases by careful case treatment, yet felt that ordinary relief did not have the certainty of income which is necessary if the mother's mind is to be free from the worry incident to her unfortunate position.

As long ago as 1877 in London the importance of a steady income for the aged was recognized by the organization of the Tower Hamlets Pensions Committee, created by a number of Charity Organization and Poor Law Workers in East London.[1] The application of the principle of pensions to mothers, however, did not occur anywhere until 1911. While France in 1900 in connection with a system of compulsory old age insurance made provision for the death benefits to dependents, and while Germany in connection with a revision of its social insurance laws in 1911 inserted as an important feature a national system of widows' and orphans' pensions, the earliest specific statute in the United States providing for the payment of a regular stated allowance to mothers for the care of their own children was enacted by Missouri in 1911.

By a limitation in the law, however, it applied only to Kansas City. In the same year, following upon a report by a municipal commission on delinquent, dependent and defective children in St. Louis, Missouri passed a law giving authority to cities to pass an ordinance creating a board of children's guardians and allowing this body to board out

[1] Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1867-1912*, London, 1914, p. 283.

children with their own mothers. In 1912 St. Louis passed such an ordinance.

Not quite two months after the passage of the law in Missouri, Illinois on June 5th passed a much more comprehensive mothers' pension law officially known as a "funds to parents act." This law provided that if the parent or parents of neglected or dependent children were poor and unable to care properly for the child but otherwise were proper guardians, and that it was for the welfare of the child to remain at home, the court might enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to care properly for the child. This law made it the duty of the county board upon the order of the court to make the payments to the parent or parents specified by the order until further orders from the court. This was the first comprehensive law passed in this country by any state providing for the support of children in the homes of their own mothers at public expense with the avowed object of providing primarily for the children. Moreover, this law of Illinois really provided the model for similar laws in other states.

In 1912 Colorado adopted by popular referendum a "Mothers' Compensation Act" which became operative in January, 1913.

Indicative of the development of thought on this question about this time are experiments of cities in two states and of a private organization doing family relief work in New York City.

For many years it had been the custom in California under the authority of the state constitution to allow institutions $100 a year for the care of dependent orphans and $75 a year for half orphans and abandoned children. Under a provision of the juvenile court law of that state it had also been the practice to allow up to $11 a month for the care of children committed to institutions. Liberally construed, the institutions had made a practice of giving the amount allowed by the court to the mothers to care for the children in their own homes when it seemed that the child could be cared for in that way as well or better than in the institution. San Francisco and Los Angeles had followed the practice. In 1913 the state passed a law which authorized the payment of a subsidy half from the state treasury and half from local funds to mothers for the support of half orphans in their own homes.

In Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, also without legislative enactment authorizing such practice, the county board by resolution of March 26, 1912, set aside a fund of $5,000 to be used by the juvenile court in

giving assistance to the families of dependent children instead of sending them to the County Home for Dependent Children.[1]

In December, 1912, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor began the experiment of pensioning certain mothers of dependent children. The experiment was tried out first on a small scale. Up to an early date in 1914, 50 such widows had been pensioned. The experiment was such a success that the director of the Department of Family Welfare of that Association in 1914 felt that the policy should be extended to all the widows in their care.[2]

In addition to these experiments two states had passed laws in connection with their compulsory education laws not only to supply school books and clothing to poor children of school age, but also for the support of indigent children. Oklahoma passed, as early as April 10, 1908, her "school scholarship" law providing for the payment to the widowed mother of a child of school age an amount equal to the earnings of the child, when the child's wages are necessary for the support of the mother. Michigan in 1911 enacted a law requiring the payment from the school funds of a sum not to exceed $3 per week to indigent parents to enable their children to attend school.[3]

Attitude of Private Agencies and Workers Toward Mothers' Pensions. From the very beginning of this movement private case working agencies and their workers have had very grave doubts concerning the plan. In 1912 the Russell Sage Foundation appointed Mr. Carstens to study the working of public benefits to widows. He made a report after a survey of the plans in San Francisco, Chicago, Kansas City, Missouri, and Milwaukee. At the time he made the study Wisconsin had no state law on the subject but Milwaukee was operating under the resolution already referred to.

After a survey of the legislation and a study of the administration of the law in the places visited, Mr. Carstens reported adversely to the scheme of mothers' pensions. He urged:

1. That inasmuch as communities in the same state differ very widely in their circumstances a state wide law does not suit the various communities.

2. Public agencies have recognized only imperfectly or not at all

[1] *Laws Relating to 'Mothers' Pensions, etc.,'* Children's Bureau Publication, No. 7, Washington, 1914, pp. 7, 8.

[2] Matthew's "Widows' Families, Pensioned and Otherwise," *The Survey,* Vol. XXXIII, June 6, 1914, pp. 270-275.

[3] *Laws Relating to 'Mothers' Pensions, etc.,'* Children's Bureau Publication, No. 7, Washington, 1914, p. 8.

the many forms of service to be rendered in addition to the granting of money.

3. The creation of new administrative machinery without coördinating it with the whole machinery for the aid of dependents often leads to conflicting policies and develops antagonism rather than coöperation with established relief authorities.

4. Since in the places visited, with the exception of St. Louis, the administration of the law was vested in the juvenile court, it is inexpedient because it adds to the already heavy duties of the juvenile court the function of pensioning and supervising these cases. In other words, the juvenile court is not adapted to the task.

5. Mothers' pensions do not reduce the number of commitments to institutions, since the number of children committed to institutions because of poverty alone is very much smaller than is generally supposed.

6. Mothers' pensions create a new class of dependents in our communities as experience in Chicago indicated.

7. Efforts to prevent the train of circumstances which leads to the need for pensions is a more hopeful social procedure than the mere pensioning of widows who were victims of causes inherent in our social economy. Moreover, he urged that the existing public and private agencies should be adapted, standardized and used to meet the present needs. He concludes by urging that the preventive measures are the more hopeful measures, such as compensation laws, laws dealing with desertion, bastardy, and support by relatives in line of descent, social insurance against widowhood, unemployment, invalidism or accident.[1]

In the meantime the advocates of the idea pressed for the enactment of laws in various states with the results already noted. The sentimental appeal in the movement outweighed the prudential considerations urged by the more experienced case workers of the social agencies.

[1] Carstens, *Public Pensions to Widows with Children*, Russell Sage Foundation Publication No. 31, New York City, 1913, pp. 25-28. This report started a lively debate which continued for a number of years with considerable activity on both sides. William Hard, "The Moral Necessity of 'State Funds to Mothers,'" *The Survey*, March, 1913, pp. 769-773. Richmond, "Motherhood and Pensions," *The Survey*, March 1, 1913, pp. 774-780. Sheffield, "The Influence of Mothers' Aid upon Family Life," *The Survey*, Vol. 34, July 24, 1915, pp. 378-379. Lindsey, "The Mothers' Compensation Law of Colorado," *The Survey*, February 15, 1913, pp. 714-716.

EXTENT OF THE MOVEMENT

On the basis of these municipal, state and private experiments and impelled by an active propaganda in favor of "Mothers' Pensions," the movement grew very rapidly. During 1913, 13 states in the Union passed new or amended old laws on the subject. By January 1, 1921, 40 of the 48 states had adopted some form of mothers' pension.[1]

In Europe in addition to France and Germany, mentioned above, Denmark passed a law providing for payment of money to the mother of dependent children in 1913. In 1911 New Zealand passed a law of much the same character as those in force in the United States, but in both these countries the methods of administration are somewhat different, adapted to the political institutions and social conditions there to be found.

THEORY OF THE MOVEMENT

The Mothers' Pension movement is an attempt to carry out the first resolution passed at the White House Conference on the care of dependent children in 1909. This resolution reads: "Home life is the highest, finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and of character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character suffering from temporary misfortune and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner should as a rule be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children." The movement violates the principle laid down in the second part of that resolution which is: "This aid should be given by such methods and from such sources as may be determined by the general relief policy of each community preferably in the form of private charity rather than of public relief." The movement accords with the last part of the resolution which says: "Except in unusual circumstances the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality."

In short, the theory back of the movement is that children should be kept with their mother in the case of infants for the sake of keeping the infant alive; for older children for the sake of moral develop-

[1] *Monthly Labor Review,* U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, Jan., 1921, p. 184.

ment of the child, and, finally, that the mother may not be parted from her child.

In the second place the movement represents a reaction against the care of children in institutions. Institutional care involves an exceedingly high death rate for infants, an unnatural life for the older children, and the breaking up of the home.

In the third place, the movement represents a reaction against public poor relief, and private charity involving as they do the stigma of pauperism.

Finally, it attempts to realize the theory that those charged with the care of children should have adequate support.

On the first and last points the theory coincides with that of all students of the question of caring for children. On the second point it differs from the representatives of social agencies only in its emphasis upon the stigma of charity.

It will be noticed that there is lacking emphasis upon careful case work in the administration of the law. It assumes that adequate relief is the important element in the care of children rather than adequate relief combined with careful case work before the pension is granted. While this defect has been remedied in the operation of the law in some states, the theory at the basis of the movement did not contemplate this important theoretical aspect of successful social work.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOTHERS' PENSION LAWS

The methods adopted to carry out the underlying purpose of the mothers' pension laws have varied from state to state. It may be helpful to briefly review the provisions of the different state laws.

Recipients of the Aid. In all the states except Colorado, Florida, Minnesota, and Wisconsin the law applies only to mothers. In Colorado it applies to any parent who on account of poverty is unable to care properly for a dependent or neglected child. In Florida it applies to a mother or a female relative who is guardian of the child; in Minnesota to a mother, stepmother or grandmother; in Wisconsin, the aid is given to a mother, grandparent, or person having custody of the child. In some states it is given to any mother with dependent children.[1] In other states it is confined to a widow.[2] In still others it is

[1] Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Dakota and Washington.

[2] Arizona, California, Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Texas, Utah and Virginia.

given not only to widows but to mothers whose husbands are prisoners.[1] In certain other states it is granted to mothers whose husbands are in state asylums for insanity or feeble-mindedness.[2] In 17 states to mothers whose husbands are totally incapacitated physically or mentally.[3] In 15 states to deserted wives.[4] Divorced wives are included in its provisions in six states and territories.[5] Unmarried mothers are included within its provisions specifically in three states.[6] In other states the law provides for any mother if the administrative agency determines that unmarried mothers may be included; in Colorado, Missouri (except Jackson County and St. Louis) and Pennsylvania, aid may be given to expectant mothers.[7]

Conditions under Which Aid Is Granted. The conditions governing the granting of aid in the different states are almost as varied as the persons to whom they are granted. In some states the mother must be unable to support her child by reason of destitution, insufficient property or income, or lack of earning capacity. In 6 states she must be dependent upon her own efforts for support, and in one of these, Oregon, she must prove that she was not in needy circumstances when she came into the state, and in another, Utah, that she had not received support from public funds within one year before acquiring residence in the county in which application is made. In 15 states aid must be necessary to save the child from neglect or to prevent the breaking up of the home. In 3 it must be necessary to prevent the

[1] Alaska, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee (in counties governed by 1919 law), West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

[2] Alaska, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and West Virginia.

[3] Alaska, Arkansas, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee (in counties governed by 1915 law), West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

[4] Arkansas (if permanently deserted), Delaware, Florida (if husband has been prosecuted for desertion and adjudicated unable to support family), Hawaii, Kansas (if deserted for three months), Maine and Minnesota (if deserted for one year and proceedings have been instituted), Michigan, Missouri (except Jackson County and St. Louis), Nebraska, Nevada, Wyoming (if deserted for one year), Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin (if deserted for six months), and Ohio (if deserted for three years).

[5] Alaska, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Missouri (except Jackson County and St. Louis), Nebraska and South Dakota (one year after divorce is granted).

[6] Hawaii, Michigan and Nebraska.

[7] In Missouri such aid is limited to three weeks before and three weeks after child-birth, and in Pennsylvania to expectant mothers eligible for aid on account of one or more living children. *Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 63, Washington, 1919, pp. 12 and 13.

child from becoming a public charge, and in New York to prevent the child from having to be cared for in an institutional home; in 4 states the mother may not own real or personal property other than household goods. In one of these, however—Illinois—she may be the holder of a homestead or be entitled to dower rights in real estate not exceeding $1,000. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, ownership of a homestead, the rental of which does not exceed the amount the family would have to pay for living quarters, does not debar from aid; in Oregon, if it does not exceed $500 in value; in Minnesota, $100 in addition to appropriate clothing and household goods, and such tools, implements, and domestic animals as in the judgment of the court may assist in increasing the income of the family.[1]

In most of the states the *home conditions* are factors to be taken into consideration in the granting of a pension. Usually it is required that a mother be a fit person to bring up her children and that it is for the welfare of the child to remain in the home. In a number of the states the law provides that the child or children must live with the mother and that she shall not work regularly away from home. In others, while home work is permitted, it is limited by law, as in South Dakota, and in 8 other states the amount of time she may be absent is left to the discretion of the administrative officials.

Residence and citizenship are conditions of the receipt of aid in some states. Residence requirements vary from 6 months in the county and 1 year in the state to 5 years in each. In 4 states the husband must have been a resident at the time of death or incapacity. Citizenship is required of the applicant in 7 states. In Minnesota she must be a citizen, or her husband must have declared intent; in Illinois unless a citizen she can receive help only for her American born children, and then only after declaring intent.

Three of the states require the mother to make *monthly reports* to the court or commissioners. Oregon does not permit the continuance of aid during any term of absence from the county without the consent of the court. In 3 states when the husband is permanently incapacitated and when his presence is a menace to the physical or moral welfare of the family the court may order his removal from his home. Oregon and Utah do not permit aid to be given if older children or other persons living in the family are not contributing their proper share to the household expenditure. West Virginia does

[1] *Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions,* Children's Bureau Publication No. 63, Washington, 1919, p. 13.

not permit the mother to have any adult person not a member of her family living with her.

The *age of the child* differs in different states. The maximum age varies from 13 years for a well child in West Virginia to 17 years in Alaska, Michigan, and Indiana (for girls). In 10 states 14 years is the upper limit, although in some of these states it may be extended to 16 if the child is ill or incapacitated for work. In 6 states it is 15 years; in 21 states 16 years.

The maximum amount of the allowance varies among the states. In Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, and Massachusetts the law says that the amount must be sufficient to care properly for the child. In New York, however, it must not exceed the cost of caring for a child in an institution. In the other states the maximum allowance varies from $2 a week per child in Iowa to $15 a month in North Dakota, and $25 a month for one child and $15 for each additional child in Nevada. In Connecticut the maximum amount is determined by a family budget fixed in the law. A number of the states also have a limit on the amount that may be given to any one family no matter how many the children. For example, in Wisconsin, outside of Milwaukee, $40 is the maximum amount, while in Milwaukee it may run to $50.[1] The highest amounts in any state are $55 in Nevada and $60 in Arizona and Illinois.

The administration of the law varies from state to state. In 20 states the law is administered by the courts, chiefly the juvenile courts. In Minnesota and Wisconsin these courts may be assisted by county boards of child welfare; in 10 states by county commissioners, county supervisors and city councils; in 2 states and the city of St. Louis, by boards of children's guardians; in 2 states and Hawaii by local boards of child welfare; in Maine by municipal boards of mothers' aid; in Massachusetts by city or town overseers of the poor; and in Pennsylvania by unpaid boards of women trustees in each county appointed by the Governor. In Connecticut it is administered by a state agent in the office of the State Treasurer; in Delaware by a State Mothers' Pension Commission; in New Hampshire by the State Board of Education; and in Vermont by the State Board of Charities and Probation.[2]

In some states there is a measure of *state supervision.* In California, Minnesota, Wisconsin and New York the State Board of Con-

[1] *Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions,* Children's Bureau Publication No. 63, Washington, 1919, pp. 15 and 16.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 16 and 17.

trol or the State Board of Charities supervises the local administration of mothers' aid. In California the Board of Control may appoint a state children's agent and assistants with unpaid supervisory committee of three persons in each county; in Massachusetts the applications for mothers' aid to the overseers of the poor must be approved by the State Board of Charity. In Maine supervision is by a State Board of Mothers' Aid; in New Jersey by a State Board of Children's Guardians, which also makes the original investigation; in Pennsylvania there is a state supervisor of mothers' pensions in the State Board of Education. In four states—Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, and Vermont—the aid is given through state authorities.

The source of the funds for mothers' pensions in one-fourth of the states is to be found in state funds. The amount paid by the state varies from $120 a year for each half orphan in California to one-third in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Wisconsin, and one-half in Delaware, Maine, Pennsylvania and Vermont. In some of these, however, a maximum appropriation is given and this is apportioned among the various counties. In 3 states appropriations are made to cover the cost of administration as well as of relief. In 8 states where the funds are provided entirely by the county, special taxes are levied for the purpose. More than one-half the states provide punishment for procuring or trying to procure mothers' aid fraudulently.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LAWS IN DENMARK AND NEW ZEALAND

Denmark's law which went into effect January 1, 1914, provides that aid can be given to mothers whose property and income is below a certain amount, but graduated according to the number of dependent children. Moreover, the amount of the grant varies with the ages of the children, the highest amount being given for the child under 2 years. It provides also that in certain circumstances the allowance may be given on account of children up to 18 years of age. This law also provides certain minimum requirements as to the fitness of the mother and home conditions. The continuance of the aid is conditional upon the mother not receiving poor relief. This aid is declared to be non-pauperizing, as if a declaration of the law could make it such, when whether it shall be pauperizing or not depends on the way in which it is administered. Half of the amount of aid is borne by the state and the other half by the commune in which the mother has a permanent residence.

The law was amended in 1918 to allow aid to be given to the guardian of the children after the death of the mother, and also to the children of mothers who were not receiving aid before mother's death. Its provisions extend also to the children of widowers.[1]

In New Zealand the law became effective January 1, 1912. At first it applied only to widows of good moral character with children under 14 years of age, but later in the year was extended also to the wives of inmates in insane asylums.

This law has the unique provision that the amount shall be reduced a certain amount (1 pound) for every pound of the widow's income above a certain amount. Its aim was to make the aid a prevention of destitution rather than to be given only after destitution has occurred.

In 1913 mothers' pensions was made a part of the general pension legislation of the country and is administered by the pension department. Applications are made to registrars of pensions and granted or refused after hearing before a magistrate. No grant is for a longer period than 12 months without review. The whole amount is paid by the state and pensions are paid through the post office. Pensions, as in Denmark, are paid also to the guardians of children after a mother's death.

In New Zealand mothers' pensions are supplemented by a provision of the old age pension act, allowing a pension to an old age pensioner and an additional amount if he has children under 14 years of age dependent on him. Moreover, the national provident fund pays to the widow of a contributor who has children under 14 a weekly allowance, provided the contributor had paid into the fund for five years.[2]

TENDENCIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOTHERS' PENSION LEGISLATION

The rapid growth of the movement for mothers' pensions in the last few years indicates the place which the child has come to hold in the sentiments of people. It implies the belief that home life and a mother's care are of the utmost importance to the child, and testifies to the determination of people that children shall not be denied the blessings of their own mother's care because there is not sufficient income to enable her properly to care for them. However, the weakness of mothers' pension administration often is the assumption that insufficient income alone causes children to be taken from their mothers.

[1] *Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions,* Children's Bureau Publication No. 63, Washington, 1919, pp. 19, 20.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 20, 21.

Often children must be removed because of moral or other conditions inimical to the best interests of the children.

These laws are an outburst of sentiment for the children rather than considered measures for the realization of the aims of the law-makers. The opponents of mothers' pension laws raise numerous administrative as well as more fundamental questions as to the assumptions underlying mothers' pensions. These objections have weight. The advocates of the law, however, urge that while the present laws are inadequate, they nevertheless represent an advance. They hope for improvement in the terms of the laws as well as in the administrative machinery. In fact, as time has gone on, the laws have been amended to introduce more careful administration than was provided for at first. In answer to the opponents of mothers' pensions who charged that relief was only a minor part of the solution to the problem of dependent children, they replied by providing for service to the families. Massachusetts, for example, through its State Board of Charity, formulated rules for the administration of mothers' pensions by the overseers of the poor in the hope they may teach those in immediate charge to emphasize careful investigation and service as well as the mere granting of relief.

In general there is a tendency to stricter supervision by some state body which has the responsibility of studying the problem. In about one-fourth of the states some form of supervision is provided. However, in many of these states the supervision is only nominal and little attention is being given to improving the methods of administering the law. Before these shortcomings can be overcome, the example of Chicago must be followed, and trained social workers placed in immediate charge of the administration of mothers' pensions.

Another objection to the laws as they stand is the fixed maximum allowance. Adequate relief is one of the fundamentals of modern social work. The maximum is to prevent untrained workers from wasting the taxpayers' money. If the real purpose of the law is to be carried out, relief in the cases which are properly mothers' pension cases, should be adequate. Moreover, the age limits of the children should be raised to keep pace with the child labor and compulsory education laws.[1]

[1] The first law in Canada was passed by Manitoba in 1916. Saskatchewan followed in 1917, and Alberta in 1919. British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and Ontario followed at later dates. The movement in Canada has been favored by the Trades and Labor Congress and by the Social Service Council of Canada, as well as by various provincial social welfare organizations. In Alberta, Sas-

Arguments for Mothers' Pensions. 1. There is no place so good for a child as its mother's home. No other person can supply as good care as hers if she is a proper person.

This argument is a mixture of appeal to sentiment and of social experience. It is true that maternal love, other things being equal, will provide care which no institution or other person without that incentive will supply. It is not true, however, that mother love, uninstructed, or combined with vicious character, will provide a better home and care than anyone else.

2. No child should be denied his mother's home and care on account of poverty.

No one dissents from this argument, which assumes, however, that, in the majority of cases, children are deprived of the mother's home on account of poverty.

3. Since the state has an interest in the child, let the money to enable the mother to remain with her child come from public funds and be administered by public officials.

4. Moreover, since private charity has failed to provide the means whereby the mother may keep her child, the public must do it.

Arguments against Mothers' Pensions. 1. Poverty alone does not usually result in separating mother and child. When they must be separated, there are usually other reasons than poverty, such as moral conditions, or unfitness of the mother to bring up the child properly.

2. They are unnecessary since private charities or public funds will supply what money is needed when the home should not be broken up.

This argument assumes that every case of need will be met by private charity or public relief officials, yet every relief society knows that their resources are quite inadequate to supply all cases of need. Both private and public officials will fail to discover some cases in the community.

3. Mothers' pensions are only another form of poor relief. If they are administered by another agency than that administering ordi-

katchewan and Manitoba aid is granted by provincial authority. In Manitoba, this is a special commission, and in Alberta and Saskatchewan it is the superintendent of neglected and dependent children. The pensions are paid from provincial funds and then a part of the cost is levied back upon the municipalities. In Saskatchewan the maximum is filed at $3 per week for each child. In the other two provinces, the maximum is the family's needs. In May, 1919, the average city allowance per family allowed by the Manitoba Commission was $61 a month, while for country families the average was $49.16. The average is very much higher than in communities of the same size and of the same general conditions in the United States.

nary poor relief, the situation is complicated, and the probabilities of pauperization are increased.

4. The agency administering mothers' pensions, whether public relief officials as in Massachusetts, or juvenile courts as in most other states, is not trained in social service, consequently the investigations are likely to be poorly made, the service end of the pension will be neglected, and the family is likely to be pauperized. Trained people should handle such mothers' pension cases, for usually such cases are not merely a matter of relief.

EVALUATION OF THE ARGUMENTS

It must be confessed that there is a modicum of truth on both sides of the argument.

1. Mothers' pensions are not pensions in any true sense of the term. They are not rewards for service rendered or in prospect of being rendered, else they should not be limited to mothers merely, but should be given to anyone who would adopt or undertake to supply a home and care for a child.

2. The keeping of children with their mothers is not merely a matter of sufficient income. The question of whether children should remain with their mothers is also a question of whether the mother possesses or can develop sufficient managerial ability, parental discipline, and has the kind of character and training which will give the child the best possible development. Therefore, many of the states have frankly called their laws not pensions but aid to mothers or aid to dependent children. Many of them have also provided not only for income but for service to the mother in helping her not only to use the income properly, but to solve the problems that come up in connection with the rearing of the child.

3. Too often the administrators do not consider the child as a part of a home and family. Without taking into account the family and without trained service mothers' pensions are only another pauperizing institution.

4. Nevertheless, the movement is a concern first for the welfare of the child, and second for the mother who does not wish to lose her children. This impulse should find expression in ways that will conserve the child, spare as far as possible the feelings of the mother, and at the same time secure those social results that only trained service can provide.

5. Experience is teaching the necessity for trained service, which was not perceived in the early days of the movement.

6. The movement has come to stay. In spite of the weaknesses of mothers' pensions in their early history, experience in administering them is leading to improvement.

CONCLUSION

By raising the standards of relief and service in connection with the administration of mothers' pensions, may not the standards of public relief of all dependents be raised? Just as the movement for the saving of babies' lives has led to the perception that you cannot save babies and rear healthy children without giving careful attention to the general health problems, and thus emphasis upon child welfare has given a greater health impetus to all, so mothers' pensions are probably a means of bringing society to see the necessity for right methods in public poor relief.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Make a Digest of the "Mothers' Pension" Laws of Your State.
2. Discussions in the National Conference Concerning "Mothers' Pensions." *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1912, pp. 458-498; *Ibid.,* 1914, pp. 457 ff.
3. "Mothers' Pensions" and Family Life. Sheffield, "The Influence of Mothers' Aid upon Family Life," *The Survey,* July 24, 1915.
4. Two Sides of the Debate. Hard, "The Moral Necessity of 'State Funds to Mothers,'" and Richmond, "Motherhood and Pensions," *The Survey,* Mar. 1, 1913.

CHAPTER XXIV

DRUG ADDICTS

EVER since the discovery that certain plants had stimulating or narcotic qualities the world has had the problem of the drug habit. How early this was we do not exactly know. Evidence of the use of intoxicating substances is to be found long before the Christian era. In some nations the stimulant has been used in the form of drink; in others, by chewing the leaf or nut which contained the toxic substance.

Alcoholic liquors received much earlier and much more attention than any other habit-forming drug. At least as early as the prophet Isaiah we find indications that society had begun to appreciate the evils of alcoholism.[1] A thorough-going struggle with the problem of alcoholism outside of Islam, however, belongs to our own day. The problem of other narcotic drugs, such as morphine, opium, and such like has risen only within the last century. While the evil effects were apparent long ago exact knowledge concerning the effects of stimulants and narcotics upon the human body had to wait upon the development of scientific research. It is probable that the fight against liquor would not have been successful in the United States if it had not been for the development of a body of knowledge as to the physiological as well as the moral and social effects of over-indulgence. With the study of the effect of alcohol went that of narcotics, for one is often the equivalent of the other. From the standpoint of social treatment they may be considered together.

Extent of the Problem. No careful survey has disclosed the extent of the evil. Officials in New York City are quoted as saying that in that city alone in 1919 there were upwards of 200,000.[2] The United States Treasury Department in 1918 issued a report, made by a special investigating committee of the Department, in which it was estimated that the number of drug addicts, including the habitual users of morphine, cocaine, heroin, and preparations containing other

[1] Is 28:1.
[2] *The Survey*, February 22, 1920, p. 728.

narcotic drugs, is one and one-half millions. The same report estimates that one million of these are known as drug addicts in their own communities. The rest are secret users.[1]

This estimate Dr. Thomas S. Blair of Pennsylvania thinks preposterous. He goes into an extended argument to prove that such a number is impossible. Part of his argument is based upon the amount of narcotic drugs imported into the United States in a given year. He estimates the amount which is smuggled in and draws the conclusion that with liberal additions the total amount would not be enough to supply the demands of one million habitual drug users.[2] One can agree with his words: "No one knows how many addicts to narcotic drugs there are in the United States. There are far too many—but let us not exaggerate as most propaganda literature does."

Whatever the number may be, the problem is serious. Even before prohibition went into effect in the United States the habitual drug user was a serious problem. He was to be found in all kinds of institutions; in the insane asylums; in the poorhouses; in the penitentiaries; jails, and other places of refuge for the socially helpless.

CLASSES OF DRUG ADDICTS

The drug addict is not always only an habitual user of drugs; at the same time he presents other social problems. In general we may say that there are four different classes of habitual drug users:

1. There is the normal person who has contracted the habit accidentally and who in his social relations has not lost caste and except to a limited degree is performing his social duties just as any other normal person.

2. There is the prostitute or other immoral addict who has lived an irregular life and who demands some kind of narcotic to produce a feeling of well-being.

3. There is the criminal drug addict, irregular in habits, who contracts the habit, usually by imitation of fellow criminals, in order to gain a feeling of well-being.

4. There is the psychotic user of drugs. This individual is by reason of heredity or disease abnormal in his mental nature. Many of classes 2 and 3 also belong to this class.

Because the drug habit is so often associated with other conditions

[1] *The Survey*, September 21, 1918, p. 701.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 3, 1920, p. 20.

affecting the social relations of the addict, the problem of his treatment is complicated and difficult.

CONDITIONS PRODUCING THE DRUG HABIT

Without taking into account primitive man's superstitious veneration of any article which, taken into the system, makes him see visions and experience hallucinations, one can perceive in modern social life conditions which favor the excessive use of narcotics.

Prominent among these conditions is the practice of self-treatment by patent medicines. Investigations have shown that most patent medicines have either an alcoholic or a narcotic content and often both. The use of these remedies, therefore, often is habit-forming and leads to the use of alcohol or opiates in larger doses. The very idea that physical ailments can be cured by taking a medicine in itself is now known to be conducive to the formation of a habit.

Only less harmful in producing drug habits is the palliative treatment of symptoms by physicians not well trained in medicine. The easiest method for the physician to make money is to prescribe a remedy which will give immediate relief. That is not possible when deep-seated causes of long duration are responsible for the illness. Consequently, the poorly trained physician finds in morphine and other narcotics the quickest way to contribute to the relief of the sufferer. Along that way, however, lies only immediate relief. This brings the sufferer back to the office again and again. Thus in time the drug habit is formed. This physician then has a growing class of people dependent upon him for the drug demanded by the patient.

Closely connected with the lack of well-trained physicians is the lack of sufficient hospitals for the thorough treatment of diseases, with provision for free service for those who cannot afford to pay. Only as the country gets good doctors who are not satisfied with merely easing pain, but who insist on thorough diagnosis and the removal of the causes of illness and as these physicians are provided hospitals in which to give thorough-going treatment for the removal of the causes of illness, will the danger of habit-forming drugs through either patent medicines or dope-selling physicians be obviated.

More important than these, perhaps, is the lack of proper control of dope selling by the state and the nation. People who can make a profit from the selling of drugs to helpless users and thus commercialize the weakness of their fellows are the chief sinners. Through these sources drugs are supplied and the habit is formed.

Some conditions of our economic and social life contribute to the formation of drug habits. Drudgery and monotony of life among large classes of the industrial population and in isolated country districts create a demand for drugs which lift the user out of the dead level of existence. Moreover, in the back districts of the country, where medical service is hard to obtain and costly, there is a constant temptation to use patent medicines. The same thing is true among the poorly paid industrial workers unless dispensaries are abundant and free.

The devitalizing conditions of factory work and of homes both in the city and in the open country produce a fatigue which is lightened temporarily by the narcotic. Sexual excesses often create an irritability which is allayed by drugs. Inherited psychological conditions likewise provide opportunities for the dope seller.

SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE DRUG HABIT

The attempt to treat the addict to alcohol and narcotics by physisians in private practice has been a failure. Moreover, the attempts to treat them in public institutions have not succeeded. Is there, then, no hope for such cases? What has been the reasons for failure? What methods promise success?

Dr. Terry, the health officer of Jacksonville, Florida, who in 1914 made a survey of the drug users in that city, urges that these wretched people should be provided free treatment, saying that it is simply cruel to deprive them of the drug without treatment and many of them are unable to pay for such treatment.[1]

The physician in private practice has failed because, even when he has been a man of the highest professional attainments and incorruptible medical ethics, he could not control all the factors in the case. He can prescribe the medicines, perhaps, but he cannot so control the patient that the other and no less important elements in the treatment, the mental and the social, may operate effectively. Says Dr. Pettey, "It is a mistake for any physician to attempt to treat narcotic drug patients at their homes or in the wards of a general hospital. Under such surroundings failure is more likely than success."

Dr. Blair has mentioned several causes of failure of public institutions. First, as a rule they have not had the services of high-priced

[1] *The Survey*, October 24, 1914.

experts in this line of medicine. They have not paid the high salaries necessary to get and hold such experts. These patients cannot be cured without that study and administrative skill which only large salaries can command in public service. Second, these institutions have not carefully classified the patients which have come to them; they have mingled the psychotic and non-psychotic cases indiscriminately together, and have allowed addicts with criminal tendencies to associate freely with others. In such indiscriminate contacts the patients hold "experience meetings" utterly demoralizing in their influence, especially when there is added the psychopathic and criminal elements. Third, such institutions have failed to have complete control of the patients from the very start.. Voluntary commitment cannot furnish this control, and even when the patients have been sent by a court it has been easy for them to run away. Moreover, public sentiment has not favored their forcible return. Fourth, the cost of treating these patients has been so great that public appropriations have been either so niggardly that good treatment was impossible, or the appropriations have been cut off, and the institution closed. Fifth, after-care of the discharged patient has been neglected. Says Dr. Blair, "A neglected but necessary factor is the definite and persistent follow-up of the persons discharged as cured or improved." [1]

Therefore, if these pitiable and menacing victims of an uninformed attempt to alleviate their miseries are to be successfully treated there must be established proper institutions either under private management carefully controlled as to personnel and methods of management by the public, or under public support and control. As to the importance of an institution in treating this class of cases Dr. Pettey has said, "Among the accessories which contribute to success in the treatment of narcotic conditions, none has so much importance as a well-equipped institution in which the patient must reside during the period of treatment and convalescence. Control of the patient in every detail is essential to success." [2] "During the period of treatment and for ten days or two weeks thereafter, at least until considerable self-reliance has been acquired, the patient should be separated from his family, and from all others to whom he looks for sympathy. Sympathy and over-attention tend to the development of hysterical

[1] "The Institutional Management of the Drug Addict," *The Survey*, September 15, 1920, Vol. 44, p. 720.

[2] Pettey, *Narcotic Drug Diseases and Allied Ailments*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 193.

symptoms that are troublesome and retard the acquirement of self-reliance which is so essential to success in these cases." [1]

Proper Medical Treatment. Without adequate institutions proper medical treatment is impossible. That victims of such habits can be cured is evidenced by medical literature. With the methods used it is not the purpose of the sociologist to deal. With the social accessories to the well-trained physician who is dealing with these cases society must deal, for upon society is the burden of providing institutions. The state should provide the money necessary to secure the most competent and experienced men in the medical profession for the treatment of such addicts.

Classification of Patients. If the institutions treating this class of social debtors are not to fail miserably, the patients must be classified according to their mental and social conditions, for often their trouble is not merely that of addiction to drugs, but habits of anti-social conduct and mental conditions which greatly complicate the problem. The user of narcotics and alcohol with a criminal history should be placed in a correctional institution where his addiction to drugs would be treated by an expert. Or, within the institution for the treatment of drug addicts there should be a special cottage for patients with criminal tendencies. Likewise, the psychopathic narcotist should either be treated in a separate ward of an institution for the mentally deranged or disturbed or in a special ward for such cases in the institution for drug addicts. The person who has become addicted to narcotics because of some physical ailment should be treated in the proper ward of a general hospital, or in a cottage or ward of the institution for drug addicts devoted to the removal of the physical causes of the habit. The prostitutes and other immoral persons, who have formed the habit by reason of their irregular lives, should either be treated in a special ward of the institution for narcotics or in a correctional institution. The law-abiding but poor persons should be cared for either in a ward of the general institution for drug users set apart from the other classes mentioned, and to which none of the stigma of crime or immorality attaches, or if these classes are treated in correctional institutions or hospitals for the insane, then the special institution for drug addicts would be divided into two parts, one for those who can pay for their treatment and the other for those who must be treated at the expense of the public.

Such an institution for drug addicts should be conducted by the

[1] Pettey, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

state through one of its departments, such as the health department or the State Board of Charities, or Board of Control of State Institutions. It should be arranged so that it should have farm land for outdoor work, industrial work for the seasons of the year when outdoor work cannot be well carried on, and should be built on the cottage plan so that individual attention can be given to each patient.[1]

Without more experience than is at present available, it is impossible to say which of the two plans outlined above should be adopted—a general institution in which all the different classes of drug users are treated in separate departments, or an institution solely for victims of the habit, with provision for other classes in special institutions elsewhere. Classification there must be. Which is the best method of securing that desirable object is a matter to be decided by further experience.

How should public provision for the narcotist and alcoholic be coordinated with the private institutions? The latest information available shows that there are at present 181 private hospitals, sanitaria, and other institutions which give attention to this class of cases.[2] Many of these institutions are well conducted, and perhaps are doing better clinical work than the public institutions. A large proportion, however, are commercial ventures, many are poorly equipped and often are poorly directed. Such institutions may be used for those who can afford to pay for treatment. All of them should be under state supervision in order to insure certain standards of management and to protect the patient. If the state has no institution in which to care for its citizens cursed with the drug habit, such institutions, properly supervised by the state, might well be used for their treatment under a proper commitment law.

Enactment of a State "Drug Habit" Act. Every state should enact a "drug habit" act, which would provide for the commitment by a proper county court of habitual "dope" users and of confirmed alcoholics for a period to be determined by law. This act would provide for the usual petitions, warrants, hearings, affidavits, review of the case on appeal, or on writs of habeas corpus, and for the payment of the costs of treatment and support by the patient himself, by his estate or proper relatives, or in the event of his financial inability, by the county board of supervisors or commissioners in which the

[1] Blair, *The Survey*, Vol. 44, p. 720.
[2] Blair, *Ibid.*, p. 720.

patient had residence, or by the state in case he had no legal residence in a county.[1]

In case the state had an institution such an act would provide for care in that institution, leaving the private institutions for those who could pay their own way or who preferred to go to them rather than to the state institution.

Such an act should provide for the retention of all persons so committed until complete convalescence had been reached and a large measure of self-reliance had been developed. Treatment has most often failed because patients have not been kept in the institution long enough to establish new habits.

Follow-up Work. It has been found that in the treatment of any disease after-care is in most cases a very necessary element in permanent cure. So often the circumstances in which the person lives, his occupation, and his habits at home or in the community have brought about his condition. This is no less true of addiction to drugs including alcohol than of other diseases. Therefore, skilled after-care by skilled social service workers, like the hospital social service workers now to be found in connection with hospitals for the mentally unsound and with general hospitals, is an essential part of successful treatment. Personal service is most necessary to secure the permanence of good resolutions and proper habits, to secure the return to the institution in case of relapse into the old habit, and to educate the family to treat the addict helpfully.

Control of the "Dope" Doctor and Peddler. Dr. Blair has laid the chief blame for the "dope" habit upon the medical profession. He says, "The writer has figured the matter up and down, across and back again; he has estimated available supplies and where they go in regular trade; he is in position to know with fair accuracy how much narcotic drugs are used in professional channels; he has investigated intimately the industrial situation, and he has visited the large proprietary medicine plants throughout the Union. The result is that he is, with infinite regret, compelled to admit that the dope-selling professional man is the main narcotic menace in this country, though there are other traffickers in the illicit trade who procure part of their supplies from inveigled and stolen professional stocks and another proportion from smuggling." [2]

In a study of the use of narcotics in Jacksonville, Florida, by Dr.

[1] Blair, *The Survey*, Vol. 44, p. 720.
[2] Blair, "The Dope Doctor," *The Survey*, Vol. 44, p. 18 (April 3, 1920).

Terry, in 1914, he found that 54.4 per cent of the addicts were led into the habit by physicians' prescriptions. He believes that no corrective legislation will be effectual which does not take the practising physician into account.[1]

Experience has shown that only a state department or bureau charged with the duty of enforcing such a state law can handle these practitioners. Since the licensing of physicians is in the hands of each state, regulation must be a state matter. Dr. Blair has shown that such a bureau can handle the problem. In Pennsylvania where such a bureau, organized under the State Department of Health, has been in existence for some time, the doctors who are using an excessive amount of "dope" can quickly be located, and when convicted can be deprived of their licenses to practise medicine. Since the experience in that state indicates that it is the "dope" doctor who is at the bottom of the mischief, the evil can be attacked at its source. Every state should have such a bureau in its department of health with a competent man at its head.[2]

Along with such state laws Federal laws must coöperate, for state laws can do little with the problem of smuggling. In 1915 there went into effect in the United States the Federal law known as the Harrison Act. This law, while lacking in some features which would stringently control the importation of drugs, yet has effected a reduction in the amounts imported. In 1915, the year that this law went into effect, 484,027 pounds of standard opium containing 9 per cent of morphine was imported. This amount was reduced under the operation of this law in 1916 to 146,658 pounds and in 1917 to 86,812 pounds.[3] That some narcotic drugs are smuggled in despite this law we may take for granted. However, if the unscrupulous physician can be controlled it is very difficult for users to obtain the drug; if the states pass proper laws the sources of supply can be fairly well controlled.

The weak point in the Harrison Act was that it permitted the dispensing of narcotic drugs to patients "by a physician, dentist, or veterinary surgeon registered under this act in the course of his professional practice." Until a decision handed down by the Supreme Court early in 1919, interpreting the act, a loophole very grave in its effects was left in the administration of the law. Since that decision was made no physician can dispense such drugs to a patient unless he

[1] *The Survey*, October 24, 1914.
[2] Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-20.
[3] Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

does so as a part of a course of treatment for the purpose of curing him.[1] Whether this interpretation will prevent the unscrupulous medical practitioner from selling "dope" under the pretense of treating for cure remains to be seen. Nevertheless, the interpretation closes in part the hole in the wall through which narcotic drugs flowed.

MEASURES OF PREVENTION

As with every other social problem, the place to do effective work is in prevention. The laws referred to above are intended to prevent the unprincipled physician and the "dope" peddler from securing their supplies. Such laws also "put the fear of God" into the hearts of those who sell the drugs for gain.

In addition to punishing those who pander to the depraved habits of the narcotists; supplementary to the laws restricting the importation and selling of narcotics there must go the better education of the physicians and the public. Dr. Blair has shown that most of the "dope" doctors whom he discovered in his work in Pennsylvania were either old men who had been trained in the poorer medical schools or in an office or they were well-trained men who were addicted to drugs themselves. With the development of medical education this aspect of the problem will disappear, for the well-trained physicians and surgeons do not rely in their practice so much on narcotics as the older men.

Along with the education of the doctors should go the education of the public. The public health movement has done much to teach people that medicine-taking is a broken reed to lean on, that the true way to health is right living. The modern attacks on patent medicines have done something to educate the public against self-medication, and to beware of preparations which assuage pain, rather than remove the cause. Much, however, still remains to be done. With the spread of knowledge of hygiene and of the fallacy of drug treatment except when practised by a well-trained physician, the ideas and practices leading to drug addiction will vanish. The building of hospitals providing for the careful treatment of sick people, the establishment of dispensaries to which they may resort for consultation with the best medical advisers and the deepening conviction in the popular mind that pain is an indication of disorder which needs, not a prepared "dope" which will silence the warning pain, but the skill of

[1] "The Drug Situation," *The Survey*, Vol. 41, p. 867 (Mar. 15, 1919).

one who knows the delicate human machine and how to remove the difficulty, ought to lessen the misuse of drugs.

That the medical profession in its annual meetings is awake to the evils of the use of narcotic drugs is indicated by the action of the American Medical Association at its meeting in New Orleans in April, 1920. It adopted a report recommending that the Federal government take complete control of all importations of narcotic drugs, that it restrict the importation of such drugs to the amount actually required for legitimate purposes, and that such drugs should be distributed only through the United States Public Health Service to "properly qualified and responsible persons." The report estimates that only 10 per cent of the opium now imported into the United States is used for medicinal purposes. The house of delegates of this association also recommended that neither the importation, manufacture, or sale of heroin, an opium product, should be allowed in the United States. It also emphatically condemned the treatment of drug addicts outside of institutions for their care and urged the enactment of the France-Rainey bill in the last Congress. This bill provided for Federal aid to the states which should build institutions for the hospitalization of drug addicts.[1] Unfortunately this bill did not pass Congress. Should such a bill pass, the United States Public Health Service could well lead in the campaign to educate the people and to cure the drug users. The principle at the bottom of this movement is that which led the Federal government to subsidize the states which established agricultural colleges and which build good roads. Hence, the principle of such legislation has abundant precedent in our legislative history.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Alcoholism and Dependency. Hubbard, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1907, p. 355.
2. Discussion of Drunkenness in the National Conference of Charities and Correction. *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1910, 1911.
3. Digest of Your State Laws on Narcotic Drugs and Alcohol.
4. Some First Effects of National Prohibition. *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1920, pp. 74, 231, 233, 235.

[1] *The Survey,* Vol. 44, p. 349 (June 5, 1920).

CHAPTER XXV

THE DEPENDENT SICK

IN Chapter VII we have referred to the poverty and dependency caused by disease. In this chapter attention will be given to the various diseases in the attempt to find not only what each contributes to preventable poverty, but also to relate them to the measures which society has already devised to deal with them, and to suggest further steps which should be taken to deal adequately with them.

RELATION OF ILL HEALTH TO DEPENDENCY AND POVERTY

Charity Cases. If the experience of the New York organization may be taken as typical, about three-fourths of the cases which come to the Charity Organization Societies arise out of sickness.[1] If, as has been estimated, sickness causes for the average individual the loss of 13 days a year,[2] proper care of the sick is most important, both for the cure and for the prevention of poverty and pauperism.

Medical Advance and Length of Life. On the whole man's struggle with preventable disease and death has not been a failure. In backward societies the death rate is much greater and the length of life much shorter than in those which have learned to use the achievements of medical knowledge. For example, longevity in India is scarcely more than half that in France while it is much less than half that in Sweden.[3] Even in the western nations in the last 400 years the span of human life has been lengthened from an average of from 18 to 20 years in the sixteenth century to 38 to 45 years to-day. In Geneva, Switzerland, the average length of life in the sixteenth century was 21.2 years, while from 1801 to 1883 the average span of life was 39.7 years. Thus, in less than four centuries life has been lengthened 100 per cent.[4]

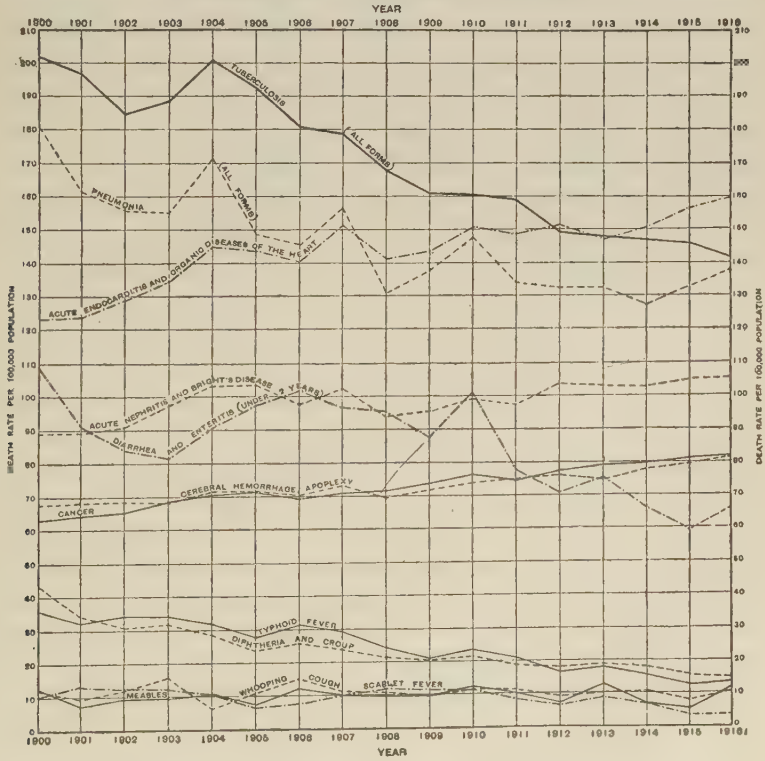
Extent of Sickness. It has been said that in all our wars previous

[1] Devine, *Misery and its Causes*, New York, 1909, p. 54.
[2] Fisher, *Report on National Vitality*, Washington, 1909, p. 34.
[3] *United States Senate Document*, No. 493, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, 1912, p. 12.
[4] Fisher, *Report on National Vitality*, Washington, 1909, p. 17.

to the World War disease killed four times as many men as bullets.[1] Farr estimated that in Great Britain corresponding to each death there is a little more than two years of sickness, or, to put the matter in another way, for each person dying in a year there are two persons sick for a year.[2] Constantly in the United States three million people are ill. In Scotland those under 70 years of age in 79 benefit societies studied a few years ago averaged 10 days of sickness a year. One needs very little imagination to appreciate what this means to the man who lives upon his daily earnings.

Relative Importance of Certain Diseases. The relative rank of the various diseases which caused death from 1900 to 1916 per 100,000 population of the United States is indicated by the following graph:[3]

DEATH RATES FROM CERTAIN IMPORTANT CAUSES OF DEATH IN THE REGISTRATION AREA OF THE UNITED STATES FOR EACH OF THE YEARS FROM 1900 TO 1916.



[1] *United States Senate Document*, No. 493, p. 9.
[2] Quoted in Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[3] *Mortality Statistics, 1916:* Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1918, p. 22.

This graph shows by no means all the important diseases. For example, hookworm, which does not appear in the statistics, produces a large amount of incapacity. It has been estimated that those suffering from this disease are unable to work from one-fourth to one-half of their time. Moreover, it frequently seems to be the precursor of tuberculosis. Nor does this chart and the figures on which it is based indicate the social importance of many of the diseases. For example, typhoid fever is of perhaps even greater importance in relation to poverty in the sickness it causes than in the deaths resulting from it. For every death from typhoid fever there are about eight cases of illness averaging 75 days of inability to work. No doubt the conditions producing typhoid result also in other forms of sickness. Again, malaria, which is seldom fatal, shortens life by predisposing to other causes of death and very materially affects earning capacity. Dr. Prince A. Morrow says that there are about 2,000,000 syphilitics in the United States. This disease has a very low rate in the death statistics, but it causes a large number of diseases of the nervous and circulatory systems, which lead to death and invalidity.

Cost of Preventable Disease and Death. We have no exact measure of the economic loss resulting from preventable death and disease but we may profitably consider some of the estimates. A recent bulletin of the Bureau of Labor states that the loss to wage-earners in the United States from premature death and the preceding sickness amounts to 2,135,400 years per annum, which loss, estimated at $100 per annum, means a money loss of $213,540,000.[1] Professor Fisher estimates the loss to consumptives themselves at $660,000,000 and $440,000,000 more to other members of the community, making a total of one billion dollars loss.[2] Mr. Stiles, in a paper before the Congress of Hygiene and Demography in 1913, stated that the economic loss from hookworm in the United States was at least $100,000,000 a year.[3] When one remembers that for $2,000,000 at the most hookworm could be eliminated from the United States, the economic loss from neglect is apparent. Dr. George M. Kober computes that

[1] *Care of Tuberculous Wage-earners in Germany,* Workman's Insurance and Compensation Series No. 1, pp. 18 and 19; Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, Whole No. 101.

[2] Fisher, *op. cit.,* p. 120.

[3] Stiles, "Economic Aspects of Hookworm Disease in the United States," *Transactions of Fifteenth Conference of Hygiene and Demography,* Washington, 1913, Vol. III, p. 757.

the annual economic loss from typhoid in the United States is $350,000,000.[1]

Dr. L. O. Howard states that malaria costs the United States each year $100,000,000.[2] In short, the economic loss from preventable diseases in the United States amounts, as Fisher computes it, to one and one-half billions of dollars per year.[3]

Before the War it was thought that the material assets of the United States amounted to one hundred billions of dollars. Valued on the basis of economic productivity alone, the vital assets of the United States amount to from three hundred to five hundred billions of dollars.

If these figures are anywhere near the truth, what economic folly it is to neglect preventable diseases. The annual value of all farm crops in the United States before the War was only nine billions of dollars; yet how much more attention we paid as a nation to the prevention of loss to crops from every cause than we did to the prevention of sickness and death! Mr. Hutchcroft, statistician of the Wisconsin State Department of Health, estimated that in 1910 preventable illness and preventable deaths in Wisconsin resulted in a loss of more than thirty millions of dollars. The value of all animals in Wisconsin in the same year was not quite $154,000,000. What would have been the effect on the activities of the agencies combating animal diseases had some pestilence swept off one-fifth of the animals of the State?[4]

Put the matter in another way. The value of all crops raised in Wisconsin in 1909 was a trifle over $148,000,000. The loss from preventable deaths and illness in Wisconsin was more than one-fifth of this amount. How we would have been agitated had some pest entered the State and destroyed one-fifth of the crops that year! The sum total of the potato crop, hay and forage and tobacco raised in Wisconsin in 1909 was about fifty-two and one-half million dollars. A half crop in these three lines alone would have meant only what we lose every year economically from preventable death and disease. These estimates suffice to indicate our neglect of public health, and without the shadow of a doubt much of the poverty and some of the dependency is due to this neglect. An intelligent socially-minded society would certainly give attention to such a source of poverty and misery.

[1] Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[2] Quoted by Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[3] Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[4] *Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, 1910,* Wisconsin Supplement, p. 631.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Let us turn now to a consideration of the social treatment of disease and review the steps society has taken in the past to deal with the cause of so much human misery.

Changes in the Conception of the Nature of Disease. So long as people had false notions of the nature of disease, they employed ineffective means to combat it. Holding to a theory which led them to believe disease inevitable, it was natural that no steps should be taken to combat it. Looking into the history of peoples, one soon discovers that for the greater part of its history mankind has lived under the dominance of erroneous notions concerning this cause of poverty and misery.

Among the primitive peoples terror is engendered by pestilence. As man reflected upon this matter of such serious import to his survival, very naturally he had to form some theory as to its nature; so he resorted to the magical conception of disease. Not understanding natural forces, primitive man explained natural phenomena on the basis of the phenomena he did understand. His experience had taught him that other persons affected his welfare for good or ill. An enemy could injure him directly. Disease, however, was not within the ordinary circle of personal causation, therefore he assumed that his enemy or some occult hostile power caused the suffering and death.

With the growth of religious ideas man began to attribute illness and death to supernatural beings, for example to God or to demons or to the Devil. Most of our race to-day are still dominated by these conceptions. Sickness is the result of disobedience to God who afflicts sinners or allows the Devil to do so.

Later originated the religio-ethical conception of the nature of disease, according to which it is the result of the violation of the moral code. This code is sanctioned by an omnipotent and just God who punishes by either natural or supernatural means those who violate it.

With the development of modern science, we have the rise of the medical conception of the nature of disease. The labors of Pasteur have revolutionized not only methods of treatment, but also our theory of the causation of disease. The germ theory has done more than anything else to throw light upon the problem, and to suggest methods of treatment. More recently the medical conception has been enlarged by its corollary, namely, that certain social conditions are favorable or unfavorable, as the case may be, to the growth of the germs in

the human organism. We have discovered that housing, sanitation, quarantine, over-fatigue, occupational poisoning, and worry over conditions in home or business, are conducive to the growth and multiplication of germs. Moreover, many social conditions devitalize the body and thus lessen its resistance to the disease germ.

Changes in Social Measures for the Treatment of Disease. Methods of treatment have changed with the conceptions of the nature of disease. When sickness was believed to be caused by the magical incantations of an enemy, the proper thing to do was to invoke the help of some magician who would produce a stronger counteracting magical influence. For this reason among all primitive peoples the medicine man and magician occupy an important place. When it was believed that God sent sickness to punish sin, repentance and sacrifice were the means by which to cure it. When the ethical conception of the nature of disease arose, reparation for injuries and reconciliation with one's fellows would have a beneficial effect upon disease. With the conception that disease is caused by a germ and that social conditions favor or hinder the propagation of these disease germs, the social treatment is entirely modified.

Even under the domination of the religious theory of disease there came in another motive which provided the beginnings of social care. A religion which prompts to good deeds to one's fellow men, in the presence of the tremendous problem of sickness necessarily leads to measures for their care. Hence, even before the rise of the modern conception of the nature of disease, the religious motive was producing neighborly care and the provision of special hospitals for nursing the sick. The growth of humanitarian feeling and the widening of human sympathy added another social motive to the compelling force of religion.

Physicians. From time immemorial priests and magicians have acted as physicians on the theory that disease is caused either by gods or demons. The priest exorcized the demon; the magician by means of incantations brought under control the spirit of the enemy or an evil spirit which caused the sickness. With the development of science a special class of physicians arose. The Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans all had physicians treating disease on the empirical basis. Until about the middle of the last century, however, medicine did not progress much beyond the stage reached by Galen and Hippocrates. With the formulation of the germ theory of disease, based upon scientific investigation, the importance of the physician

has steadily increased. Moreover, the number of physicians has multiplied with the growth of popular knowledge concerning the nature of disease and the increasing efficiency of medicine and surgery in curing illness. In 1910, there were 157,132 physicians and surgeons in the United States.[1]

In the United States it is the general practice in those states where public outdoor relief exists, for the county, or other unit of relief, to provide at public expense a doctor to treat public dependents. However, because of the poor pay, usually the younger and less experienced physicians, or the less efficient ones, take this "contract" practice.

At the present time the medical profession is a somewhat commercialized profession. So far as it has succumbed to the spirit of gain the practice of medicine is to enable doctors to make a living. From the point of view, however, of the public, the primary purpose is to heal the sick. No class of professional men have given more largely of their time and services without pay, because of their pity for the suffering, than the physician and surgeon. Consequently, every practising physician, whether in general or special practice, does a great deal of free work for the poor. Thus, two purposes struggle for mastery, the one with the other, in the practice of medicine—the business purpose and the professional.

Midwives. Midwives are found among all early peoples. Pointing to their employment very early among the Hebrews, is the mention of them among the Hebrews of Egypt (Ex. 1:15 ff.), of the midwife who attended Rachel (Gen. 35:17), and of the midwife who attended Tamar (Gen. 38:28). Examples could be cited among other nations of antiquity and among primitive peoples of the present.

They are found in every city of this and other countries. They have their largest practice in this country among the foreign women. In New York City they bring into the world 40 per cent of the babies, while 98 per cent of the Italian births in that city occur with their help.[2] In country districts of the United States they are also to be found. No exact census of them has been made, the nearest approach being the figure of 6,205 midwives reported in the United States Census of 1910.[3]

[1] *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910,* Washington, 1914, Vol. IV, p. 94.
[2] Wald, *The House on Henry Street,* New York, 1915, p. 58.
[3] *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910,* Washington, 1914, Vol. IV, p. 94.

Hospitals. Is it not of the very greatest interest that the hospital arose to treat the sick poor? Long before there were hospitals for the better treatment of those who could pay for their care, there was the charity hospital.[1]

In Chapter XIII attention was directed to the fact that in early Christianity general institutions for the care of various classes of needy arose. These were often called hospitals, although they cared not only for the sick but for the aged, for children, and in fact for almost every kind of needy person. Typical examples of these early Christian general institutions for the unfortunate are that founded by St. Basil at Cæsarea in 369, which had a special ward for lepers, and the Hôtel Dieu in Paris which dates from about 660, and is the oldest hospital in existence to-day. During medieval times almost all the monasteries cared for the sick. Perhaps the most famous of these was the Benedictine Abbey of Cluny, founded in 910.

About 900 the first hospital of which we have record in England was established by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such institutions increased rapidly all over Europe during the Crusades. Privately endowed hospitals appeared first in Italy as early as the twelfth century. In all Europe, philanthropic individuals soon after endowed such institutions.

Among the English hospitals those of London stand out most prominently: St. Bartholomew's, founded about 1123 and given to the city by Henry VIII in 1544; St. Thomas', established in 1215 and placed upon a secular basis in the reign of Edward VI; Bethlehem, known as "Bedlam," founded in 1547 and devoted to the care of the insane a little later, and Westminster, dating from 1719.

In the United States in 1663 there was established what is probably the earliest hospital, erected to care for the soldiers and negroes of the East India Company. The oldest hospital in the United States to-day is the Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1750, which grew out of the necessity of caring for the sick in the Philadelphia almshouse. The New York Hospital was founded in 1771, Bellevue in 1811, St. Vincent's in 1849, St. Luke's in 1850 and Mt. Sinai in 1852.

Very early in the Middle Ages refuges for special classes of sick were established. Perhaps the first of these were the special institutions for lepers. Says Lecky, "When the hideous disease of leprosy extended its ravages over Europe, when the minds of men were filled

[1] Smith, "Uses and Abuses of Medical Charities," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1898, p. 321.

with terror, not only by its loathsomeness, but also by the notion that it was in a peculiar sense supernatural, new hospitals and refuges overspread Europe, and monks flocked in multitudes to serve them." [1] The first hospital for lepers in England seems to have been founded by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1080. He also established another for ordinary diseases.

Soon after that date special refuges for the insane were established. The great age for the building of hospitals, however, was the eighteenth century, although several were founded in England after the Reformation.

Vastly more important to-day in their effect on poverty and dependency than the doctors and midwives are the hospitals and sanatoria, especially those which receive patients who can afford to pay none or but part of the cost of their care. While the number does not include many private institutions receiving only those who can pay the usual fees, the Census reported in 1910, 1,918 hospitals and sanatoria in which charity patients were received. These institutions include public hospitals and sanatoria, except county hospitals connected with poorhouses—institutions conducted by ecclesiastical, missionary, or philanthropic organizations and supported by them, institutions supported by fraternal and beneficiary associations, hospitals and sanatoria owned by private corporations but held under the auspices of some ecclesiastical or benevolent body, and institutions privately owned but which receive patients for free or part-pay treatment.

The distribution of these institutions of science and mercy is very uneven. In all but one or two divisions of the country, the number of hospitals is quite inadequate.[2] Until more adequate provision is

[1] *History of European Morals,* Vol. II, p. 84.

[2] The Middle Atlantic Division had 500, the largest number. Then came in order the East North Central, West North Central, New England, South Atlantic, Pacific, Mountain, West South Central, and East South Central. The rank, however, when the number of hospitals and sanatoria to the population of the divisions is considered, is quite different. The Mountain Division stands first, the New England second, and then follow in order, the Pacific, Middle Atlantic, West North Central, East North Central, South Atlantic, West South Central, and East South Central. The first had one institution for each 23,725 inhabitants, while the last had but one for each 135,644 of the population. In number of patients treated per each 100,000 of population, the rank in order is New England, Middle Atlantic, Pacific, Mountain, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, West South Central and East South Central. The ratio between the New England Division and the East South Atlantic was as 6,023 to 567.

made for the care of the sick we shall make little progress in striking at the most immediate cause of dependency.[1]

Nursing. So far as known previous to the Christian era there was no organized nursing. In the early days of the Christian church deacons and deaconesses concerned themselves with the care of the sick. For centuries after they originated the religious orders did practically all the organized nursing. The first great secular nursing orders date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Beguines originated in what is now Belgium. They were an order the members of which lived together from the labor of their own hands and went out of the institution to nurse the sick. In the thirteenth century Montpellier's Order of the Holy Ghost arose for the same purpose. From that time on for several centuries these nursing orders multiplied.

The modern period of nursing history dates from about 1836 when Pastor Fliedner and his wife established at Kaiserswerth, Germany, an institution for the instruction of deaconesses. A part of the work was the training of nurses. In 1840 Elizabeth Fry established an institution for nursing in London, based upon the Kaiserswerth example. The Anglican sisterhoods soon followed. Then came the great development of nursing under the inspiration of Florence Nightingale. In 1860 a fund was raised to commemorate the work of Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War and it was used to establish the first modern training school for nurses. However, before that in the United States, as early as 1798, Dr. Seaman established in the New York Hospital a course of lectures for nurses. From the middle of the last century the movement grew rapidly. In 1917 the American Nurses' Association found there were in the United States then 83,755 graduate nurses, 66,017 of whom were graduates of schools accredited by that Association.

While the nursing orders of the Middle Ages often went about in the homes of the sick much as does the modern visiting nurse, it was not until the latter part of the last century that the visiting nurse as we know her came into existence. Since then she has taken on a great variety of forms. Under a private association or under a public

[1] While only 6 per cent of the number reported resident physicians, it is probable that this does not accurately represent the situation. It is true, however, that many of the small hospitals do not have resident physicians, but are under the medical supervision of the practising physicians in the city where they are located. *Benevolent Institutions, 1910*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1913, pp. 46, 47.

health department she has charge of a district and visits in the homes of the poor. She is employed by school boards and follows the sick children into their homes to look after health conditions. Recognition of the tuberculosis problem in the last century led to the tuberculosis nurse. The growing appreciation of venereal diseases resulted in the establishment of venereal disease clinics and nurses. The development of the public health movement has given us the public health nurse. The movement for the prevention of infantile mortality and saving the lives of mothers has been responsible for the rise of prenatal nurses. Thus the modern health movements have given rise to a great variety of nurses who work in the homes of the people.

According to the Census in 1910 there were 82,327 trained nurses in the United States.[1] In addition to 82,327 trained nurses reported by the Census in 1910, of whom 5,819 were men and 76,508 were women, there were enumerated 126,838 untrained nurses, 15,926 of them being men and 110,912 women.[2]

Dispensaries and Clinics. The first dispensary in England was opened in 1696 as a result of the efforts of the members of the College of Physicians to give free treatment to the poor. From that time until 1770, when the so-called "General Dispensary" in London was started, the history is not clear. From that date to 1782 four more were started in London. They were supported at first by private subscriptions of a guinea each, and received patients only upon the recommendation of a subscriber. In 1801 these five institutions were treating 50,000 persons annually, a third of them in their own homes.[3]

The first dispensary established in what is now the United States was opened in Philadelphia a year before the adoption of the Constitution. By 1800 three such institutions had been established. In 1900 there were about 100, and six or seven times as many by 1913, excluding commercial and advertising concerns. They treat annually at least three million patients.[4]

"In 1905 there were in this country only 20 public health dis-

[1] *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910,* Washington, 1914, Vol. IV, p. 53.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 93, 94.
[3] Davis and Warner, "The Beginnings of Dispensaries," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* May 23, 1918, pp. 712-715.
[4] Davis, "The Boom in Dispensary Work—Its Growth and Development," *The Modern Hospital,* August, 1914, Vol. III, No. 2.

pensaries, all devoted to tuberculosis; in 1916 there were 1,300,[1] of which 500 were tuberculosis dispensaries, the remainder concerned with child hygiene, mental hygiene, venereal diseases, etc." [2]

Dr. Davis estimates that 200,000 Boston people, or one-fourth of the population, come each year to the dispensaries of that city. A study of the family earnings of 1,457 families which sent a member to the Boston Dispensary during August, 1917, and of 191 patients who came to the Out-Patient Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital shows that 40 per cent of the families represented earned less than $15 a week; about 45 per cent between $15 and $20; and only one-fifth over $20 a week. Not over 5 per cent of the patients receive charitable aid. That is, a large proportion of the families who come to dispensaries are able to earn a living except when ill-health visits the family. Something over 20 per cent of these had been to a private doctor for treatment before they came to the dispensary. The usual reason for leaving was that they had no more money to pay him.[3]

As with hospitals, dispensaries are too few in number and very unevenly distributed. In 1910 there were 574 treating 2,440,018 patients. The Middle Atlantic Division had more than half of them.[4]

Since the poor are much more likely to go to a dispensary than to a hospital, and since early treatment of disease is of the greatest importance in preventing the development of a sickness which may lead to long illness or death, it is apparent that present provisions for the treatment of those who feel that they cannot pay a physician's fee, but would go to a clinic or dispensary are utterly inadequate to check this important cause of poverty and pauperism.

Under historical precedent we usually think of clinics for the poor only. Under the movement now in progress to think of clinics from the health rather than the charity angle we are coming to establish pay clinics for those who cannot employ the regular practitioner but

[1] Dr. Goldwater in 1915 stated that in 1915 there were more than 700. *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* Apr. 29, 1915. Dr. Davis says in 1918 there were probably 1,500. *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* May 23, 1918, p. 715.

[2] Farrand, *Health Centers, A Field for Red Cross Activity,* Washington, 1919, p. 7.

[3] "Dispensaries in Massachusetts, Particularly in Boston," Reprinted from *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* Vol. clxxviii, No. 13, pp. 432-437, Mar. 28, 1918. Few of these patients had health insurance. Dr. Davis is of the opinion that since the dispensary service is voluntary on the part of the doctors, it threatens to break down unless some method of paying these doctors is provided.

[4] *Benevolent Institutions, 1910,* Bureau of the Census, 1913, p. 51.

can pay something. In 1913 the movement was begun by the Boston Dispensary with the establishment of an eye clinic. A number of such pay clinics have now been established. Usually they are limited to specialties like eye or venereal diseases. These clinics have been found to be practically self-supporting.[1]

A study made in 1913 of the results of the out-patient work of the Gouverneur Hospital in New York, which has no social service department, showed that over 52 per cent of the patients believed that they had received no benefit from their treatment at the dispensary. These cases were passed through at too rapid a rate, two physicians having seen 163 patients in one hour and a half. Social service is necessary also if these patients are to be benefited.[2]

Medical Social Service. Hospital social service work grew up in response to the conviction of people in charge of hospitals that disease cannot be cured and prevented by work—medical or surgical —in the hospital alone. Many cases come to the doctor because of social conditions in the home or in the community. These cannot be healed unless someone is charged with following up the patient to see that the conditions are changed. Frequently the advice given to the patient will not be followed unless there is someone who goes into that home to see that the directions given by the physician are lived up to. The hospital social service worker does both of these things. She sees that the girl who has been given a prescription for a brace wears that brace according to directions; that the boy who has been given a prescription for a pair of glasses in the first place finds a way to get the glasses and then wears them. She must help the dyspeptic whose trouble has been caused by bad cooking to get better food; the person who is suffering from insomnia because of worry about a wayward daughter to have that cause removed. She must know the conditions in the home in order to see that the doctor's orders are obeyed and that the social causes of disease are removed.[3]

Hospital social service work definitely began in this country as recently as 1905. Years before, however, efforts which resemble hos-

[1] Davis, "Pay Clinics for Persons of Moderate Means," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1915, p. 228.

[2] Davis, "The boom in dispensary work—its growth and development," *The Modern Hospital,* August, 1913, Vol. III, No. 2.

[3] Emerson, "Social Work at Johns Hopkins Hospital," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1908, pp. 157-161; Cannon, "Social Work at Massachusetts General Hospital," *Ibid.,* pp. 153-157.

pital social work were inaugurated both in this country and in England. Dr. Blackwell, who in 1859 founded the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, visited herself in the homes of her patients and sent a lay-woman to assist mothers by teaching them how to care for themselves and their children. Recognizing that sickness was often the result of economic and social conditions, she provided loans for those in need. Thus, in her work she inaugurated a form of medical social service. Later, about 1885, Dr. Chapin of the Post-Graduate Hospital of New York had "every child leaving the hospital visited at its home," on the principle that it is necessary "to improve the faulty life conditions that either might cause the original disease or tend to a relapse." In 1898 the Ladies' Auxiliary of the New York Lying-In Hospital provided two agents to visit the home of the dispensary patients at the time of confinement to assist by cooking and cleaning, and by providing extra food and clothing when found necessary.

In England about 1900 the abuse of the dispensaries led to the appointment of social investigators by two of the institutions, and to give service to cases of distress which appeared at the dispensaries. In 1904 in the Presbyterian Hospital of New York the superintendent of nurses in connection with the Visiting Nursing Department inaugurated social work among the patients of the wards and the dispensary.

Hospital social service of a general nature, however, began in Boston in 1905. On October 2 of that year in connection with a small dispensary attached to Berkeley Temple the pastor's helper visited patients in their homes. The next day Dr. Richard C. Cabot of the Massachusetts General Hospital began hospital social service in the out-patient department by appointing a nurse with settlement experience to assist the physicians on their cases by looking into home conditions and to do follow-up work on them.[1]

This movement, begun so recently, has rapidly spread, so that almost every large hospital and many dispensaries have their social service departments to coöperate with the doctors and nurses in making medical ministry to the poor effective. In 1917 more than 100 such institutions had initiated social service.[2]

[1] Felton, "History and Status of Hospital Social Work," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1910, pp. 333-336.

[2] Cannon, *Social Work in Hospitals*, New York, 1917, p. 3. Dr. Cabot says, "In the 13 years which have elapsed since this period, about 200 other hospitals have started social work, some of them employing 40 or 50 paid social workers for the needs of a single hospital."—*Social Work*, Boston, 1919, pp. 25, 26.

The movement has begun to spread from the general to the special hospitals. It is now to be found in connection with hospitals for the insane, venereal clinics and special dispensaries, each class of worker having its special designation indicating the type of cases with which the social worker deals.

Health Centers. Although they were not called by that name, health centers have been in operation for some time. They are a very natural development from clinics and dispensaries. Every hospital, dispensary and clinic has been a kind of health center. However, the health center as now conceived—a center from which information on health is disseminated, with incidental emphasis upon clinical examination—is very recent. While settlements for some time have held classes to teach mothers on health subjects, the movement really had its inception in this country in the "better baby clinics" and the "milk stations" which were established to lessen the infant mortality rate in large cities.

Prophetic of the health center movement were the lectures and institutes organized in localities for the purpose of bringing health information to the people, such as were first organized by the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association in 1912. Another precursor was the baby clinic, instituted about 1916 by the Federal Children's Bureau in localities in which it was conducting surveys of child welfare. In these centers the agents of the Bureau had the babies brought for examination by physicians of the place. If conditions were found which demanded medical or surgical attention, the mother was advised to consult her physician. In connection with her visit to the center she was given instruction as to feeding, clothing and otherwise caring for the welfare of her infant. This clinic remained in a place only a few weeks at most and was primarily for the purpose of getting information for the agent of the Children's Bureau, and, secondarily, to stimulate interest in child welfare.

In a report of the Children's Bureau in 1916 Miss Goodwin mentions health centers as one of the different kinds of agencies which served as infant welfare stations.[1] These centers are institutions "which carry on educational work in a prescribed neighborhood and which deal with health and other problems affecting not only the baby but the entire family."

[1] *A Tabular Statement of Infant-Welfare Work by Public and Private Agencies in the United States*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 16, p. 26.

Health centers first took organized shape in Milwaukee under Mayor Seidel's administration. Wilbur C. Phillips, formerly secretary of the New York Milk Committee, which established milk stations in that city for the babies of parents too poor to provide clean milk for their children, profiting by his New York experience, made the Milwaukee Child Welfare Bureau the agency to organize health centers in definite districts of the city. After the defeat of the socialists in Milwaukee, Mr. Phillips went to Washington, D. C., to establish in that city the "social unit" experiment, in which the health center was a fundamental idea. After a brief stay in Washington he went to Cincinnati, where he has developed the "social unit," already started there, so far as health is concerned, by Mr. Dinwiddie, secretary of the Municipal Tuberculosis Committee.

The idea of a health center was taken up in Philadelphia by infant welfare workers under the leadership of Dr. Hamill. In this center the women and children of the district have daily access to a physician or nurse and from it a nurse works out in the homes. Social workers also are attached to this center and visit in the homes. Thus, recognition is given to the close connection between health and social conditions.[1]

After the armistice which brought to a close the World War, the Red Cross turned its attention to a possible peace-time program. Its head, Dr. Farrand, announced that the central feature of its peace-time program would consist of activities in the field of public health. He said that the next definite step in the Red Cross' health program was to be "the establishment of health centers in every community where conditions make this desirable and possible."[2] Thus, growing up sporadically from classes in settlements and in state and local health departments, stimulated by the Federal Children's Bureau, Anti-Tuberculosis societies and educational institutions, the health center has been adopted as a part of the program of a great institution like the Red Cross. In addition a number of states have added a Bureau of Child Hygiene to their health departments, in which one of the activities is the establishment of health centers.

Convalescent and Rest Homes. In addition to these various agencies dealing with the sick there are convalescent and rest homes to which the patient may be sent from hospital and dispensary in

[1] Davis, "The Health Center Idea: A New Development in Public Health Work," *Public Health Nurse Quarterly*, Jan. 1916.

[2] *Health Centers, A Field for Red Cross Activity*, Washington, 1919, pp. 3, 5, 6.

order to allow that recuperation so necessary to prevent a return of the trouble.

All these agencies are much too few in number to deal adequately with this important problem, when it is remembered that every year 15,000 mothers die from causes connected with childbirth and 250,000 infants succumb during the first year of life; when it is recalled that one-third of those who are too ill to work receive no medical care. The importance of making more adequate provision for the care of the sick is indicated when we know that sickness causes seven times as many appeals to charity as industrial accidents.[1]

PRINCIPLES OF MEDICAL CHARITY

Medical charities have been prompted by the same motives as the care of other unfortunates—pity for the suffering, growing out of either Christian principles or humanitarian impulses; desire to earn favor with Heaven or secure merit in the other world; and the desire to perfect society. The social motives have assumed primary importance in modern medical charity. Only social motives lie back of the theory that the state has a responsibility for the care of its sick as well as of its children and its workers.

However, the theory of *state responsibility* has had to contend with individualistic theories. Commercialization of the medical profession rested upon quite another theory. The welfare of society under that earlier theory was an incidental result of each man taking care of himself; the state's only business was to act as umpire and give each man a fair field in the struggle for existence. The *laissez faire* philosophy of the state, however, has had to yield to the conception that the group has responsibility for each member of it. Paul's statements that "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself" (Rom. 14:7) and, "And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it" (I. Cor. 12:26), is not only good religion, but a fine sociological statement of group responsibility, increasingly recognized in modern society.

As to Free Treatment in Hospitals and Dispensaries. As the theory of social responsibility for the care of the sick has begun to realize itself in concrete activities, such as dispensaries and clinics, the question has arisen as to its effect upon the income of practising physicians. The best physicians, however, do not seem to be dis-

[1] *International Year Book, 1919,* New York, 1920, p. 624.

turbed by any fear that their private practice will be interfered with by agencies which give free treatment to those who cannot afford to employ a practising physician. Most of them are well aware of the shortcomings of the commercial practice of medicine in meeting the medical needs of large classes of our people. None know better that large numbers of our people in the lower-income classes postpone consultation with a medical man long after they need advice. They are better aware than the laymen of the necessity of giving attention to sickness in its early stages, and of providing agencies to which the poor may go, in order that the vital assets of the nation may be conserved. Hence, none are so aggressive as the physicians in promoting the establishment of medical resources available to all the people. They are constantly working for institutions which in the end will lessen ill health.

Moreover, even if medical charities interfered with the income of practitioners, there may be a good social reason for the establishment of medical institutions for the poor. As Dr. Austin Flint said in 1898, "In my opinion the only question involved is the moral question; and the bearing of the abuse of charities upon the income of the physician is secondary." [1]

There is a question, however, which is of primary interest to the social student. It has been stated by a British authority that no other agency has done so much in England to undermine the independent spirit of the working class as the free dispensaries. The problem has attracted considerable attention in this country also.

The answer to this problem of pauperization is medical social service. The social worker can greatly assist in preventing the abuse of free treatment on the part of those able to pay by investigating the cases which visit dispensary or clinic. Anyone found able to pay for the services is then asked to do so. In places where medical social service has not been established, often the Charity Organization Society is glad to investigate the cases referred by the dispensary, as in New York City before medical social service was established.

Moreover, there is a good ground for asserting that when dispensaries, clinics and hospitals are used for teaching students the practice of medicine, nursing, or surgery, the patient gives an equivalent service when he submits himself for practice. Says Dr. Austin Flint,

[1] "The Use and Abuse of Medical Charities in Their Relation to Medical Education," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1898, p. 329.

"In the relations of medical charities to medical education the recipient of charity always makes more or less return. At the present time there are few pauper hospitals and dispensaries that do not contribute something to medical education."[1] That this view of the matter is held by many of the best physicians and surgeons is indicated by the following story told the writer some time ago: A professor in a New England college came to one of the great surgeons in New York City. After examination, the surgeon told him that he needed very badly a serious operation. The professor asked how much it would cost. The doctor replied by asking the professor how much was his annual salary. When the doctor learned that it was $2,500, he said that if the operation was performed privately it would cost him $1,000, but that if the professor would consent to have the operation before the doctor's class of students, it would cost him nothing. When medical service is given in institutions where there is no teaching of medical students or nurses, the matter is on a different footing.

The practice of free treatment of patients in hospitals, dispensaries and clinics is a partial recognition of the duty of society to cure and prevent disease. It is not right that doctors should do such work at their own charges. Furthermore, free practice by private physicians is inadequate. Says Dr. Emerson, "We believe that the state should be more responsible for the care of its poor citizens when sick. It is for the prevention of disease, as in the case of smallpox and other infectious diseases. There is little danger of such paternal care pauperizing the patients, for doctor's visits and medicines seldom become a habit. (The question of sick diet is quite a different one.) The same 'pauperizing' argument was used against free parks, free concerts, free libraries, and above all the free schools with free textbooks. It is now not necessary for anyone to pay a cent for excellent school education, for the very reason that the state wishes educated citizens, and we believe that the same effort to keep healthy citizens would help it as much and injure them just as little."[2]

The day is coming when this dawning consciousness that society has as great a stake in curing sickness and preventing disease as it has in providing education for its future citizens, or protection from theft and violence, will come to full expression. In fact, it has begun to express itself crudely in provision for public sanitation and edu-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 329.
[2] Emerson, "Free Medical Aid for the Poor," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1906, p. 173.

cation in public health. Consider how futile are our efforts to control the patent medicine evil when we do not make available to every citizen proper methods of relieving his pains. Is it not possible that, did we provide him with the opportunity to consult good men and educate him to value removal of causes rather than palliatives, we should wipe out at one stroke quackery, much of the craving for drink and drugs, and sweep forever from our social life the patent medicines with which now the poor sick try to alleviate their illnesses? Provision for treatment of disease, and popular education of the masses in hygiene will solve many of our social problems, and will save to the country millions of dollars of money now wasted in time, preventable illness and fake cures.

In most places, especially the large cities, dispensary and hospital service is available for the very poor and the very rich. Says Dr. Goldwater, "Unfortunately, the facilities of the general hospitals and dispensaries are not widely available at present for the patient who is just above the poverty line; yet such patients form the most numerous class in the community." [1]

As to Correlation of Hospitals with Each Other and with Other Social Agencies. Hospitals and dispensaries have grown up in a rather haphazard manner. A few years ago studies were made in New York City as to the efficiency of its hospitals. It was found that there were serious difficulties as to finance and overlapping. Attention was called to the duplication of facilities along certain lines and the lack of means of treatment of disease in other lines. Some parts of the city were very much better covered by hospitals and dispensaries than others.

While hospitals and dispensaries have multiplied very rapidly, they have grown, much like American cities, without conscious planning. Certain individuals have felt the need of a hospital in a certain part of a large city. They have established it. One municipality becomes conscious of its responsibility to the sick while others have depended upon private philanthropy to supply their needs. We have already seen how unevenly distributed are the hospitals in the United States, certain parts of the country having much better provision as to number of hospital beds per hundred thousand of inhabitants than others. While many of our great cities are provided with special hospitals for the treatment of a special class of patients, such as crippled chil-

[1] "Dispensaries, A Growing Factor in Curative and Preventive Medicine," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Apr. 29, 1915.

dren, cancer patients, tuberculars, etc., other parts of the country lack such special institutions. Furthermore, even in our large cities, too often there has been competition for certain kinds of cases, while other types of cases have little or no provision made for them.

Frequently hospitals and dispensaries have not coöperated as well as they should in joint tasks. Even between hospital and dispensary there has not always been active coöperation. For a time this was even more true of the hospital and dispensary and the Social Service Department. Says Dr. Goldwater of New York, " 'Clinical teamwork' is a phrase which is in every mouth nowadays. Where and to what extent is clinical teamwork demanded? . . . The growing complexity of medicine as science and as art calls constantly for more teamwork." [1]

As to Management. In the management of medical charities the primary purpose must be kept in mind, that of contributing to the healing of the sick and teaching hygiene. The gifts and appropriations for the support of a hospital are a public trust. The utmost endeavors must be made to make these institutions produce the best results. Hence the field should be carefully studied and each institution devote itself to that particular line of work which is most needed.

Formerly hospitals which appealed to the public for support often refused to receive dying patients and made a practice of sending such patients from their hospital to the municipal hospital in order that their death rate might be kept low. In all such cases the primary object of the hospital has not been kept in mind.

The management should also keep clearly in view the social functions of the hospital to educate as well as to treat.

As to Nursing Service in Connection with the Care of the Sick in Their Homes. No work in connection with the treatment of the sick poor is more important than nursing. Professional nurses provide proper care for the sick who can afford to pay. Out of the necessity of providing nursing care for the poor who could not afford to pay the professional nurse has grown the visiting nurse movement. Employed first by private organizations to care for the poor in their own homes, these nurses not only give care to the poor, but teach them personal hygiene at the same time. As worked out in actual practice, the district nurse charges a small fee in some cases for the same

[1] "Dispensaries, A Growing Factor in Curative and Preventive Medicine," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal,* Apr. 29, 1915.

reason that the dispensary charges those who may be able to pay.

A further socialization of the nurse has occurred in the provision for school nurses in connection with the school health movement. Still further extension of the social aspect of nursing is to be found in the public health nurses now being employed in some states. The movement registers the growth of public sentiment in favor of preventable health measures. For example, the state of Wisconsin in 1919 passed a law providing that every county in the state shall employ by July 1, 1921, either a trained nurse as county public health nurse or a health instructor to teach the people the essentials of disease prevention. In connection with industry, also, the nursing movement has made progress. Almost every large industrial plant has a nurse to give advice, aid, and helpful instruction to the girls employed.

Social Service in Hospital, Dispensary, and in Homes of the Sick. The movement for the coördination of the practice of medicine and social work is of the very greatest importance. Without social service the physicians must endeavor to diagnose and treat the case in the dark as to social conditions. Such social service prevents waste of effort by dispensaries and hospitals, assists the diagnostician in determining the cause of the disease, and thus enables him to prescribe proper treatment, extends the reach of the hospital and dispensary into the home, in order to modify social conditions under which the patients live.

Moreover, hospital social service provides the spiritual after-care which alone often spells rehabilitation. Dr. Cabot has well pointed out the importance of attention to the mental treatment of sick people. He says, "The true business of the social worker is psychical diagnosis and treatment—a labor parallel to the physical diagnosis and treatment of the physician." [1]

Social service is the answer also to the problem of the pauperization of those who receive free medical service. Moreover, the social service worker is in touch with conditions which produce disease and death. She is in a position to call attention to the significance of these conditions in the pauper psychosis.

Hospital social service work has started in some cases, as at Bellevue a few years ago by the Free Synagogue of New York, by agencies not connected with the hospital. While such a procedure may be necessary as a demonstration, it is not the best way for such work to be

[1] *Social Service and the Art of Healing*, New York, 1917, p. 65. On this point the whole of Chapter 2 should be read.

conducted. It should be an integral part of the hospital or dispensary work.[1] Otherwise, administration will be difficult and clinical teamwork impossible.

As to Universal Provision for Medical Service. It has been urged that since the community has an interest in the health of its people, no less than in the education of its children, the state should provide medical service for all without charge or at a nominal price so that anyone may have early the best attention to health problems which medical science can give. On the other hand, there are those who argue that, since medical service touches the individual so closely, his earning capacity and his personal welfare no less than the welfare of society in general, he should see to it himself that out of his own income his health should be looked after. It is claimed that he will do it, if the state does not do it, provided that his income is adequate. Hence, what society should concern itself with is not his health but his income.

There are still others who take a middle ground that those who can afford to pay for medical treatment should do so, while those who cannot afford it should be provided free treatment for the sake of the bearing of their health upon the general welfare.

The practical difficulty is that if each is left to provide for medical attention as he can afford to pay for it, often he will neglect it, especially in those diseases whose beginning is not painful, but slow and yet deadly in their effects. Moreover, how often does the health and charity worker see it happen that one who should see a doctor does not do so because he does not have the money to pay the fees required! Illness is neglected which if attended to early could be checked, and the long train of causes which finally bring to poverty and death would be removed. In fact, society is now providing the preventive health work, such as sanitation and quarantine, and is trying to educate the people in the fundamentals of good health. If medical and surgical service were free to everyone, or to all members of great classes of the population, no stigma would attach to it, as none does to free education, or free parks, and recreation grounds. There would still be room for the private practitioner for those who wished and could pay for private service.

It has been suggested that one way to solve the difficulty, which would meet the objections of both sides to the argument and which

[1] Goldstein, "Hospital Social Work: Principles and Implications," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1910, p. 345.

would provide care for all who need it, is compulsory health insurance.

In Medical Service the Family Should Be the Unit of Treatment. As in other social work the individual cannot be treated apart from his family. Child welfare cannot be thought of as if the child lived *in vacuo*. The sick person must be considered in his home relationships. So often it is home conditions which contribute to illness. Ten years ago Dr. Goldstein said in reference to hospital social service, "In the first place, sickness is seldom an isolated phenomenon. It is in most cases nothing more than a symptom. It appears as a manifestation of undernourishment and malnutrition; of dark, damp rooms in a basement, or five flights of stairs in a tenement; of heavy housework or domestic irritability; of occupation, low wages and long hours; of indifference, ignorance, neglect, incompetence; of the general discouragement and lassitude into which the weak, the worried, the wretched inevitably drift. Sickness is a sign of morbid social conditions—conditions in which the entire family is imbedded." [1] This principle is no less true concerning medical treatment. The family must be treated, else the same conditions which produced sickness in the first place will cause it again.

In Medical Service, Education in Personal and Public Hygiene Should Go Hand in Hand. It is not sufficient that the individual be treated for his illness and the matter stop there. This principle is recognized to some degree by practitioners at the present time. Usually the patient is given advice as to his method of living. It is now recognized, however, that such instruction by a busy doctor is inadequate. Says Dr. Cabot, "Teaching—training has usually gone hand in hand with medical work in our hospitals—teaching, that is, for everyone but the patients. Doctors, students, nurses, ward-tenders, all are getting their training in most of the hospitals of this country. But the patients? How many of them are being efficiently and skilfully taught those fundamental and far-reaching lessons on which their permanent recovery often depend?" [2]

Moreover, the doctor often hesitates, even if he could spare the time, to explain his plan of treatment to the patient in a crowded dispensary where the noise and often the slight knowledge of the English language possessed by the patient make it quite possible that

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1910, pp. 342, 343.

[2] *Social Service and the Art of Healing,* New York, 1917, p. 187.

what he tells the patient will be misunderstood. "So," says Dr. Cabot, "doctors have gone on giving bread pills (encouraging thereby the habit of depending on drugs rather than on hygiene) because there was no time or opportunity adequately to explain to patients why drugs are sometimes unnecessary, how diet, fresh air, regular habits and clean minds may work both cure and the prevention of disease." [1] Hence, the hospital social service worker. She acts as teacher and interpreter to the patients, repeating in simple terms the advice which the doctor would have given, and thus educating the patient in the art of right living, who will then hand it on to others.

Hence, also, there has arisen the last few years the movement to educate the public through newspapers, lectures, and exhibits as to the fundamentals of health. The doctor who is satisfied merely to minister to his patients' misery from sickness, without at the same time trying to educate them in methods of preserving health, is not doing his whole duty. The community which is depending upon the medical practitioners to educate the public is falling short of its duty to the people. Schools, colleges and state departments of health have the opportunity and duty of informing the people in health. Disease must be attacked by educational measures which will aim to prevent illness.

Medical Service Should Offer a Preventive as well as a Curative Program. Periodical examination of all people will some day become a matter of course. The movement has already begun in the medical examination of school children. The suggestion has been made that such examination should be extended to industry. Under a health insurance scheme such examination will establish itself. Voluntary yearly examination is now provided by many life insurance companies for their clients on the theory that it will pay them to have the insured examined so as to discover incipient ailments in time and have them treated before they come to the stage where cure is impossible. When we once get established a public concern for healthy people as a piece of sound public policy, the state will see that it pays to have its citizens keep close watch of their health and have their ailments treated before they are on their backs.

In some states public educational institutions, such as extension divisions and private organizations like anti-tuberculosis associations and child welfare societies, are carrying on active educational propaganda for good health. Children who apply for work-permits are

[1] *Social Service and the Art of Healing,* New York, 1917, pp. 189, 190.

examined in some states in order that any child whose physical condition is not good may be kept from activities that will aggravate conditions already menacing to his physical development. Health institutes have been an important feature of the Wisconsin University Extension Division. Health centers, health clinics, traveling or stationary, in some states, have brought to the people the importance of good health and have taught them some of the factors which make for disease. The state should charge itself with the responsibility of teaching all its people how to prevent sickness.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Review Fisher, *Report on National Vitality,* Washington, 1909, or *Report of the National Conservation Commission,* Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, 1909. Vol. III, pp. 620-777.
2. Poverty and Tuberculosis. *Poverty and Tuberculosis,* Publication No. 84, New York Association for the Improvement of the Poor.
3. Medical Social Service. Cabot, "Social Service Work in Hospitals," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Mar., 1911, p. 223.
4. Germany's Care of Tuberculous Wage Earners. *Care of Tuberculous Wage Earners in Germany,* Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor. No. 101, Washington, 1912.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DISABLED

OF late both Labor and War have pushed the disabled into the foreground. The problem of the cripple is not new, but the present approach to the problem is different. Ever since the Industrial Revolution began to gather men into factories wherein machinery was power-driven, we have seen upon the streets appealing to the charity of passers-by the man with one arm or without a leg. But, in the present generation, labor statistics have brought the extent of the problem to our attention in a way never before possible.

DEFINITION

While there may be no logical reason why disabilities from all causes, accident, wounds received in battle, or sickness, should not be considered together, since the effects on society are much the same, their treatment must be considered separately. The cripple through accident often needs different treatment from the disabled through disease. The latter often suffers from a mental distortion consequent upon long illness and self-pity. He easily becomes dependent in spirit, since his physical rehabilitation may be slow or impossible. In this chapter we shall consider only those who are disabled in civil life, while the discussion of the war cripples will be reserved for another chapter.

In 1911 the cripples of Birmingham, England, were studied. The committee which made the study defined a cripple as "a person whose (muscular) movements are so far restricted by accident, or disease, as to affect his capacity for support."[1] The Cleveland Committee, when formulating in 1915 its definition for a study of the physically disabled, decided that the double test of physical and economic handicap would result in a selective census, since what was an economic handicap in one case was not in another. Therefore they decided on a definition which would be inclusive of all persons "who are handi-

[1] Quoted in *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult: A Survey of All the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916,* New York, 1918, p. 12.

capped because they lack the normal use of skeleton or skeletal muscles." [1]

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

While the extent of the problem of "disabled" is not as great as that of sickness, the importance of the problem is indicated by the tendency of the physically handicapped to slump down into dependency under the attitude which society has hitherto taken towards them. Who has not seen the crippled beggar upon the streets appealing by his armless sleeve, or his crutches, to the charity of his more fortunate fellows? How difficult is the problem he has, no matter how stiff his resolution, to earn his bread by honest toil rather than by degrading charity! How we all teach him that it is easier to beg than to earn a living by the service yet possible to his mutilated body!

The United States Census has made no study of the disabled, except the deaf and dumb, and the blind. Nor have we any accurate statistics as to the number of disabled in the various countries of the world. For the present we must be content with estimates based upon intensive studies of the problem in certain communities.

In the Birmingham study there was found a total of 1,729 cripples, or about 3.29 cripples per thousand of population.[2] Sir George Newcomb, Chief Educational Officer of the Board of Education of Great Britain, said in 1916 that "speaking generally it is probable that between one-half of one per cent and 1 per cent of the children of school age are in greater or less degree disabled by crippling disease. The chief cause is tuberculosis." [3]

In Cleveland, Ohio, in a careful house-to-house canvass prosecuted from October, 1915, to October, 1916, a total of 4,186 cripples were found, or about 6 per thousand.[4]

According to the state census of Massachusetts in 1905 a total of 17,134 lame, maimed, and deformed persons were found, or a ratio of 5.7 per thousand of the state's population.[5] The close similarity

[1] Quoted in *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult: A Survey of All the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916,* New York, 1918, p. 13.

[2] Rubinow, *A Statistical Consideration of the Number of Men Crippled in War and Disabled in Industry,* Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, New York, 1918, p. 8.

[3] Quoted in "Education and Care of the Crippled Children," *American Journal of Care for Cripples,* Vol. III, p. 81.

[4] Wright and Hamburger, *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult: A Survey of All the Cripples of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1916,* Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, New York, 1918, p. 21.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

of the ratio found in Massachusetts and in Cleveland, Ohio, is significant.

In 1918 Rubinow, using chiefly the statistics of the various state industrial commissions or department reports, says that there are about 28,000 dismemberments annually, and between 70,000 and 80,000 industrial injuries which are either permanent or result in long time disability.[1]

The National Conservation Congress, in its meeting at Washington, in May, 1916, stated that there are 300,000 crippled children in the United States, while proper institutional provision is made for less than 3,000.[2]

Germany has made a much more careful survey of its cripples than any other country. In 1916 a careful study showed that there were 100,000 cripples under 16 years of age. Of these 52,000 were in need of resident institutional treatment.

DEVELOPMENT OF CARE OF THE DISABLED

Like the brutes, primitive man was apathetic to the suffering of his fellows. He abandoned and sometimes expelled the crippled member of the group. Some tribes put to death their disabled and deformed members. In ancient times these unfortunates might be turned out to wander in the wilderness. In India they were sometimes cast into the Ganges. The Spartans flung them over a precipice. Deformed and weakly infants were exposed by others to the wild beasts. This harshness was the result of superstition or of economic stress. Any person who could not do his share was useless, therefore the sooner he perished the better for the group. Sometimes religion was linked up with this harshness. The Levitical legislation of the Hebrews provided that one disabled should not "approach to offer the bread of his God." [3]

With the development of ethical ideas, however, this harsh attitude began to be modified. While in most places in antiquity the cripple was an outcast, he was permitted to beg. The idea grew up that one should give to the beggar. We see evidence of this not only in the literature of the Hebrews, but in the customs and legislation of the Greeks. For example, in Athens, after careful examination by

[1] *A Statistical Consideration of the Number of Men Crippled in War and Disabled in Industry:* Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Series No. 4, Feb. 14, 1918, p. 17.

[2] *American Journal of Care for Cripples,* Vol. III, p. 267.

[3] Leviticus 21 : 16-24.

the authorities, the Senate provided that enough should be given to the disabled for a bare existence.

The attitude of Jesus and His disciples was one of helpfulness. How numerous in the Gospels are the stories of His healing the lame, the blind, or other disabled individuals! Similar stories fill the pages of the Book of Acts concerning his early followers.

In previous chapters we have seen how inspired by pity the Christian Church has developed the care of the infirm. Among these, of course, were helpless cripples. When no other provision was made for them and when able-bodied beggars were proceeded against, the "impotent beggars" were permitted to beg.

Moreover, in feudal times the disabled found a place of usefulness around the feudal castle. Often the king's fool was a hunchback, or cripple of some sort. Hand in hand, however, with this attitude of tolerant helpfulness goes the attitude of brutal harshness. Ridicule and exploitation as well as pity characterize the treatment of the cripple during the Middle Ages. Large numbers of them were accustomed to resort to shrines of the Saints for healing. In a word, the attitude toward the cripple was first extinction, then banishment, then permission to beg, then care in connection with monasteries or feudal castles, and attempts at healing.

Even before the development of modern medical and surgical treatment there grew up institutions for the care and education of cripples. The beginning of a new attitude is to be seen in the writings of the Catholic Vives in the sixteenth century already referred to in the chapter on the development of outdoor relief. He divided the poor into three classes: Those in hospitals and poorhouses, the public homeless beggars, and the poor at home. He proposed a census of all these classes for the purpose of ascertaining the causes of distress and planned a central organization for their relief under the municipal magistrates. Work was to be provided for the beggars, the cripples as well as the sturdy. In 1657 an asylum in which suitable work was provided for the infirm was established in France. After the Reformation this became the Sâlpetrière. Many of the monasteries were taken over, as we have seen, for the use of the sick, the insane, and prisoners. Occasionally one was used as an asylum for the handicapped. In 1722 Count Luitgard of Baden established at Pforgheim a hospital for pauper invalids, which was later devoted exclusively to cripples.[1]

[1] The Cripple Department was abolished in 1822 to make room for the insane.

With the rise of modern orthopedics in the first part of the nineteenth century, institutions were founded at Munich, Vienna, Paris, Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, Leipzig, Lübeck, and Berlin. The first was that established at Munich in 1832, devoted especially to the care of crippled children. The next was founded in Copenhagen in 1872. Practically all of these institutions were for the treatment and care of children, to whom their chief attention is given even to this hour.

PRINCIPLES OF CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE DISABLED

The haphazard provisions for the crippled have been inadequate. They have often been without large vision, merely palliative, and without any thoroughgoing plan for the solution of the problem. Too often they have resulted only in confirming the hopelessness and dependency of their wards.

Purpose of Social Treatment. What objectives should we have in mind in treating the disabled? Summed up in two words our purpose should be, first, the happiness of the individual who has been denied the opportunities of the able-bodied, and second, the welfare of society. Certainly the cripple cannot enjoy such a sense of capacity and usefulness as the able-bodied. How often have we seen physical disability result in misanthropy! It is said that Lord Byron's sensitive nature became soured largely because of his crippled condition. Pope's disability without doubt contributed not a little to his unhappiness. Shakespeare attributes Richard III's malevolence to his resentment of society's attitude towards him on account of his deformity. Schiller's Franz Moor rebels at the trick nature played him in his physical make-up. Moreover, most men wish not only to be looked upon as physically well-formed, but to be independent of others for their support. If they possess the souls of men, they rebel at being objects of pity.

Furthermore, we should treat cripples in a constructive fashion in order to relieve the public of their support. Let society assist them to a place of usefulness in the world rather than keep them in idleness. It is cheaper in every way. If the disabled can learn to support himself, it is much better for him than to live in idleness, even though he has compensation from the company in whose employ he has received his injury. The whole purpose of the social treatment of cripples, then, is to get them to be as nearly self-supporting as possible in the shortest possible time.

The Problem of the Crippled Child. Crippled children and adults

present slightly different problems. With the child most of his disabilities arise from disease which if taken in time can often be cured. With the adult, injuries are more often the result of accidents, and there is less possibility of cure. The child is growing, and if proper medical and surgical attention be given in time, he has a chance to grow out of the disability. This rarely occurs with adults, except in case an injury has resulted in functional disuse of an organ which can be functionally restored by therapeutical exercise, or in case of certain diseases like tuberculosis. Again, the child's disability raises the question of education including vocational, while with the adult it is a question of re-education.

In the first place, then, the disabled child should have attention, medical and surgical. The sooner such attention is given after the disability arises, the greater the chance of correction.

The chief cause of the child cripple is tuberculosis, causing diseased joints which deform and disable him. Infantile paralysis is the next most important cause.[1] The results of both of these diseases can often be corrected by prompt treatment at the hands of competent surgeons. Even when the matter cannot be cured, it can often be so treated that the disability is much reduced by means of appliances.

In the next place we must see that the child does not miss his education. Why should a child under a physical handicap suffer also an educational handicap? Certainly when he cannot enjoy the physical well-being of other children there is all the more reason for careful attention to his education. At best his crippled condition sets him aside from his fellows. Moreover he must have that socialization which is one of the best results of a common school education. If he can be provided with such education by the simple device of having him conveyed to and from the school, in which are special seats and such other simple arrangements as will enable him to share in the common school life, by all means he should have them. On the other hand, if he needs special attention in his education, special classes in the schools will provide him the opportunity. If he must live somewhat outside the common activities of life, why should he be denied the pleasures which come from acquaintance with the accumulated knowledge of the world and the treasures of literature and art?

Again, if his disability shuts him out of the usual avenues to self-support, he should have an education which will fit him in some degree

[1] "Education and Care of the Crippled Child," *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, Vol. III (1916), p. 81.

for such special occupations as a cripple can successfully follow. Society's task is to give him every chance to make himself useful in the world. He must be prepared so far as the school can go in the matter to compete with his fellows and deliver a service to the world for which society can pay him a good return without charity or condescension. Moreover, as a handicapped person he is entitled to such vocational guidance as will place at his disposal all the knowledge society possesses as to the occupations which are best suited to his condition and advice as to the one which fits best his particular disability.

Finally, when he is at last ready for it, employment must be found for him. The school can best judge of his limitations and should know best the place into which he can fit. It should not dismiss him as its problem until he has been properly placed in such a position. Coöperation with his family, of course, should mark every step in these processes.

The Problem of the Disabled Adult. The problem is, first, one of physical treatment. Lost power in the injured member must be restored as far as possible. In modern surgery and therapy great advances have been made recently in the restoration of lost functions. Massage, electrical treatments, persistence in trying to use the injured member through occupational therapy and similar measures have done wonders in restoring lost powers. Moreover, artificial limbs, trusses, braces and like devices have done much to remove industrial handicap.

Along with physical treatment goes the process of strengthening the ambition and determination of the injured person to make the most serious efforts to overcome his disability. For this purpose it has been found that teachers and attendants who themselves have overcome handicaps are most stimulating to the injured. Hence, many institutions dealing with the crippled employ disabled men who have fought their way to self-support. Moving pictures showing what disabled men can do have been used to good effect in stimulating by example the hopefulness and determination which has so much to do with recovery and the use of the powers still retained, and with the attempt to educate the injured to develop other organs as substitutes. In this connection it has been found that social service after discharge can be of great value in helping the disabled man, so prone to become discouraged, to retain his determination to succeed. The social worker visits him frequently suggesting success and so rekindling his flagging zeal. The social worker can also educate the family or fellow

workers to take an encouraging attitude. Since so much depends on the man's own mental attitude towards his handicap, the social worker can be of the greatest value.

After all has been done for the physical treatment of the disabled the next step is his re-education. If his disability has been of a nature which makes it impossible for him to follow his previous occupation, he must be trained for a job suited to his disability. Careful study of the man's capacity and of the occupations open to one of his handicap should precede the training. In such matters foreign countries have gone much farther than the United States. Even before the War England, France and Germany were beginning to re-educate their industrial cripples. Hence, they were not entirely unprepared when the War threw on their hands a great number of cripples. Since the War brought this problem to the attention of the United States we have begun re-training injured soldiers. Such re-education is no less necessary, however, for the industrial cripple.

The state, however, should not stop with the cripple's re-education. It should provide for his replacement in industry. If he is left to place himself, he will often become discouraged and give up his fight. He does not know so much about positions as the institution which is dealing with the problem. He has not the contact with industry as has the school which is training him. Our training institutions for non-cripples place their graduates; why not the institution which is re-educating the disabled? The experience of the Red Cross Institute for the Disabled in New York demonstrates the practicability of such a plan in the placement of re-trained handicapped.

In the case of the disabled, however, placement is a most difficult and delicate task. Says Miss Stein, "Clerks in public employment offices who are attending to hundreds of cases in a week, can accomplish little for the cripple. Crippled men have been going around without success from one bureau to another and finally in discouragement they have taken, as a last resource, to some form of begging." [1] In October, 1916, a small bureau for the placement of cripples was organized at Hudson Guild by the Federation of the Association for Cripples in New York City. This was taken over by the Red Cross Institute. The work of this bureau showed that the placement of the cripple while difficult is not impossible. Before the Bureau was taken over by the Institute 150 cripples were placed by it. Such a

[1] "Placement Technique in Employment Work of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men." *Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men,* May 6, 1918, p. 3.

placement bureau has two functions, employment work and the investigation of industries. The one cannot be done successfully without the other. Suppose that a one-armed man comes in for employment, or is being trained by the institution. Only as industries have been studied does the placement agency know of opportunities for such a cripple.

Moreover, the experience of this bureau in New York has shown that placement is next to impossible unless the cripple is trained. Says Miss Stein, "No employment bureau for cripples can be efficient unless it is closely tied up with continuation, trade and evening classes for the handicapped." [1]

Furthermore, the placement bureau must keep in touch with the crippled. They have many difficulties which must be solved at once or the work has been done in vain. This New York Bureau of the Red Cross Institute follows up these men very closely. It has a social worker who goes out to the disabled in their homes and in the factories where they are working. Its office is open evenings so that the men can come in and tell their troubles. He must be followed up persistently, else he will slump down into dependency. In such cases hope is weak; ambition is easily impaired. New adjustments often are necessary at a time of life when readjustment is very difficult. Habits must be re-formed; frequently a new occupation must be found. He must have the backing of every helpful influence for a new career. That backing must be both sympathetic and wise. It must last until he has again made a place for himself in life, has learned self-confidence through successful effort, and is able to look the world manfully in the face because he is useful.

A much more difficult problem in the placement of the industrial cripple is that of getting the man to take re-education, if he is a compensable case. If by re-education he loses his disability even to a small degree, he fears that he will lose his compensation. As they now stand state compensation laws often place a premium on idleness for the compensable man. In states having compensation laws like that of Wisconsin, this difficulty does not arise. In that state the amount of compensation is based upon the nature of the injury and does not depend upon the wages he may be able to earn later, as in some of our states.[2] Good administration by the body charged with the administration of workmen's compensation should follow him up

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 4.
[2] As, for example, California.

and see that every argument for re-education and future usefulness be presented to him. If the law is such that he receives the compensation due him according to the disability received, then social service by the administrative body should follow him until he has been re-educated and replaced in a suitable position.

SYSTEMS OF CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE DISABLED

At the present time there are three systems of caring for the disabled. (1) Private institutions chiefly for the care and treatment of crippled children and disabled men; (2) state systems for the treatment and education of crippled children; (3) a Federal subsidy for states which provide industrial education for cripples.

Private Institutions. At the outbreak of the War Germany had made more provision for the care and re-education of crippled men than any other nation. She had 58 homes for cripples under private auspices. Under her employers' accident insurance companies she had established a number of sanatoria and re-education workshops for industrial cripples. A considerable number of orthopedic hospitals were provided by municipalities. There were besides numerous trade schools and employment bureaus under various governmental authorities.[1] France had a few private homes for cripples, and also trade schools which, as her experience with wounded soldiers showed, could be adapted to the education of injured men. Italy, on the other hand, had given almost no attention to the care of cripples. After the outbreak of the War, and before she herself entered, Italy began to study the question and private initiative began to establish institutions for the care and training of cripples. England, like Germany, had long before established schools giving trade training, but without special reference to the needs of cripples. Private organizations had also supplied scholarships to poor crippled children. As with all the other countries of Western Europe, England developed facilities for the training of mutilated soldiers after the War had sent home numbers of such men. That terrible experience revealed to all the world the necessity of giving more attention to the rehabilitation of the crippled.

In the United States what has been done has been chiefly in the interest of crippled children. In 1916 there were in the United States 112 institutions and associations giving special attention to the treat-

[1] Underhill, *Provision for War Cripples in Germany*, Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, June 8, 1918, p. 3.

ment, care, and education of cripples, chiefly children. Most of these were private; some, like the special classes for crippled children in the public schools, were under public auspices. A part of these were for medical and surgical treatment like the New York Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled Children. Some were directed to the education of crippled children, like the pioneer school established in New York City by the Children's Aid Society of that city. And certain of them under private control were for convalescents.[1]

State Institutions. In 1917 there were 11 states which had provided for the treatment and education of crippled children: seven by the establishment of special institutions; two by treatment in special departments of institutions for children, and two by treatment given in connection with the Medical School of the State University.[2] In some of the states only indigent children are received; in others all crippled or deformed, and in Nebraska those children who are suffering from diseases from which they are liable to be deformed or crippled.

The method of payment for this service also varies. Usually the laws provide that if the parents or the patients are able to pay for the treatment and care they must do so. Otherwise the county or town in which they have their residence or legal settlement must pay. In Florida the expense is paid by the State Board of Health; in Oregon by the county; in Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Nebraska by the state.[3]

Before the War no state had made special provisions for the treatment and education of crippled adults aside from the states of Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa cited above. We allowed the cripple to get along as best he could, except as he was protected by the compensation laws. Although such laws represent a most constructive and far-reaching protection for industrial cripples, since they apply only to those injured in industry, not a few other cripples were entirely unprovided for in a constructive fashion.

[1] *Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men*, Nos. 8, 12 and 13, New York, 1918. *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, Vols. III, pp. 66-69, V, pp. 214, 217, 303.

[2] The maximum age at which children are admitted to these institutions varies, from 14 years in Wisconsin to 18 in Ohio. In Nebraska, Minnesota, and Illinois it is limited to those children who have resided in the state one year, seemingly a survival of the pauper law of settlement. In Michigan certain blind children below the age of six are also admitted. In Nebraska, Minnesota, and Iowa adults are also admitted to treatment.

[3] *American Journal of Care for Cripples*, Vol. V (1917), pp. 380-395.

State Rehabilitation of Civilian Cripples. The War obliged our country to face the problem of the disabled adult. Thousands of our boys returned from France so injured that they could not possibly follow their wonted occupations. Moreover, we were not inattentive to what the warring countries of Europe were doing with their disabled. Hence, we not only put into operation a most extensive system for the rehabilitation of war cripples, but a number of the states and finally the Federal Government undertook the rehabilitation of the man and woman disabled in civil life.[1]

Seven of these states notice only those injured in industry or who come under the provisions of the state compensation laws.[2] The rest provide for any handicapped person. Two (New Jersey and Illinois) contemplate a state educational institution to carry out the provisions of the acts. A number limit the benefits to those who have lived a year within the state, while others limit them to those injured in the state. Maintenance while being trained is provided for beneficiaries in six of these states.

The agencies to administer the act vary also. In a number the state board having in charge the administration of the compensation laws administers this act; in others the State Board of Vocational Education, while in New York administration is in the hands of the state Board of Regents, and in Illinois it is handled by the State Board of Public Welfare. In some states maintenance is limited to one year, or as much of it as may be necessary, while in others no limit of time is fixed.[3]

Perhaps the law passed by New Jersey is the most liberal and far-visioned. It provides that the board it sets up shall seek to train and qualify every disabled person in the state who has resided therein at least a year, whether his disability is due to accident, disease or congenital defect. It excludes only the aged and infirm, blind and deaf persons under the care of the state, epileptics, feeble-minded, and

[1] This movement on the part of the states of the Union was started by Massachusetts, which passed its act May 28, 1918. She was followed by Nevada on February 28, 1919. The third state was North Dakota, which passed her act March 5, 1919. Then followed New Jersey, April 10, 1919; Minnesota, April 23; Rhode Island the same date; California, May 5; Illinois, June 28; Pennsylvania, July 18; New York, March 18, 1920; Oregon, January 12, and Virginia, March 20. All these acts were passed before the passage of the Federal act, June 2, 1920.

[2] Massachusetts, California, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and Virginia.

[3] *Vocational Summary*, Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington, October, 1920, p. 85; see also *Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C., April, 1920, pp. 202-206, August, 1920, p. 139.

such persons who are not susceptible to rehabilitation. Those needing artificial limbs are to be supplied with them at cost and may pay for them by instalments. The board may make arrangements with already existing institutions for the treatment of disabled persons, but a school of rehabilitation is to be established at some one place with such branches in other places as may be thought necessary. Maintenance is supplied by the state if necessary for 20 weeks at not over $10 per week. The act does not compel any person to take the training.[1]

Federal Aid. The experience of our country with men disabled in the War emphasized the importance of constructive treatment of disabled civilians. It was seen that efforts to rehabilitate the injured soldier and sailor were economical; it raised the question, Why not also our civilians? Hence, as early as June 21, 1919, the Senate passed an act providing for coöperation with the states of the Union in the vocational rehabilitation of "any persons, who by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury or disease, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupations." The senate bill was concurred in by the House and was approved by the President June 2, 1920.

Vocational rehabilitation is contemplated by the act for all persons disabled in any way whatsoever, whose disability interferes with remunerative occupation, and is not restricted, as in some state acts, to those who have been injured in industry. It includes both men and women. Its operation is limited only by the acceptation by the several states of its coöperative provisions, and by the definition of the persons who may be rehabilitated. It is a question which has not yet been settled whether those states which have provided for the vocational education of those only who have been injured while in employment, can take advantage of its provisions. The act provides for a subsidy to those states which accept by legislative enactment the dollar for dollar coöperation plan. That is, each state must provide as much money as will come from the Federal Government on the basis of population. The amount appropriated out of the Federal Treasury under this act was $750,000 for the year ending June 30, 1921, $1,000,000 for the year ending June 30, 1922, and the same amount for each of the next two years. Moreover, the plans of administration, courses

[1] *Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C., August, 1920, pp. 203, 204.

and methods of instruction, qualifications of teachers, directors, etc., must receive the approval of the Federal Board of Vocational Education. Furthermore, the Federal Board was given $75,000 a year for four years for the purpose of making studies as to the rehabilitation of the disabled and their placement in suitable or gainful occupations and for the expenses of administration of the act.[1]

This legislation of the United States for far-sighted wisdom and liberality has not been surpassed. It follows the same principles of coöperation with the states of the Union as obtains in agricultural and vocational education provided for in the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts. It contemplates that the *laissez faire* policy of the government concerning cripples shall be definitely abandoned, and a constructive effort made to place them on a self-supporting basis. Followed out for a few years it is probable that this law will show such constructive results that every state in the Union will accept it, and thus we shall have a nation-wide attempt to rehabilitate the injured person, rather than leave him to the mercies of a dole-giving public.[2]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The care and treatment of crippled children in the United States. Reeves, *Care and Education of Crippled Children,* New York, 1914.
2. Survey of the treatment of crippled soldiers and sailors in foreign countries. McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier,* New York, 1919.
3. What was found in a survey of cripples in Cleveland, Ohio. Wright and Hamburger, *Education and Occupations of Cripples, Juvenile and Adult,* Publications of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, Series II, No. 3 (Oct. 15, 1918).
4. Provisions in your state for the rehabilitation of industrial cripples.

[1] *Monthly Labor Review,* Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, June, 1920, pp. 186, 187; *The Vocational Summary,* Federal Board of Vocational Education, Washington, October, 1920, pp. 84, 85.

[2] It will be noticed, however, that it makes no provision for the medical or surgical treatment of the injured, as do some of the acts passed by several of the states. Doubtless, however, the effect of the law will be to stimulate such treatment by the states which wish to take advantage of its provisions.

CHAPTER XXVII

SOLDIERS, SAILORS AND MARINES AND THEIR DEPENDENTS

IN sketching in the previous chapter the development of the care of civilian cripples, attention was called to the influence which recent interest in war cripples in this country had upon the growth of interest in the civilian cripple.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARE OF THE EX-SOLDIER AND SAILOR

Very little is known as to the care given to disabled ex-soldiers in ancient times. In the early warfare it seems to have been the practice to dispatch the wounded upon the field of battle. It is recorded, however, that in ancient Athens the state fed at state expense its crippled soldiers. In Rome under Augustus disabled legionaries were supported out of public funds in some cases and in others they were given grants of lands on the frontiers of the Empire.

In feudal times, since the individual soldier usually had to equip himself for battle, very little care was given to him when disabled. His family, however, was usually cared for on the manor by his feudal lord in return for the services of wife and children. At the time of the Crusades Philip Augustus of France projected a home for the disabled soldiers. The Pope, pleased with the idea, granted the institution certain privileges. This project, however, does not seem to have materialized. St. Louis of France on his return from the Crusades did establish a soldiers' home for some 300 who were blinded by the "Asiatic sun." In most cases, however, the ex-soldier until recent times had to depend upon private charity or begging for his living. Many of the medieval beggars were disabled soldiers. With the development of nationalism after the fourteenth century there grew up standing armies and professional soldiers. At first the disabled soldier was supported by private charity and the monasteries. He did not, however, make a good monk and usually religious control in the monastery led to his early departure. Consequently, usually he betook himself to begging or to crime. In Queen Elizabeth's time

some of the broken men-at-arms depended upon the charity of their officers. Toward the end of her reign an attempt was made to provide for them but with quite unsatisfactory results.

In France. The movement for the systematic care of necessitous ex-soldiers began in France. At the end of the sixteenth century with the growth of a strong national government the problem became acute. Henry IV besieged by a multitude of crippled and broken soldiers to make some provision for their needs finally decided to provide a home for the disabled. In pursuance of this plan he took over an asylum for orphans, changing its name to the *Maison Royale de la Charité chrétienne,* and provided for its support from excess revenue of the charitable institutions of France, chiefly the monasteries. Unfortunately, however, the commissioners of the institution were unable to find any excess revenues in these institutions. Consequently in a few years the home was abandoned.

In 1611 Louis XIII, the successor of Henry IV, closed the doors of this institution and liberally pensioned the remaining disabled inmates. For a time this practice continued but the shortage of state funds reduced the pension until the pensioners complained. The pension system was revised and another attempt was made to force the monasteries to provide funds. The difficulties, however, of extracting funds from the monasteries were so great that in a short time the soldiers who had given up their pension rights had become beggars, thieves, and murderers. Louis, therefore, abandoned the pension system and undertook the construction of a home for disabled soldiers in 1633, which became the prototype of the famous Hôtel des Invalides. History throws very little light on the early history of this institution. In 1646 an official report declared that there was not a soldier to be found in it. And in 1656 it became the general hospital of the Salpêtrière, which was a combined home for the aged, poor, and insane—both an asylum and a prison.

Louis XIV returned to the pension system but combined with that plan the principle of sending crippled soldiers to frontier towns on garrison duty. The old abuses and disorders reappeared. Begging became rampant, old disabled soldiers forsook their posts and became a nuisance through their begging and thieving. In order to lessen the abuses the king ordered that disabled soldiers begging in Paris should be hung and everyone giving alms to them should be heavily fined. When the plan finally failed, Louis again resorted to the institution. In accordance with his magnificent ideas Louis decided upon

an institution which would house 4,000 disabled soldiers. His attempts to get funds from the monasteries failing, in 1682 he decreed that a part of all of the money raised for military purposes should be diverted to the support of the institution known as the Hôtel des Invalides. This plan gave to the institution adequate support. For example, during the war of the Spanish Succession the income amounted to 1,250,000 *livres* a year. Between 1676 and 1690 over 5,000 soldiers applied for admission, and during the next 14 years over 10,000. This was the first soldiers' home in modern history and doubtless has served as the example for most of the soldiers' homes established since.

In this institution the superannuated and the infirm soldiers constituted the great majority of its inmates. A century after its establishment out of 3,000 inmates 1,107 were old men past 70 years of age. Fourteen hundred and eighty-eight were men who had suffered amputations or were otherwise seriously wounded, decrepit, or infirm. More than one half of the inmates spent all of their days in the infirmary. It was so arranged that a comrade not so helpless was assigned to each one to assist him. Sisters of charity looked after those in the infirmary. Food was plentiful, the institution provided uniforms and shoes, and spending money amounting to fifteen *sous* a month. Military discipline was supplemented by moral discipline which provided for compulsory attendance at Sunday services. There was little provision for recreation and entertainment except games and skittles. Some of the inmates worked gardens in connection with the institution and others carried on handicrafts in their rooms. The married men whose families lived in the neighborhood were permitted to visit frequently their wives and children. Marks of honor were introduced both for the purposes of discipline and also to redeem the institution from being a mere asylum. The discipline, however, was so severe that many of the men were glad to leave after a short stay.

The king selected certain ones for garrison duty along the frontier. These were fed and clothed and given either full pay or half pay. In 1736 there were 141 of these "detached companies." Many of those who found life irksome in the institution took this garrison service.

In a course of time the custom grew up of allowing those in the institution with families to take a leave-of-absence for three years and live with their families. During this time the Hôtel clothed them and gave them an allowance of about 100 *livres*. Afterward the three years' leave was indefinitely extended, the allowances thus actually

becoming pensions. By 1790 there were 2,370 disabled men in the institution and 26,000 pensioners scattered throughout France.

This double system of an institution combined with a pension continued in France down into the twentieth century. In 1831 the pension system was revised to take account of years of service, rank, and to some extent the degree of disability. This system prevailed at the outbreak of the war in 1914.

The institution has been frequently criticized, but probably not more than our own pension system.

In England. The example of France was not lost upon the English. At the close of the sixteenth century Queen Elizabeth initiated certain measures for the relief of the soldiers invalided home from Flanders, but they proved to be quite ineffective. Nothing was done for the disabled soldiers until the days of Cromwell, when Parliament inaugurated pensions and soldiers' hospitals and homes. These cared only, however, for Cromwell's soldiers. On the succession of Charles II to the throne he revoked these one-sided provisions and in 1662 approved a law allowing discharged soldiers to practice a trade without completing an apprenticeship. This entirely overlooked the severely disabled.

In 1682, probably inspired by the example of Louis XIV, England established the Royal Hospital for Disabled Soldiers at Chelsea. About the same time a start was made to complete an institution for disabled seamen at Greenwich. The Chelsea institution was supported chiefly by money withheld from the soldiers' pay until the nineteenth century when Parliament made provision for its support.

Shortly after the establishment of these institutions a pension system was inaugurated based upon disability incurred during service or infirmity arising after 20 years of service. These pensioners outside of the institutions were liable to special service in time of war. Presently great abuses arose, which resulted in the pensioners receiving but a fraction of their due. Not until 1754 under Pitt was the system reformed.

Early in the nineteenth century Parliament provided a pension to all soldiers who became sick, disabled, or were discharged after from 14 to 21 years of service. This system continued until after the Boer War when it was gradually extended, supplying relief not only to disabled and retired soldiers but also to widows and orphans of those who died in service.

In United States. America inherited from England certain of

these ideas concerning the care of disabled soldiers. Plymouth colony provided a pension in 1636 for any soldier who was disabled. He was to be maintained with a competence during the rest of his life. Eight years later the Virginia colony passed a pension law for disabled soldiers, and shortly afterwards added to it provision for the needy dependents of any colonists killed in service. Before the Revolutionary War other colonies had passed similar measures, Rhode Island going so far as not only to provide pensions, but also medical care.

The first general pension law of the United States was passed in 1792. As amended the next year it provided $5 monthly (increased 23 years later to $8) to all privates and non-commissioned officers disabled in the Revolutionary War. Disabled officers were allowed half pay. Upon this basis, the regular Army Pension Law was passed in 1802, which continued with modifications until the Civil War. In the meantime the widows of Revolutionary soldiers had been pensioned.

During the Civil War the principle of fixed rates for specific disabilities was introduced, and in 1870 artificial limbs were provided.[1] At the present time we have pensions for the survivors or their dependents, of all of our wars, except the last.

Since the Civil War the tendency has been to greater liberality. The first important step in this direction was the Arrears Act of 1879, by which all pensions previously granted or to be granted under the general pension laws for death or disability from causes arising in the United States in the Civil War, were made to date from the time of death or discharge of the person, provided the application for pension was filed before July 1, 1880. In 1890 an act was passed providing that any soldier or sailor who had been in the service 90 days during the Civil War who suffered from a disability of a permanent character not due to his own vicious habits, which disability rendered him incapable of earning his own living, was granted a pension of from $6 to $12 a month depending upon the degree of his disability. It also provided pensions of $8 a month for the widows of soldiers whose marriage had taken place before 1890 if they were without other means of support than their manual labor. In 1904 the provisions of the law of 1890 were extended by executive order to any soldier who had reached the age of 62 years. In 1907 a new general pension act was passed. This granted a pension of $12 per month to all survivors of

[1] McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier*, Chap. I.

the Mexican and Civil Wars 62 years of age and over; $15 a month to those 70 or over; and $20 a month for those 75 and over. In 1908 $12 per month was granted for widows, children under 16, and helpless minors.

All the pension laws passed up to this time had been based upon either disability or old age. In 1913 came the Sherwood Service Pension Act basing the pension not upon disability or age but upon service. The size of the pension is dependent upon length of service and age. Thirteen dollars per month was granted for those 62 years of age and over, who had served 90 days; $30 per month for those 75 years or more and who had served 2 years or more. Furthermore, a disability pension of $30 a month was also granted to all disabled Civil War soldiers without regard to rank or length of service. The same bill granted $30 to all survivors of the Mexican War who had served 60 days or longer. In 1916 the pension for widows of Union soldiers who had been wives of the soldiers during their terms of service, and for all other soldiers' widows over 70 years of age, was raised to $20 per month. The veterans of the Spanish War now come under the general pension laws which formerly applied only to the veterans of earlier wars.

In 1918 an amendment was passed to the general pension act providing more liberal pensions.[1]

Pensions for total disability ($30 a month for Lieutenant-Colonel and all higher officers, and $8 a month for privates) are also provided for the regular army and navy.

Furthermore, at a certain age, officers are placed upon the retired list and draw three-quarters of their full pay.

Care of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Dependents. Until the Civil War very little had been done for the dependents of men in service. The first pension act which considered the soldiers' widows was that of 1836 which provided for the widows of Revolutionary soldiers whose marriage had taken place before the close of their terms of service. From 1871 widows of the survivors of the War of 1812 were allowed pensions, and from 1892 widows of the soldiers in the Indian Wars. As early as 1862 pensions were provided for the widows

[1] Any person who served 90 days or more in the military or naval forces during the Civil War, either now on the pension roll or to be placed upon the roll and entitled to receive a less rate than "hereinafter provided" shall receive $30 per month. In case he has reached the age of 72 and served six months, his pension shall be $32 per month; one year $35 per month; one and a half years $38 per month; and two years or over $40 per month. *World Almanac*, 1919, p. 578.

of soldiers dying by reason of wounds received or disease contracted in the service. This act also pensioned children under 16 left by such soldiers, if the widow was not living, as well as dependent mothers and orphan sisters.[1]

Under the provisions of an act of 1918 the widow of an enlisted man or officer of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States, who served at least 90 days in the Spanish War, the Philippine Insurrection, or the Chinese Boxer Rebellion and who was honorably discharged, is entitled to a pension if she was married to him before the passage of the act, if she has no means of support except her own labor, and if she has a net income less than $250 a year.[2]

Regard for the dependents of Civil War volunteers in the North was shown early. Many of the states passed laws for the protection of the dependents of soldiers and sailors from creditors. For example, in 1861 a moratorium was declared in the state of Wisconsin for certain debts. In 1862 the legislature provided that men in the army who had bought state lands on credit should not be held to their contracts of payment. Similar laws were passed in Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois.

Nor did the states stop at such negative relief. Wisconsin, while standing practically alone in the Middle West, in undertaking to provide a money income to the dependents of the men in the service, was only one of a number of states which met this need in some positive way. Many of the states either passed laws authorizing counties to afford relief to dependents of men in the service, or later legalized the action of county authorities who had done so. Wisconsin allowed $5 a month, in addition to the regular pay to volunteers having families dependent upon them for support. Michigan made it a duty of the county boards to provide requisite relief up to $15 a month for families of volunteers. Ohio levied a state tax for the purpose, but left the administration of the relief to the counties. Even the families of officers were included in the Ohio provisions. While Illinois enacted no law on the subject, some of its northern counties provided some relief. It has been estimated that in the five states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, between $35,000,000 and $45,000,000 were spent during the Civil War on relief of soldiers' depend-

[1] *Nelson's Perpetual Loose Leaf Encyclopedia*, "Pensions."

[2] The rate of pension is $12 per month with $2 additional for each child below the age of 16 years.

ents. In Wisconsin alone about $6,500,000 were expended.[1] Nevertheless, the relief given was inadequate and often poorly administered so that with the progress of the war the pinch of poverty was felt increasingly by the dependents of those soldiers who were poor.

Soldiers' Homes. Soldiers' homes have been provided both in the North by the National Government and in the South by the states of the former Confederacy. The National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers was organized with branches at Dayton, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Togus, Maine; Hampton, Virginia; Leavenworth, Kansas; Santa Monica, California; Marion, Indiana; Danville, Illinois; Johnson City, Tennessee; and Hot Springs, South Dakota. In these homes are about 32,000 veterans.

The requirements for admission are: (1) an honorable discharge from the United States miliary service in war; (2) disability which prevents the applicant from earning his living by labor; (3) an agreement of those applying for entrance to abide by the regulations made by the board of managers, to perform all duties required of them, and to obey all lawful orders of the officers of the Home. The inmates are subject to the Rules and Articles of War and are governed thereby in the same manner as if they were in the Army.[2]

In addition to these branches of the National Home, 27 states have provided homes for disabled discharged volunteer soldiers.[3]

In addition, there is a home for discharged soldiers of the regular army at Washington, D. C., having about 824 resident soldiers, besides 133 on outdoor relief, some in St. Elizabeth's Hospital (about 43 in 1918), 181 on furlough and 106 in the United States Army Hospital at Fort Bayard, N. M.[4]

Certain states have established homes for Confederate Veterans.[5]

[1] Fish, "Social Relief in the Northwest During the Civil War," *American Historical Review,* Vol. XXII, No. 2 (Jan., 1917), p. 309.

[2] Moreover, a soldier or sailor must forward with his application for admission his discharge paper, and if a pensioner, his pension certificate, to be returned to him when discharged. In case his original discharge paper does not exist he must secure and forward in its stead a certified copy thereof.

[3] These states are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

[4] *World Almanac,* 1919, p. 608.

[5] Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, Florida, Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia. *World Almanac,* 1919, p. 585.

PROVISIONS FOR THE CARE OF MEN AND THEIR DEPENDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORLD WAR

With the outbreak of the war in 1914 the nations involved were forced to reorganize their whole system of caring for the dependents of men in the service and of those disabled during the war. The governments concerned also stimulated the organization of new voluntary agencies or the reorganization of already existing agencies to supplement governmental provisions for the men and their families. More than two years before the United States entered the war, Congress passed the War Risk Insurance Act, radically amended it in 1917, and again in 1918. The War Risk Insurance Act made provision for the support of a man's dependents while he was in the service, provided for his compensation and the compensation of his dependents if he was disabled, and provided him insurance against death or disability at a rate very much less than that charged by the private insurance companies. In addition the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act provided a moratorium for the debts of those who entered the army or navy, in order that without mental distraction they might devote their entire energies to the service of their country.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act. This act stayed procedure for the collection of ordinary debts contracted before the passage of the act, arrested legal proceedings for collection of a moderate rent, enforcement of installment contracts, and mortgages, and for the protection of the service man's insurance policies.[1] Moreover, this law guaranteed a man's interest in real estate property by staying the collection of taxes and unpaid instalments on public lands.

Moratorium acts were passed also by various states.[2] While these acts are by no means uniform, the purpose of all was to relieve the soldier or sailor of worry concerning any civil proceeding which jeopardized his property while he was in the army or navy.

PROVISION FOR DEPENDENTS

Of more direct value in meeting the immediate needs of dependents were the provisions of the War Risk Insurance Act. At the outbreak

[1] Both the insured and the insurance company were protected by the deposit by the Government of its bonds with the insurance company to cover the default of premiums.

[2] Among these were Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Iowa, Texas, Oregon, North Dakota, and South Dakota. *World Almanac*, 1919, p. 581.

of the war, the rate of pay for the ordinary private was doubled for the express purpose of enabling him to make some contribution from his pay to their support. The law provided for *allotments* from his pay for dependents. These allotments were compulsory in the case of Class A dependents, namely, wife or child. They were voluntary in the case of Class B dependents, for the payment of insurance premiums, or the purchase of Liberty Bonds. If he had Class A dependents he must allot $15 a month of his pay except in certain specified cases. If he had no dependents of any kind he was not allowed to spend the entire $30 a month but $15 was set aside by the treasury department and held for him until his discharge, drawing 4 per cent interest.

In addition to these allotments from a man's pay for his dependents the government provided them with *allowances* from its own funds.

No allowance, however, was granted unless the man himself made an allotment. The allowances were graduated in amount according to the needs of the family.[1]

Allowances were also provided for Class B dependents if they were dependent in whole or in part on the enlisted man.

Moreover, the *compensation* provisions of the War Risk Insurance Act gave protection to the family in case a man was killed or disabled. This feature of the law was enacted to take the place of the pensions which had been given to soldiers and their dependents after previous wars. It provided for compensation in case of the death or the disability of any commissioned officer or enlisted man or any member of the army nurse corps (female) or the navy nurse corps (female) when employed in active service under the war department or navy department, when the death or disability resulted from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in line of duty. In case of death compensation was paid to the widow or children or to the dependent father and mother.[2] In determining dependency no account

[1] For example, the government allowed, for a wife, $15; for a wife and one child, $25; for a wife and two children, $32.50; with $5 per month additional for each additional child. If there was no wife but one child, $5; two children, $12.50; three children, $20; four children, $30, with $5 additional a month for each additional child. If a man had a former wife divorced who had not remarried and to whom alimony had been decreed, an allowance up to $15 was made her by the government but not to exceed the amount of the alimony decreed her by the court. Provision was also made for the apportionment of allotment and allowance between the wife and child if the child was not in the custody of the wife.

[2] The rates were as follows: If a widow and no children, $25 monthly; widow and one child, $35; widow and two children, $42.50, with $5 for each

was taken of any income from government insurance which the man may have had for the benefit of his dependents. That is, compensation is in addition to the money provided by the insurance.

Still another provision for the protection of a man's dependents was the *insurance* policies issued to the man in service by the government. The government was forced to provide insurance to its men because of the increased premiums and decreased benefits announced by private insurance companies immediately after the declaration of war. The government could not allow its men to go unprotected into battle, hence organized its insurance department. These provisions were most liberal.[1]

Originally, in order to prevent the loss of insurance by unwise investments it provided for the payment to the beneficiaries of the face of the policy in 240 monthly instalments. After the armistice this was mistakenly changed so that the amount could be paid in a lump sum. This should be changed so that the beneficiary, usually a woman or a child, should not have the opportunity to lose the money left them for their protection, as about 60 per cent of the proceeds of all insurance policies paid in lump sums are either spent or lost within six years after payment.[2]

Thus, by allotments from the man's pay, by an additional allowance from government funds, by compensation to the dependents of the man killed or disabled, and by insurance, the government did its best to see that the families of the men did not suffer while they were away, and if they died or were disabled that the families received something toward their support for at least 20 years to come.

The Work of the Red Cross for the Dependents of Soldiers and Sailors. On the declaration of war by the United States President Wilson, the president of the Red Cross, appointed a war council which should have charge of the work of the Red Cross in ministering to

additional child up to two. If no widow but one child, $20; two children, $30; three children, $40, with $5 for each additional child up to two. If there was a dependent mother or dependent father, $20 for one, or both, $30.

[1] A man could take out government insurance in multiples of $500 from $1,000 to $10,000. During the period of the war it was what was called Renewable Term Insurance, i. e., it was paid in monthly instalments and the policy was renewable each year. Provision was made whereby the Renewable Term Insurance at the option of the insured could be kept up for five years after the termination of the war, or within five years after discharge it could be converted into various forms of old line insurance still under government auspices. The government did not include in premiums any charge for administration or for the extra hazard of war, basing its premiums upon the American mortality experience table in peace times.

[2] *The Survey*, Nov. 20, 1920, p. 282.

the men in the army and navy and their dependents at home.[1] A thorough reorganization of the American Red Cross took place to adapt it to the tremendous task it had on hand. Drive after drive for funds for its work was made, the first one collecting $115,000,000. With these sinews of war the whole country was organized for the care both of the men in training camps and overseas and their dependents who were left at home. It is neither possible nor appropriate here to enter into a discussion of the remarkable extension of the work of this organization except as it relates to the care of the dependents of soldiers and sailors.

For the purposes of administration the country was divided into 13 divisions, each with a headquarters for the administration of the work in that division. One of the departments in the national organization and in each of the divisions was the Department of Civilian Relief, which had for one of its main purposes the care of the dependents of men who entered the service. Every foot of territory within each division was rapidly organized into chapters. Each chapter was subdivided into branches. Within each chapter there was a Home Service Committee, to have charge of the families of the men in service. Shortly after the signing of the armistice there had been organized 3,618 such committees with sub-committees in 11,190 branches and with a force of 50,000 workers, trained and untrained, devoting part or all of their time to this work.

Policies were determined at Washington, sent down to division offices and then relayed to chapter chairmen throughout the country. In addition to a large force in each of the division offices in direct contact with the chapters stimulating them to assume responsibility for the care of the families in each chapter's jurisdiction, giving advice on policies of caring for the families through correspondence, as soon as possible a field force was organized to work out from each division office among the chapters, thus stimulating by personal contact and helping the local chapters to solve the difficult problems of family service which at once arose.

The Red Cross was charged with seeing to it that every family in the chapter jurisdiction had adequate attention and care. The local chapter through its Home Service Committee took up with Washington delayed allotments and allowances, got information concerning the absent men, worked with the families in any problems which came up, and helped by personal service to solve them. Perhaps because

[1] The date of this appointment was May 10, 1917.

of the absence of the men of the family a boy had become incorrigible. The Home Service Committee had the responsibility of assisting the wife or mother to solve that problem. Perhaps it was a question of health. This problem was taken up and its solution worked out with the family. Very often also the allotment from the man and the allowance given by the government, even when received, were not adequate to maintain a decent standard of life. Under those conditions the wife or mother was tempted to go to work or to take children out of school and place them at work. The Red Cross saw to it that the family was kept in as good condition as if the man were at home and that the progress of the children was not interfered with. Hence when necessary the chapter supplemented the income received from the man and the government by whatever amount was necessary to maintain the family in health and comfort. Thus the morale of the fighting man was sustained since he need not worry about the condition of loved ones at home. The health, education and moral condition of the family were protected so that when the man returned he should have no just cause of grievance against his government and his neighbors for neglect of his family.

How much disaster was thus avoided, how much suffering evaded, no one can ever know. While the money expended on this work is no measure even of the amount of service rendered, and still less an indication of the value of the work, perhaps the figures may suggest the measure of service. Up to February 28, 1919, the chapters had spent $8,790,000 on this work. In addition National Headquarters had expended on the administration of the work $1,204,730.61. It is estimated that not less than 500,000 families during this period received service from the Home Service sections of the Red Cross.[1]

While America had the advantage of the experience of the European Allies and of Canada upon which to build when she entered the war, it is probably not too much to say that no nation ever went to war with as careful preparation to prevent disaster and to minimize the suffering incidental to war in the families of its men.

[1] *Work of the American Red Cross During the War, A Statement of Finances and Accomplishments for the Period July 1, 1917-February 28, 1919*, Washington, 1919, pp. 26-27. In the central division of the Red Cross comprising the five states of Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and Nebraska, during the eleven months from March 1, 1918 to January 31, 1919, the Home Service Sections rendered service to 241,791 families at an expense of $1,019,464.54. One would think that on the basis of these figures since the central division had only 15,200,000 population out of a total population of the country of 102,000,000 that the estimates given above were too small for the entire country.

PROVISIONS FOR THE MAN HIMSELF

Some of the provisions for the care of dependents cited above apply to the men as well.

Compensation for Injury. In case the man himself was disabled, whether he had insurance or not, if his disability amounted to 10 per cent or more and was received in line of duty, he was entitled to compensation. If the injury was of such a nature that no treatment would enable him to recover from it, such as an amputation or the loss of a member or the permanent injury of a function, he was entitled to compensation as long as he lived no matter how great his earning power became either through his own efforts or through government re-education. If the disability was not permanent, he received compensation as long as it amounted to 10 per cent or more. In case of total disability if the man had neither wife nor children he received $30 a month so long as it continued. If he had a wife, $45 a month; if a wife and one child, $55; if a wife and two children, $65; if a wife and three children, $75; if no wife but one child living $40, and $10 additional for each additional child up to two. If he had a mother or father, either or both dependent upon him for support, then he received $10 in addition for each. If he lost both feet or both hands or both eyes, or became totally blinded or helpless and permanently bed-ridden, the rate of compensation was $100 per month.

Medical and Surgical Treatment of the Disabled. In addition to compensation the government furnished without cost necessary hospital care and medical and surgical treatment. As the men began to come back such hospitals were established in various parts of the country and every effort was made to give them the best treatment known to modern medicine. These hospitals have been specialized for different kinds of cases, some for cases of shell shock or psychoneurosis, others for blindness, others for amputations, others for the tubercular, and still others for the deaf.[1]

The remarkable thing in this war has been that about 80 per cent of the men injured in battle and handled through the hospitals overseas recovered and returned to the front for further service. Of those returned from overseas about 90 per cent were candidates for physical reconstruction; only about 20 per cent were permanently disabled, partially or totally.[2]

[1] Davidson, *The American Red Cross in the Great War*, New York, 1919, p. 124.
[2] McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier*, New York, 1919, p. 37.

Disability Insurance. The policies issued by the government for the men in service not only provided for insurance for the beneficiary named in the policy but insured the man himself against total disability. Each monthly payment to the totally disabled man amounted to $5.75 for each thousand dollars of insurance carried. This was in addition to any compensation he might be granted for disability.

Vocational Rehabilitation. If the man was injured either from accident or disease in line of duty, he was entitled to re-education for such vocation as he seemed to be fitted for. This act was approved by the president June 27, 1918, and was amended July 11, 1919, in the direction of greater liberality. The purpose of it was "to provide for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes." The act established the Federal Board for Vocational Education which has charge of the administration of the law. It provided for the re-education of every discharged disabled man whose disability had been incurred, increased, or aggravated, or who later developed a disability traceable in the opinion of the board to his service, and who in the opinion of the board needed the vocational rehabilitation to overcome his handicap. While following this course of re-education he is to be paid monthly by the board such a sum as is necessary for his maintenance and support and for the maintenance and support of persons dependent upon him, up to $80 a month for a single man without dependents and $100 for a man with dependents plus the several sums prescribed as family allowances. While he is undergoing training he is not entitled to compensation unless the amount to which he is entitled is in excess of the payments made to him by the Board for Vocational Education. In that case the Bureau of the War Risk Insurance has to supply the deficiency between the amount paid him by the board and the amount to which he would be entitled under the War Risk Insurance Act.[1]

The chief difficulty with this beneficent law was the anxiety of the men to get home to their families rather than to spend time in educating themselves for a new vocation. However, through the Home Service Sections of the Red Cross and the efforts of the government, large numbers of men are taking advantage of the provisions of the law.

In this wise legislation the United States drew again upon the experience of countries earlier in the war, especially France, England,

[1] *Handbook of Information and Instruction for Home Service Sections*, American Red Cross, Department of Civilian Relief, December, 1918, pp. 235-238.

and Canada. The whole purpose of the legislation was to prevent the crop of crippled men which has followed all other wars and which inevitably drifts into idleness instead of becoming useful self-supporting citizens. Experience had shown that many men would not take a vocational re-education, because by such training their government compensation was lessened; hence England, Canada, and the United States provided that the increased earning capacity of the man following vocational re-education should not affect the amount of compensation to the permanently injured man. It was the hope of the government that while some of the men who take the training may find it convenient to stop work and depend upon the government compensation, a very much smaller number will be found living in idleness than if they had not been trained for a useful vocation.

Re-employment. After a disabled man has been trained for a vocation suited to his disability the problem remains of finding a position for him. In the first flush of sympathy for disabled men employers gladly employed them whether they could do a man's work or not. However, experience has shown that as time goes on the worker may find himself in a position not suited to his disability and both he and his employer may tire of the bargain. On the other hand, if he is placed in an occupation where he can do a man's work and for it receive a man's pay, the employment lacks the degrading spirit of charity, the man feels that he is independent, the employer that he is receiving dollar for dollar in value for what he pays the man, and the man himself is a happy, satisfied person with his independence unimpaired.

The war thrust the problem upon the other countries engaged in war, earlier than on America. Germany had already at hand her great technical schools for the re-education of these men. England also had ready to hand her technical institutions. France had to begin anew on the problem. The results of the experience in these nations show that with careful consideration of the vocational field and a careful study of the man's past employment and personal aptitudes it is possible to fit him to a job suited to his disability and his tastes. European experience has shown that one-half of the 20 per cent who returned permanently disabled, partially or wholly, are able to return to their former occupation without the need of re-education. The other half must be retrained and replaced. Experience has shown that even a blind man need not be dependent upon the charity of the people or upon his compensation and insurance; that he can be busy and

useful at a trade suited to his disability. In many cases he can earn with his disability more than he earned before. Large numbers of the men can be returned to agriculture; others can be found positions in public service, not as sinecure positions but positions for which they are better fitted than others.[1]

The placement of these men must be done carefully. It cannot be committed to a general employment office unless special attention has been given to the subject of placing disabled men.

In addition to placement the employment service must carefully follow up these men either with its own representatives or through the representatives of agencies like Red Cross chapters with which it coöperates. If a man is not carefully followed when he goes to work he is likely to become discouraged. His employer must be taught to understand the man's needs and the necessity of giving encouragement until he has found his self-confidence again. If the position is such that it is not suited to him another can be found for him. Thus the social service worker can be of the greatest value to him in the first few months after he begins the fight for independent self-support. He must be given every support possible during the time that he is adjusting himself to a new vocation.

In these various ways out of the war have grown measures for saving its wreckage such as the world has never seen before. How important these measures are can be imagined by one who visualizes the enormous losses of humanity by European nations. The disturbance of ordinary occupation incident to the greatest war in history, the poverty of the peoples of Europe, the breaking up of large numbers of families through the death and disablement of the breadwinners, and the tremendous waste which has brought nearly to bankruptcy every nation in Europe are results which to a degree these measures promise to alleviate. They have awakened whole nations to a sense of the importance of constructive measures for those visited by death and other natural calamities either in war or peace.

[1] For details as to the occupations open to disabled men see McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier,* Chaps. VIII, IX, X, XI, XII.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Digest of the War Risk Insurance Legislation of the United States. Consult any good encyclopedia; or any good handbook, such as the *International Year Book,* or the *American Year Book;* or *Handbook of Information and Instructions for Home Service Sections of the American Red Cross, A. R. C., No. 207,* Washington, 1918, Sec. 605.
2. The Canadian Patriotic Fund. *The Survey,* Mar. 17, 24, 31, 1917.
3. The Home Service work of the American Red Cross in the World War. *Handbook of Information, etc., of the American Red Cross, A. R. C., No. 207.*
4. Provisions of foreign countries for the dependents of service men in the World War. *Governmental Provisions in the United States and Foreign Countries for Members of the Military Forces and their Dependents,* Children's Bureau Publication, No. 28, Washington, 1917.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE UNEMPLOYED

UNEMPLOYED and homeless men, for the most part victims of our industrial system, demand attention because some of them are the recipients of charitable relief and because unemployment often starts a man or family on the downward road to poverty and pauperism.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM IN ITS BEARING UPON POVERTY AND PAUPERISM

Unemployment directly produces poverty. In every period of unemployment the work of charity organizations and relief associations is greatly increased. When there is lack of work many an independent family suffers, exhausts its savings and then becomes dependent. Hence, in the chain of causes producing poverty and pauperism unemployment is of prime importance.

Equally great, too, is the indirect influence of unemployment on poverty and pauperism. Unemployment and irregular employment very seriously impair the moral fiber of individuals. The loss of a job in itself is a disheartening experience. The feeling of helplessness and uncertainty which comes over the man out of work is demoralizing. If unemployment is frequent or long, ambition is destroyed. Intermittent involuntary idleness produces restlessness and incapacity to hold a steady job. Idleness comes to be desired more than honest labor. The sense of family responsibility is weakened or destroyed. Pessimism takes the place of hope and finally utter demoralization of the wage-earner and his family ensues.

EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Unemployment varies with industrial conditions. The investigations of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Metropolitan Insurance Company, covering 16 cities in the East and Middle West in 1915, showed that of 401,548 families studied, an average of 15 per cent were suffering from unemployment, or, of the wage-earners

in those families, numbering 647,394, 11.5 per cent were unemployed. In addition 16.5 per cent were working only part time.

The percentage of unemployment varied from city to city. Duluth, Minnesota, ranked highest with 20.3 per cent of all wage-workers without any work and 17.8 per cent working only part time. The lowest was found in Bridgeport, Connecticut, where the unemployed did not exceed 4.3 per cent, although nearly one-fifth were reported to be working only part time.

Moreover, this study showed that in nearly all of the cities the largest number of unemployed wage-earners were unemployed 31 days or over. Hence, it was not merely a temporary matter of little importance.[1]

The Secretary of Labor estimated in January, 1919, that one million American wage-earners were unemployed. In the 1900 census, the last in which the figures for unemployment have been published, nearly 25 per cent of all those in gainful occupations had been unemployed sometime during the year. Nearly half of these had lost from one to three months' work each, and nearly one-ninth had lost from seven to twelve months each.[2]

Hornell Hart estimates the number idle in the United States at all times between 1902 and 1917 at from one to six millions.[3]

CLASSES OF THE UNEMPLOYED

For purposes of treatment the unemployed may be divided into five classes:

1. Those temporarily unemployed who are employable. These are both able and willing to work, but find themselves with nothing to do. With these people the main problem is to find a new job.

2. The temporarily unemployed who do not long hold a job. These comprise those who because of personal fault and temperament, or of habit, are inefficient. They are hired and fired or quit without staying at any one job for any great length of time. This class represents either misfits in industry or those who by reason of industrial conditions are on their way to become permanent loafers.

3. Those who are somewhat permanently unemployed but who are

[1] *Unemployment in the United States,* Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics No. 195.

[2] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation,* New York, 1920, p. 287.

[3] *Fluctuations in Unemployment in Cities of the United States, 1902-1917,* Helen S. Trounstine, Foundation Studies, Vol. I, No. 2, 1918, pp. 51, 52.

employable. These are sufferers from changes in the labor market. They are able and willing to work, but industrial conditions have thrown them out of a position.

4. Those who are permanently unemployed and unemployable. They comprise the tramps and hobos who, as Dr. Washington Gladden said, "make their living by seeking a job and by succeeding in never finding one." Many of these are men from Class 2 who have finally become confirmed in idleness.

5. Those who are permanently unemployed and are viciously or incorrigibly unwilling to work. These are the confirmed victims of personal defect and of social conditions. Oftentimes they make their living by committing petty crimes or by begging.

Each of these classes requires special treatment, by charitable agencies, by criminal institutions, or by legislation. As stated by Commons and Andrews, "How to provide satisfactory means of caring for the shiftless and the criminal is primarily a problem of charity and correction, but the prevention of unemployment is a problem of industrial organization." [1]

To classify more broadly, there are three classes of the unemployed who are employable: those regularly employed, those under-employed, and the unemployed. Those irregularly employed are subdivided into: first, those for whose labor there is an irregular demand; second, those who even in the face of steady demand do not work regularly, either on account of sickness or on account of their own irregular habits. The under-employed include: first, those who for one reason or another are frequently without a job; second, those who have a steady job but who because of the irregularities in demand are not able to work more than part time; third, those who because of irregular habits do not work every day.[2] By the unemployed we mean those who are definitely out of a job because their labor contract has been terminated either by their employer or by themselves. It may include also those who have been laid off for a certain length of time but have not been absolutely discharged. Often such a condition arises in periods of industrial disturbances such as a depression or a disaster such as a fire or explosion.

The problem for each of these classes is quite different. It is not the same for the man who wants to work but who cannot get it as

[1] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, p. 289.
[2] Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1919, p. 69.

it is for him who prefers not to work. Neither is it the same for the man who is discharged for inefficiency as for him who is an efficient workman but because of temperamental characteristics is constantly falling out with his boss. The problem of relief arises when, whatever the cause, they do not have enough to provide a decent living.

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The classification of the causes of unemployment here proposed is for the purpose of making clear the factors with which remedial and preventive measures may deal, and may not be the best logical arrangement. We discriminate causes (1) due to conditions within industry itself, (2) personal causes, (3) social causes, that is, causes arising from social changes and social motives outside of industry, and (4) natural causes, that is, events which result from the forces of physical nature. If we know the agencies responsible for the conditions which lead to unemployment, we may perhaps change conditions by working directly upon these agencies, or by insurance we may spread out the damage so that it will not fall so directly upon a single individual or a class.

CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY

As to (1) there are two general conditions in industry which affect employment: first, there is the fluctuation in demand for labor; and, second, there are the labor policies of industries.

Fluctuations in Demand for Labor. Fluctuations in demand for labor are due to a number of causes. The following are cited as examples:

1. *The Labor Reserve and a Disorganized Labor Market.* Employers like to have a surplus of labor so that they will always be certain of a sufficient number of laborers to take care of their utmost demands. They also find it profitable to have a surplus of labor because the competition from the employer's point of view has a good effect upon the rate of wages. Some of our large industries locate at least one of their factories at a place where there is certain to be at most times a considerable surplus of workers. For example, a few years ago it was the policy of a certain sugar refining company to make its refinery in a certain city a safety valve for the industry. At times of lively demands for sugar this plant would be open while at other times when the demand was slack that particular factory would be

shut down. That city had a sufficient number of laborers not steadily working to serve the purposes of the company.

Often advertisements for laborers are placed in newspapers for the purpose of accumulating local labor reserves.[1] In addition, however, to the labor reserve thus artificially provided the conditions of the labor market in America make inevitable a surplus supply of labor even in the busiest seasons of industry. Some of this is due to the fact that men happen to be at places where there is not a demand for their particular abilities.

Moreover, at seasons when their service is not needed the migratory laborers constitute a labor reserve. The situation is all the more serious by reason of the fact that this surplus of labor is scattered all over the country without any mechanism whereby either the men or the employers can know where on one hand there is work for which they are fitted and on the other where there are men adapted to the need. The difficulty lies in the lack of organization in the labor market. This has made it possible for employers to count upon a surplus of men in the neighborhood of their plant.

2. *Seasonal Fluctuations.* While these are due to natural causes rather than to the organization of the labor market, they account to a considerable extent for widespread unemployment. In the northern United States many trades, such as building and construction work, are largely summer occupations. Clothing industries vary with the season. In winter there is a demand for commodities like coal and for entertainment and recreation furnished by theaters, concerts, etc., which gives occupation to those engaged in these industries. Logging flourishes in the winter months. Ice cannot be packed in summer time. Workers in electric light plants are more numerous in winter than in summer.

3. *Fluctuations Due to Business Cycles.* In periods of the liveliest industrial activity, such as we saw during the last years of the War, every available man is at work. Even those of the lowest industrial efficiency are employed. While the labor turnover is enormous in such periods, it is due largely to the defects of the man himself rather than to deficiencies in the industrial organization. On the other hand, however, when a business depression comes large numbers are discharged, first, of course, the least efficient workers.

4. *Fluctuations Due to Maladjustments in Business Organization.* In addition to the unemployment caused by the fluctuations in demand

[1] Lescohier, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

for labor just cited there is the unemployment due to interindustrial relations which cause one industry to shut down by reason of the fact that another does not supply material or service. For example, factories sometimes have to shut down on account of lack of coal. The shortage of coal may be due either to the breakdown of the transportation system or a shutdown in the coal industry due to strikes or other causes. A strike of the miners in the ore regions of Michigan and Wisconsin may throw thousands of men out of employment at Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and every other iron center. This may so affect construction gangs working either on railroads or buildings that thousands of more men are laid off. Hence, these maladjustments in organization of industry very often affect employment both directly and indirectly.

5. *Fluctuations Within an Industry.* Within an industry itself there are changes in demand. The industry may be undergoing transformation. Invention of new machinery may lessen the demand for men. A new process may be invented requiring less men than before or men of different capacities. Business failures may occur, shutting up the plant and throwing hundreds or thousands of men out of employment. A large corporation may be formed controlling hitherto competing plants and thus cause large numbers of plants to be absolutely closed. A few years ago when various plants manufacturing strawboard were bought up by a large corporation, many of the smaller plants were closed.

6. *Changes in Buying Capacity.* These and other influences already cited affect the buying capacity of the country. At present we are experiencing a crisis resulting in a lessened capacity to buy goods. In response to dull conditions in industry, wages are being readjusted, and this in turn has cut down the purchasing power of the laboring classes. Since the wage-earners are so numerous in the country, industry feels the effect and the shutting down of production goes on apace. Thus, unemployment breeds unemployment.

7. *Changes in Popular Demand for Articles Consumed.* Constantly industrial changes are going on by reason of changes in taste and fashion. For example, the invention of the motor car has very greatly diminished the demand for bicycles. Those employed in bicycle factories and shops had to seek other positions. Many men who could not adjust themselves to new lines of work were for a time out of employment.

Fashions and vogues have a similar effect. A novelty will appear

which becomes the style. Large numbers are employed in making the article. The fashion dies or is displaced by another with the result that workmen are dislodged, some of whom remain unemployed.

These changes are more serious to the old for the older the worker the less adaptable he is to a new job.

Labor Policies of Industries. Policies in the hiring and firing of men have a very direct effect upon the matter of employment. Some of these policies are inevitable with an unorganized labor market and some seem to be the result of purpose on the part of employment managers.

One of these policies is that of hiring new men rather than training men for a permanent job. The processes of modern industry have become so specialized and the division of labor so minute that employers have, without considering the cost, often pursued the policy of hiring a new man rather than spending any efforts carefully to select and train men who by natural capacity and personal characteristics would be adapted to the task and remain with the firm. The result has been an enormous labor turnover which has greatly aggravated the labor problem and contributed to irregularity of employment. The decay of the apprenticeship system has accompanied the division of labor, and increased labor turnover.

Another policy incident to the increasing size of industries has psychological results of the greatest importance for the problem of unemployment. Industrial organizations have become so large that labor force is regimented; personal relationship which once obtained no longer exists. The inefficiency of the worker has made cynical the employer or employment manager; the worker is sought for when he is needed and discharged in slack periods without a thought for his welfare. Conditions of employment sometimes are so prejudicial to health and safety that the laborer is in constant fear of injury. All of these factors have widened the breach between the management and the men. The policy of keeping a larger labor force than is necessary by means of part time employment also irritates the men. The result is a disgust, leading men to quit employment at the least provocation. On the other hand, the management, exasperated by the seeming lack of interest on the part of the employees, fires men without the least concern for what will become of them. Recently, however, a new spirit has begun to appear in labor management which may bring about more coöperation between employer and employee.

and in the end may lessen the labor turnover and the demoralization of the worker from frequent changes in occupation.[1]

PERSONAL CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Many are unemployed because they are unemployable. A disabled man labors under a handicap in competition with able-bodied workers. A mental defective is at a serious disadvantage. These physical or mental deficiencies range all the way from lack of physical strength to a crippled condition; from the listless, unambitious loafer to the feeble-minded person or the epileptic, insane and psychopathic. How many there are of these defective persons in the industrial world we do not know. They make up a large part, however, we are led to suspect, of the unemployable and those drifting from job to job.

The medical examinations of the men drafted for the European War gave the United States the first big picture it has had since the Civil War of the physical and mental condition of the population. Out of 2,510,000 men examined at local draft boards 29.1 per cent were found so physically defective that they were rejected.[2] Of the 278,537 applicants for enlistment in the army 77.3 per cent were rejected for like cause.[3] Among the drafted men the ailments standing out most prominently were tuberculosis, mental deficiency, underweight, *otitis media* and epilepsy, with over-weight, *dementia præcox* and chronic alcoholism playing lesser rôles. The rejections at the camps showed flat-foot as the most important defect, with social diseases standing next. Then follow throat diseases, heart diseases, tuberculosis, mental deficiency, under-weight, defective physical development, *dementia præcox* and drug addiction.[4]

The amount of physical and mental deficiency varies greatly for different classes and parts of the country. The number of men with physical deficiency from tuberculosis varies from 22 per thousand in Arkansas to 1.16 in Pennsylvania; from epilepsy from 5.25 per thousand in Louisiana to negligible fractions in Utah and South Dakota; from mental deficiency from 10.93 in North Carolina to .44 in Utah and .54 in Vermont and Pennsylvania. Similar variations are found in the incidence of other defects.

Moreover, between city and country there were great differences.

[1] For a detailed discussion of many of these points see Lescohier, *op. cit.*, Chaps. I-IV.
[2] *World Almanac*, 1920, p. 612.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 614.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 612, 613.

Tuberculosis was commoner in the cities than in the country, while mental deficiency was twice as common in the rural districts as in the cities, and more than twice as common in the city of average size as in the largest cities like New York and Chicago. Defects of vision were more frequent in urban than in rural communities and were especially common in the large cities.[1]

The bearing of these facts upon unemployment is obvious. It is the deficients who are the first to suffer from industrial depression, who drift from job to job, who suffer from long periods of unemployment, and who have to pick up casual jobs to eke out an existence.

That mental defect accounts for a large number of the unemployable is apparent from every study made of this class. For example, Bonhöffer in his study of German tramps found 12 per cent were so insane that Section 51 of the Penal Code of Germany applied to them, while "much larger, as would naturally follow, was the number of those who, from a psychiatrical point of view, would be classified as having 'decreased responsibility.' If we should include all those with slighter acquired or congenital psychic defects, all imbeciles, epileptics, inebriates, senile individuals, and those that were pathologically irritable, the number would exceed 75 per cent of the whole." [2] Alice Solenberger found that of 1,000 homeless men in Chicago 81 were dependent because of mental unfitness. Of these, 52 were or had been recently insane; 19 were feeble-minded; and 18 epileptic.[3]

Their defects may be due to hereditary incapacity, physical or mental. Dr. Woolley examined 50 working girls of 18 years of age in the Cincinnati Vocational Bureau. Of these, 26 per cent fell below the standard of 75 points by the Yerkes-Bridges scale. Of 100 she examined later 33 per cent failed to measure up to this minimum requirement of intelligence. Not all of these girls can be described as feeble-minded but when even a more conservative standard like that of Dr. Haynes is taken, 16 per cent of Dr. Woolley's 100 girls were found to lack the intelligence required in industry.[4]

Disease or accident may have caused the deficiency. Sometimes the factory itself is responsible for the accident or the disease; sometimes conditions in the community are responsible; often the heredity is to blame. Sometimes the deficiency is due to malnutrition, bad home

[1] *World Almanac,* 1920, pp. 612, 613.
[2] Cited in Aschaffenburg, *Crime and Its Repression,* Boston, 1913, pp. 191, 192.
[3] *One Thousand Homeless Men,* Chap. VI.
[4] Mabel R. Fernald, "Applications of Psychology," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Jan., 1917, p. 729.

conditions, and unsanitary neighborhoods. The worker goes to his work without that mental alertness so essential to efficient production. His body tires easily. He has no ambition. He is the equivalent of a man who is by inheritance defective physically or mentally except that with proper conditions his natural ability will manifest itself. Yet until recently employers were not concerned about the conditions under which their laborers lived. Even yet many of them take no interest in community improvements which will provide better conditions for the worker. It is the growing consciousness of the importance of good living conditions for laborers that has led many wide-awake manufacturers to pay attention to industrial housing, sanitation, decent wages, and other conditions which allow the native ability of the worker its freest and most efficient expression.

Sometimes deficiencies are due to vice, drink, and other habits of dissipation. Without a doubt the racial poisons account for the inefficiency of many workers who are discharged and fall into the ranks of the unemployed if not the unemployable.

Others have deficiencies of temper and non-sociable traits which make them impossible to get along with. They are forever "flying up," showing insubordination, quarreling with their fellows or the boss, and ultimately they lose their jobs.

Besides the physical and mental deficients there are those who are personally inefficient from lack of education and proper industrial training. Their education has been so limited that they are unable to hold the position they get, or they must take the blind-alley jobs which offer themselves when they quit school. Messenger boys cannot be messenger boys forever. Consequently, when they have grown up they are discharged with nothing in sight for them but casual labor. Lack of industrial training has often the same result as lack of any education. With his natural capacities undeveloped, the range of vocations open to the individual is so limited that he is likely to be dislodged in a time of industrial crisis.

SOCIAL CAUSES

By social causes of unemployment I mean those which inhere in social organization or result from social ideals.

War. The first great social cause of industrial disturbance is war. As now organized it means the drawing of enormous numbers of workers into the army and navy. The first result is to create a shortage of labor, with the result that women and children and the

less efficient are employed. Consequently, at the beginning, and usually throughout a period of military activity there is to be found very little unemployment. Even the least efficient workers can get a job. While this seems to look in the direction of employment rather than unemployment, the results at the close of the war are most disturbing.

Moreover, industry has adapted itself to the production of the materials of war. When peace comes, the whole industrial organization has to be readjusted to peace-time demands, and while this is going on there is likely to be some unemployment. Then, too, demobilization floods the labor market. The most inefficient are now discharged. Sometimes women and young people who were drawn into industry during the war are retained because they are more amendable to discipline or are better workers, or cost the employer less.

Futhermore, after catching up with civilian demands for manufactured products a period of lessened production ensues. The nation is now trying to get back to a peace basis. It has borrowed great sums for prosecuting the war and now is endeavoring to retrench. Furthermore, deflation of the expanded currency usually becomes a part of public policy. If the war has been extensive, the burden of taxation is great, buying power is limited and hence there is a lessened demand for manufactured products. This leads to a slowing down of industry and the discharge of many employees.

Yet further, many of the ex-soldiers are possessed by a restlessness which prompts them for a time to drift from job to job. This restlessness seems to get into the blood of even the civilians who stayed at home. The consequence is a very marked increase in labor turnover due to the state of mind of the workers.

An Uncontrolled Labor Supply. Another social cause of unemployment is an uncontrolled labor supply. The most important element in this supply is immigration. Theoretically immigration is supposed to be controlled by the demand for labor. When there is keen industrial activity in the United States, labor is supposed to flow to our shores from countries where the opportunities for employment and good wages are less. When industry slackens, these immigrants are supposed to flow back or to some other country where the demand for labor is greater.

As a matter of fact, however, immigrant labor is not as fluid as this theory supposes. Knowledge of world conditions is neither as widely disseminated nor as accurate as is necessary to make this

theory work. Information is usually supplied to prospective immigrants by letters from their friends. It does not take into consideration the fitness of the worker for a particular kind of job or the variation in demand for different kinds of labor. Consequently there is always a surplus of immigrants who find difficulty in getting employment in the land to which they have come with such high hopes.

Furthermore, once a laborer is here he cannot always return to his native land. Often he has brought his family. He does not always have money to take them back. Again, he often is afraid to adventure even when he has surplus funds because he remembers the conditions which prevail in the country from which he came. Then, too, he has his friends here and these social ties may prevent his leaving a place where he hopes later to get employment. Until we further perfect some method of international labor exchange, uncontrolled immigration will be a constant source of the maladjustment which produces unemployment.[1]

Lack of Organization of the Labor Market. In this country there is very little organization of the labor market. Private employment agencies do something to supply labor where it is needed, but they are quite inadequate to solve the problem. The public employment agencies are so imperfectly developed that they too have failed in a large measure. Laborers do not know where their labor is needed; employers do not know where laborers are available. There is no adequate organization to bring the two together. The consequence is that there may co-exist in the same country and even in the same state large numbers of unemployed men and numbers of employers seeking men. The result is unemployment.

Lack of Public Organization of Education and Direction for Industrial Careers. Not only have we failed to organize the labor market but, what is even more important, we have failed to take the necessary social measures to provide our workers with an education fitting them for industrial careers. Still less have we provided guidance to young people in their choice of a vocation. The consequence is the blind-alley job with the resulting low standard of living and finally the loss of a job and unemployment. The worker untrained for anything in particular drifts from job to job and frequently becomes a casual or a tramp.

Lack of Organization to Smooth Out Industrial Demands. We have as yet done very little to stabilize industry and thus steady the

[1] See Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1919, Chap. I.

demand for labor. Hence at some seasons of the year certain industries take on practically all of the labor they can hire; at other seasons they discharge most of these men. In certain months business is going forward with feverish activity; at others industry is dull and men are laid off by the thousands. The coal mining industry is a good illustration; during the spring and early summer the demand for coal lessens on account of the warmer season. Storage facilities have not been developed so that the miners can go ahead providing coal for the coming winter. Consequently many of them are either unemployed or under-employed.

Furthermore, many industries making seasonal goods require much overtime during periods just preceding the season when these goods will be in demand. Clothing is a good illustration. The reason for this is that the producers do not wish to have their money tied up in unsold goods any longer than necessary, thus increasing interest charges. Furthermore, manufacturing on the eve of demand saves storage charges and insurance. We need, therefore, the development of storage facilities for bulky goods like coal so that the miner may work steadily all the year round. In manufacturing provision should be made either for credit operations which would provide capital for the manufacturer at low rates or else legislation which would prevent the working of overtime in such trades and thus force the employer to spread his industrial activity over a longer period of time. Of course from the economic point of view this would increase the cost of goods to the ultimate consumer. However, it is doubtful whether it would be more costly than the present plan of working overtime with the consequent undermining of health, lessened production due to fatigue, and the burden of charitable relief of the wornout and unemployed workers.

NATURAL CAUSES

Certain natural disturbances cause unemployment. A fire burns down a factory; until it is rebuilt the employees must find work elsewhere or be unemployed. Floods devastate a valley, driving workers from their homes, sometimes destroying factories or destroying crops which furnish the raw material to workers in industry. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions disrupt the industry of whole communities as, for instance, in the San Francisco earthquake.

Crop failures, and bad seasons in such industries as fishing, not only affect those directly employed in these industries but also those

who are engaged in working up these raw materials into finished products. A poor catch of fish on the banks of Newfoundland affects large numbers of people who never see the sea. Disease among the oysters will throw out of employment large numbers of people in plants where the oysters are prepared for shipping. Storms which sometimes destroy crops and frequently interfere with transportation or sweep away factories also contribute their share to the problem of unemployment.

All of these natural phenomena are very little affected by the efforts of man. While man has conquered nature at many points, he is able to affect nature's process very little, if at all. He can, however, spread out over the whole of society, through insurance, the damage inflicted, the property loss and the loss of life. As yet, however, we have not developed in this country social insurance against the effects of these natural causes in unemployment.[1]

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The results of unemployment, including irregular employment and under-employment, are of utmost importance to individual and social welfare. Some of these effects are:

1. Lessened Income. Since upon income depends the maintenance of a decent standard of life, income should be adequate and as regular as possible. Unless a man is steadily employed, he must either have considerable savings or the scale of living for his family and himself will inevitably be lowered.

Unsteady employment affects wages in three ways: "It reduces the amount of the workman's earnings; it causes irregularity of income; and it decreases his efficiency." [2] Whether unemployment is as important as sickness in causing the breakdown of family independence is a disputed question; nevertheless, it plays a great rôle in family demoralization. Says Dr. Devine: "From the point of view of the charitable agencies, the importance of this especially is indicated by the fact that in two-thirds of the families who come under the care of the Charity Organization Society in industrially normal times, one or more wage-earners are unemployed at the time of their application for aid." [3] Three-fourths of the applications for help to the

[1] For details on this whole discussion consult Lescohier, *op. cit.*, Chs. I-IV; Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920 Ch. VI.

[2] Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1918, p. 102.

[3] Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, New York, 1909, p. 117.

New York Charity Organization Society come to them by reason of sickness.[1] While therefore unemployment may not be the most important factor in destroying family independence it certainly stands next to sickness and possibly stands first. In Chicago, according to figures from the United Charities, "unsteady work caused a little over one-half of the applications for help." [2]

Lescohier states that "financially considered, it (unemployment) probably reduces the actual earnings of the American workers more than any other type of misfortune to which they are exposed." Investigations reveal the decided influence of unemployment upon yearly earnings. Thus Lescohier cites an investigation in Connecticut which showed that the actual earnings of employees in different industries fell from 13 per cent to 18 per cent below full-time earnings. In New York 62.1 per cent of the paper-box workers and 63.4 per cent of the confectionery workers fell more than 10 per cent below full-time earnings. The New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1911 estimated that 70 per cent of its applicants would not need outside aid if the work could be regular and the wages adequate; and investigation in Massachusetts showed that, while 72.8 per cent of the workers in the women's clothing industry were supposed to earn $6 a week or over, only half of them actually did so.[3] Thus, every study establishes the importance of the workers having regular employment.

2. **Destruction of the Worker's Efficiency.** As Lescohier has so well said of the worker, unemployment "undermines his physique, deadens his mind, weakens his ambition, destroys his capacity for continuous consistent endeavor; induces a liking for idleness and self-indulgence; saps self-respect and the sense of responsibility; impairs technical skill; weakens nerve and will-power; creates a tendency to blame others for his failures; saps his courage; prevents thrift and hope of family advancement; destroys a workman's feeling that he is taking good care of his family; sends him to work worried and underfed; plunges him into debt." [4]

3. **Effects on the Family.** In addition to the attack on financial resources of the family and the impairment of the efficiency of the workman, unemployment also strikes at every tie which makes

[1] Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, New York, 1909, p. 54.
[2] Lescohier, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

or wholesome family life. It forces the mother out of the home to upplement the earnings of the man; it takes children from school t the earliest possible moment and places them in industry. By aking the mother away from home it prevents her giving that care o the children which lies at the foundation of not only good health ut of good morals. It forces the family to move into poorer quarers; it compels them to reduce the scale of expenditure not only or those things that contribute to the spiritual development of the amily but even those things which are basic necessities for health nd vigor. Thus in every way unemployment destroys the very fabric f social life if at all frequent and long-continued. Therefore it is f the utmost importance that measures be taken to reduce unemployıent and irregular employment to a minimum.

4. **Industrial and Political Unrest.** When a considerable numer of men are unemployed they feel that they have a just cause of rievance. This is especially true of men who are very willing to ork but are unable to find it. The unemployed man feels that in nemployment he has one more cause of complaint against the indusial order. In the involuntarily idle the agitator may find fertile soil or the seeds of revolution. I do not mean to imply that unemployıent is the sole cause for industrial unrest. It is, however, important nough to challenge the attention of those who are solicitous in allaying ıe unrest so characteristic of our day.

5. **Social Demoralization.** Every season of unemployment sees great increase of drunkenness, theft and crimes of violence. The ıoral standards of the unemployed man are impaired by spells of lleness; time lies heavy upon his hands; constantly seeking work ithout finding it discourages him; and unless employment is found ı the course of time even the good workman may become desperate ıough to steal and to commit crimes of violence. The unsteady workrs are even more likely to fall into crime than the steady workers. sually they have no savings to tide them over. Their characters re already weakened. A period of unemployment pushes them over ıe line into criminality. These and the unemployable are the reserbir from which comes the flood of criminals which springs up in every eriod of hard times.

In the dull time of 1914 it is reported that in Boston men comitted petty crimes in order that they might be sent to the workhouse. hen they were sure of their keep while their wives might draw rom the city 50 cents a day. In 21 cities burglaries increased 30 per

cent over the number in 1912, vagrancy 51 per cent, robberies 61 per cent, and mendicants 105 per cent. The divorce and suicide rates also increased.[1]

METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The simplest method of obtaining employment is for the man out of work to go from factory to factory. This method, however, is no solution of the problem. There may be no openings for the man in the community in which he lives. As has recently been said, "the haphazard method of tramping the streets in search of work is no method at all. It is sure of success neither to the idle worker in his search for his work, nor to the employer in his search for workers. On the contrary, by its very lack of system it needlessly swells the tide of unemployment and through the foot-weary, discouraging tramping which it necessitates often leads to vagrancy and to crime." [2]

Another method largely used at the present time is advertisement in the newspapers. It is estimated that the newspaper advertisement costs about $5 for every worker thus obtained. Say Commons and Andrews: "If the money spent brought commensurate results there would be less grounds for complaint, but at the present an employer advertises for help in several papers because not all workers read the same paper. The employee lists the positions advertised and then starts on the day's tramp. At one gate 50 or 100 men may be waiting for a single job, while in other places 100 employers may be waiting, each for a single employee. Unnecessary duplication of work and expense by both parties is evident." [3] Moreover, newspaper advertising provides possibilities of fraud, in spite of the efforts of papers to prevent misrepresentations.

Such methods are failing to solve the problem. In spite of them, thousands of men every year degenerate from steady workers into the unsteady class. Those irregularly employed are not anchored, and the army of the unemployable is increased except in times of unusual demand for labor. Unemployment therefore must be attacked in much more radical and constructive ways than these haphazard methods employed by workers and employers.

Private Employment Offices. Because of this gap between the

[1] *American Labor Legislation Review,* Nov., 1915, p. 491, cited in Warner, *American Charities,* New York, 1918, p. 232.

[2] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation,* New York, 1920, p. 291.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 291.

worker and the job, individuals desiring to make a living have established private commercial employment agencies. About the only successful private employment agencies are those organized to furnish laborers to large construction projects like railways. In addition to such agencies, various organizations like Philanthropic Societies, Charity Organization Societies, Y. M. C. A.'s and Chambers of Commerce have established private employment bureaus which usually charge no fees. Moreover, many trade unions and employers' associations have set up employment bureaus to supply workers to particular occupations. The bureaus established by private organizations, especially the philanthropic organizations, have as their task chiefly the supplying of employment to casual laborers. Their aim is to obviate the giving of relief and to do constructive work with the near unemployables. They do, however, also provide work for families under their care which are the victims of sickness or disaster.

The private commercial agencies—about 5,000 in number in 1920 [1]—have been subject to certain abuses and limitations which have interfered with their success. They have been charged with misrepresentation of wages and conditions of work, with sending women clients to immoral resorts, with sending applicants to places where they knew there was no work, and with making arrangements with foremen for frequent discharges and then splitting with them the fee they received. Every investigation of private employment agencies has disclosed such serious evils that now many states are regulating such agencies. Usually under this restrictive legislation they have to secure a license from the state, and deposit a bond varying in amount from $100 to $5,000.

In some states the license fee for these private agencies is almost prohibitive. The law may require detailed information concerning the employer, prohibit the location of agencies in saloons, lodging houses, and in restaurants, fix a maximum charge for their services, and provide that a part or all of the fee must be returned if the workman does not soon receive a job or if he is discharged within a certain length of time after employment.[2]

In spite, however, of all these regulations, those who have studied the question consider them inadequate to rid the private employment

[1] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920 p. 292.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.

agencies of abuses. Moreover, such regulations cannot do much with those agencies which do an interstate business.

In New York they are required to furnish to the Commissioner of Labor the same information as that supplied by the State Employment Offices. Ontario, Canada, provides that a private agency may not receive a fee from an applicant unless it has in hand a written and dated order from an employer for such a position. So strong has been the feeling that the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada in its meeting in 1913, and the American Association of Public Employment Offices in its convention in 1914, recommended the abolition of private employment bureaus.[1]

Public Employment Offices. Consciousness of the defects and abuses of private employment agencies and the growing realization of the evils of unemployment and irregular employment have led to the development of public employment offices under various auspices. Ohio was the first American state to provide for public employment offices in 1890. Montana followed in 1895 and New York in 1896. Montana's and New York's original laws were later repealed.[2] When Ohio established her five public employment offices she was a pioneer. Public sentiment made very little demand for them. They were favored by organized labor but there was little interest on the part of employers. In 1918 there were 96 public employment offices in 26 of the United States. The controlling authorities vary throughout the country.[3]

The public employment office in the United States is not nearly so widely distributed as in several European countries. For example, under the British Labor Exchange Act passed in 1909 an employment office was set up within five miles of every laborer in England. Without these agencies the state unemployment insurance scheme would not have operated so successfully.

In the United States these public employment agencies usually have a central office in the capital, with local branches scattered about the

[1] Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 297.
[3] *Public Employment Offices in United States,* Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 241, Washington, 1918, pp. 12-13. For details as to dates of establishment of various public employment offices, see this bulletin. In 15 of them the controlling authority was a city; in 2, the county and city; in 60 the state; in 11 the state and city; in 1 the state, county and city; and in 7 cases the federal government shared in the work, in 2 of the 7 cooperating with the state and city where located; in 2 cases with the state alone and in 2 others with the city only; and in 1 with the state, county, and city.

state. New York and Wisconsin are representative of this type of public employment agency. In New York the bureau is established in the State Department of Labor and in Wisconsin in the Industrial Commission. Coördination in the work of the local offices is made through the central office and thus surplus in demand for labor in one part of the state is connected with surplus of supply in another part.

In some of the states provision is made for joint control of the local office through a representative committee composed of employers and employees with a chairman agreed upon by a majority. Such a committee has been operating at Milwaukee for a number of years under the Wisconsin Bureau, and is provided for in Illinois and Pennsylvania.[1]

These state employment offices were a godsend when the country was drawn into the World War in 1917, and the business of the country was forced onto a war basis. Ohio of all the states showed best what can be done with an efficiently managed public employment system. At its outbreak there were 7 city-state employment offices operating rather efficiently in the industrial cities of Ohio. They were turned over to the State Council of Defense. This body divided the state into 21 districts, with a local office in each district. The central office through which each of these cleared was at Columbus. So skilfully were these offices managed that when announcement was made that there was to be built at Chillicothe a great soldiers' encampment on a short-time contract, the director made arrangements to supply all the labor, 20,000 men, and within 12 weeks the state employment offices had supplied to the contractors 17,000 men, feeding them into Chillicothe as rapidly as they were required. It saved the contractors money, it secured the men as they were needed, it did not send men who were not prepared for the work to be done, the labor turnover was reduced, and no surplus supply was attracted to the city for the charities to support.[2] During the War Ohio also attacked with great success the problem of supplying farm labor. Many of the other states which had employment offices under public control did good work under the stimulus of war demands and public interest in securing labor.

[1] Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 299; *Sixth Report of the Citizens Committee on Unemployment and the Public Employment Bureau of Milwaukee*, Feb., 1919.

[2] For details see Leiserson, "The Labor Shortage and the Organization of the Labor Market," *The Survey*, April 20, 1918, pp. 65-68.

Several problems are still unsettled in the conduct of public employment offices. Shall a public employment agency supply strike-breakers? What attitude shall it take towards the placement of children of working age, when it may be a question whether the child should work or go to school? Shall an applicant be refused further help if he refuses to take work at lower wages than he has been receiving, or a different kind of a job than he has been following?

Some of the courts have held that laws relating to public employment offices which forbade the office from receiving applications from employers for workers to fill the places of strikers are unconstitutional. This difficulty has been obviated by publicity. In New York either party to a trade dispute may file a statement or an answer to a statement, both of which are then posted in the employment office. The prospective employee is informed of this statement when he applies. Decision as to whether he will take the position is left with him. In Massachusetts the introduction card given to the employee when he is sent to the employer having a strike is stamped showing that there is a strike on in the establishment. The refusal of an employee to take a position where there is a strike does not disqualify him for application for another job.

In England and in New York state it is the principle to have children of working age register for work at the schools. The application then goes to a committee composed of employers, workers and educators appointed by the Advisory Committee of the Public Employment Office. This committee takes into consideration all the circumstances of the child's life and education and after consideration of the facts advises whether the child shall be given employment or measures be taken to keep him in school.

Some states provide either through private funds or public moneys a small revolving fund to pay fares of men placed by the office. Some state laws also provide that a man need not take a position offered him if it pays less wages than is paid for the same work in that district. The employment office must endeavor to find him another position.

The municipal and state employment offices gradually are working out plans with employers and labor unions for coöperation in the placement of men.

As the work is new in this country the public employment offices—municipal, state and federal—are not yet adequately meeting the situation. The federal employment service, reorganized under the impact

of war, had great possibilities. The cutting off of the proposed appropriations for it, however, led to a sad crippling of the service. The experience shows the possibilities in such a service, not only directly but also through the coöperation possible with state and municipal offices.[1]

Public employment offices to succeed must (1) have local branches in industrial localities; (2) have a central clearing office in which information concerning the situation as to unemployment and chances for employment is gathered from the local offices; (3) have provision for informing applicants for employment of the fact that there is a strike on at a plant which has made application for workers; (4) not refuse to try to find employment for a worker who refuses to take a position as a strike-breaker, or who refuses to take a position for which the compensation is less than obtains in the district for the same work; (5) make careful registration of all applicants. Moreover, (6) the public employment offices should have power to compel private employment offices to provide information on request, and (7) should have a working arrangement with the school placement bureaus for the placement of juveniles, and (8) should have at its disposal a fund by which to send men who lack the funds to places where there is a job waiting. (9) Further, they should be manned by competent men, not by political job-hunters.

The Use of Public Work to Lessen Unemployment. The solution of unemployment calls not simply for relieving the necessities of those who by reason of lack of a job come to want, but for constructive efforts to check the demoralization which unemployment generally brings in its wake, to restore the fighting spirit of the man and his family who have through unemployment lost hope and courage, and often have forfeited that last anchor of manhood, an independent spirit, and of preventing so far as possible the economic and social conditions which result in unemployment. The first three of these belong to philanthropy; the last to legislation and industrial adjustments. However, the problem of charity and correction is much more than that of merely caring for those who have become shiftless and criminal through unemployment or personal deficiencies. It is in far greater measure that of rehabilitating the weak or broken spirit by personal service in helping to restore the social props which hold us all to the straight and narrow path of endeavor for self-

[1] For details see Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-307; Lescohier, *op. cit.*, Chaps. VI-IX.

support, and that of joining hands with every agency in the community, public or private, to prevent the train of economic circumstances which lead to demoralization.

In dealing with the problem of unemployment the problem is complicated by the different classes already discussed. At one extreme we have the temporarily unemployed workers who have lost a steady job and are really seeking another; at the other we have the "work-shy." The former need only the providing of work which they are prepared to do. The latter are problems for relief and correction. By reason, however, of our inability to distinguish between the two when a stranger presents himself for relief, we must devise methods for their temporary care while we are testing them. Moreover, these methods must be of such a nature that no industrious man will be allowed to suffer.

About four different methods have been used in the United States in dealing with those who have wandered into the community and asked for relief on the ground that they are out of a job. First, we have provided indiscriminate relief either at the back doors of our homes, or at bread lines of missions. We have admitted them to the police station to sleep, or we have started a free lodging house for such men, providing them a poor meal to keep them from starving. Second, we have treated them all as vagabonds and have sent them to jail. Third, we have passed them on to our neighbors either by having the police warn them out of town or by paying their way to the next town. Fourth, we have provided them with lodging houses with a work test, sometimes with an offer to help them find a job.

All of these methods have failed not only to solve the problem in any thorough way, but also to strike at the causes. The first method gives us as many tramps as we are willing to support. The second outrages our sympathies by reason of the fact that there is no discrimination between the honest man hunting work and the hobo. The third is an outrage upon our neighbors and is injustice to the man. The fourth method is expensive and, while the best as a palliative measure, usually results in the city fathers refusing the appropriations necessary to carry it through successfully.

A properly managed lodging house with skilled social workers in attendance to diagnose the cases and provide the treatment appropriate to each one, with close relations with a good employment agency, is a necessity, if communities are to deal with these men in a manner satisfactory both to the men and the community. Alone

however, it is sure to fail. Unless it is connected with a state farm and state institutions for the care of the mentally incompetent, with hospitals to which the men who need treatment can be sent forcibly, and with a skilled employment service which will not only find men jobs, but jobs suited to their capacities, and with the skilled social service in each case necessary to see that a change in the man's condition is worked out, it will be a disappointing experiment. Careful case work in the placement of the unemployed is very necessary if the workers are not to come back again and again for placement or lose out.[1]

Up to the industrial depression of 1914 every emergency had been met by emergency measures to provide employment and relief to men out of work. Usually when large masses of workers were out of work the community either provided special funds for bread-lines, soup-kitchens, or emergency work to take the place of relief, and advertised a centralized agency to which the men could apply. The result was such congestion of applications that good placement work and carefully administered relief were impossible. Consequently there resulted a good deal of pauperism through relief and misplacement of men.

In 1914, however, the unemployment crisis saw the development of different measures to care for relief. Instead of a centralized headquarters the attempt was made to distribute the burden of caring for the unemployed through a great number of agencies scattered over a large city, with registration of the cases at a central office to which inquiry was made to discover whether any other agency had dealt with the case before. Instead of large funds being placed at the disposal of a special committee knowing little about placement and relief methods, steps were taken to induce citizens and private corporations to anticipate their construction needs and thus provide real work instead of made work for the unemployed. Employers were persuaded to keep as many men as possible on half time instead of a fewer number on full time. With many agencies engaged also in relief work, the evils of bundle-lines and bread-lines were minimized. For example, in New York City the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor persuaded the Bronx Park Commissioners to allow unemployed men to clear the rough land in that park which

[1] Odencrantz, "Placing Women Through Public Employment Offices," *The Survey*, Sept. 18, 1915, pp. 560-562; Johnson, "Unemployment From the Angle of Case Work," *The Survey*, Nov. 13, 1915, pp. 162-163.

would have to be done later and now could be done at less cost and at the same time give the unemployed work.[1]

Emergency public work to lessen unemployment at best is only a makeshift. There should be worked out a thoroughgoing program by which public work will be dovetailed into seasons and periods of unemployment. This is not always possible but much more of it is possible than is done at present. If the city authorities will plan their development work years ahead, they can provide a sinking fund to be used in times of industrial depression. Thus will be ironed out the demands for labor in times of great industrial activity and for employment in times of depression.

Stabilization of Industry. Before the problem of unemployment can be finally solved similar far-reaching plans must be made by the managers of industry. This is a more difficult problem, yet something of that sort can be done. Every movement for the stabilization of industry will help. Certain seasonal trades can be regularized or spread through a larger part of the year. Unemployment insurance, as England's experience shows, will bring to bear the economic motive for such stabilization.

Unemployment Insurance. All of the efforts so far described will not solve the problem of the unemployed. They need to be supplemented and the experience of foreign countries offers a promising supplement in the form of unemployment insurance. This does not eliminate unemployment, but it spreads over a larger part of society the burden now borne by workers involuntarily idle. Unemployment insurance will not solve the problem of the loafer and the inefficient idle. It will, however, keep from destitution the man who is temporarily thrown out of work, and thereby avert individual and family demoralization. As a preventive measure intended to cope with idleness due to social causes, its cost should be borne not only by the man himself and his family, but by the employer and by the government.

Unemployment insurance grew up in Europe on the basis of voluntary out-of-work benefits provided by labor organizations, on the basis of contributions from the members themselves.

Some unions abroad pay a travel benefit while others excuse their unemployed men from the payment of dues.

Moreover, so-called Friendly Societies and Fraternal Organizations

[1] For details of this and other examples see Matthews, "Wages from Relief Funds," *The Survey*, June 12, 1915, pp. 245-247; "Unemployment Problems and Relief Efforts in Seventeen Cities," *The Survey*, Jan. 2, 1915, pp. 348-349.

have provided out-of-work benefits. Also in a few countries certain employers have established funds to provide out-of-work payments for their own employees.

A very interesting development of unemployment insurance occurred in Ghent, Belgium, a few years ago. In order to encourage more of the workers to insure themselves through their labor unions, that city in 1901 provided a subsidy to the trade unions which furnished unemployment insurance to their men. The idea modified in certain respects has spread to other cities of Belgium and also to a number of the different countries of Europe.[1] The amount of subsidy varies from one-third of the amount provided by the labor unions to an equal amount. At the passage of the unemployment insurance law in 1911 in Great Britain the unions which were not included within its scope were subsidized by the nation to the extent of one-sixth of the unemployment benefits paid by them. During the War the amount of the subsidy was temporarily increased to such unions.[2]

This system of optional unemployment benefits through the trade unions has the defect that it does not provide for all of the men even in the unions, and does not touch at all non-union workers. In the United States out of the 111 unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one, the Cigar Makers' Union, has a national system of unemployment benefits, although some national unions have certain locals which pay such benefits.[3]

Compulsory Unemployment Insurance. Compulsory unemployment insurance goes back for its origin to the city of St. Gall, Switzerland, which introduced the system in 1904. Because of faulty administration it failed there after a trial of two years.

At present compulsory unemployment insurance is in operation in Great Britain, Italy, and Austria. In 1911 Great Britain took the lead in providing for compulsory unemployment insurance. It was amended in 1914 and again in 1920. As originally passed it applied to only seven different groups of industries, (a) building trades, (b) construction of works, such as docks, harbors, railroads, etc., (c) ship-building, (d) mechanical engineering, (e) ironfounding, (f) construction of vehicles and (g) sawmilling. The 1920 act extends the insurance to practically all persons for whom health insurance contributions have to be paid, except persons employed in agri-

[1] Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Finland. Commons and Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 443.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

culture, domestic service and outworkers. Workers over 70, now not insurable for health insurance, are included, except those in receipt of old age pensions.

The general scheme contemplates that contributions shall be made by the employer, the employee and by the state. Males over 18 pay 4d. per week, the employer the same, and the state 2d. For women of the same ages, the employer contributes 3½d., employee 3d., and the state 1⅔d. Smaller amounts are contributed in the cases of boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 18.

Benefits are paid at the rate of 15s. per week for men and 12s. per week for women and for those under 18 half the full rates. There is a "waiting period" of three days after unemployment begins before benefits are payable and benefits are payable for only 15 weeks in any one insurance year, and not more than one week benefits for each six weeks of contribution paid. The employee must have paid 12 contributions before he can receive benefits. The unemployed must show that he has made application in regular manner and that he has been continuously unemployed since application, that he has sought work but has not found it, that he has not exhausted his unemployment benefits, that he has attended a course of instruction, if he has been required to attend such a course. Refusal of an offer of employment in a situation in which there is a strike, or at lower wages than prevail in the district where offered, does not act as a bar against receipt of benefit. He is disqualified for benefits, if he has stopped work on account of a strike, if he loses his position through his own misconduct, or leaves his job without just cause, is an inmate of a prison or workhouse, is a non-resident, or has been in receipt of sickness benefit, of an old age pension or benefit under a special scheme, or if he has not made 12 payments towards the fund in any one year, unless he has been sick.

Despite trade union opposition provision is made for extension to other societies than trade unions or friendly societies (provided they have been approved by the Minister of Labor) of arrangements whereby they may handle the payment of benefits from the state funds to their members. Persons who are not members of such associations draw their benefits through the employment exchanges.

Insured contributors who have made 500 contributions—or a less number if they were over the age of 55 on entry into insurance—on reaching the age of 60 are refunded their contributions with interest, less any benefits received.

Those who have served in the navy, army or air forces of the Empire are credited with 90 contributions on discharge, and may draw 15 weeks' benefits during unemployment.

Industries with the approval of the Minister of Labor may contract out the scheme of insurance outlined in this act, if the contractor provides benefits equal or superior to this national scheme. These are called special schemes and have statutory effect. After November 8, 1920, all employees were to be insured against unemployment either under the general scheme or under a special scheme. An industry may also provide supplementary benefits in addition to those thus provided.

The trade unions opposed the new law on the ground that it is a relief measure and not adapted to diminish unemployment. [1]

The laws in existence in the other countries named are similar. The world will watch with great interest how these insurance schemes against unemployment work out. Like most of our laws in the interest of social justice it is believed that the success or failure of these unemployment insurance schemes will depend much upon the way in which they are administered. They are framed to make it unprofitable for the "work-shy" to take advantage of them, and profitable for the employer to keep his men employed and for the employee to remain in steady employment.

Provisions for the Inefficient and Unemployable. These unemployment insurance schemes are intended for those who are involuntarily unemployed. They do not touch the problem of those who cannot hold a job because of inefficiency or of those who are voluntarily idle.

Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland tried a number of years ago the plan of labor colonies for the unemployed. They were found to be of no value for the independent, self-respecting unemployed. From 50 to 90 per cent of the colonists were ex-convicts, tramps and chronic drinkers. They turned out to be "only doss-houses in which good men were brought down to the level of tramps and wastrels, and became chargeable to the parish." They were avoided by unemployed men of character.[2] They have, however, been found to be of some value in taking care of the "down-and-outers." The

[1] *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, September, 1920, pp. 165-169; Seager, "Sharing the Load of Unemployment by Means of Insurance," *The Survey*, Feb. 20, 1915, pp. 553-554; "Insurance Against Unemployment in Norway and Denmark," *The Survey*, March 14, 1914, pp. 742-744.

[2] John Burns, "Uselessness of Labor Colonies for Unemployment," in *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, pp. 1246, 1247.

experiments of Belgium at Merxplas and of Switzerland at Witzwil show that for that unemployable who is partly a charitable and partly a correctional problem such places are of great value.[1] In these colonies men are forced to work, and they are kept from wandering over the country. Some of them are thus taught trades, and when so taught are sometimes released and find positions at which they support themselves. However, it is admitted by the men at the head of them, they are custodial rather than reformatory in their effects.[2]

Massachusetts was the first state in the Union to establish such a state farm for the employment of those convicted of vagrancy. This institution, however, cares for other classes as well as vagrants.[3] New York followed in 1912 when it chose a site for such a colony of 821 acres about 20 miles from Poughkeepsie. Later Indiana established a farm-colony to which vagrants may be sent, if they are sentenced for longer than 30 days. The District of Columbia, Cleveland, Ohio, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, provide examples of smaller political units having work farms for vagrants. Such institutions, however, care only for those who are on or over the borderland of crime.

For those unemployed because of inefficiency due to mental or physical causes, or because of having never been taught a trade, there is little hope after they have become wanderers. If each state had a state farm and industrial colony to which they could be sent and when possible taught a trade, some of them might be rehabilitated. Many of them, however, are broken down physically, many are diseased and need treatment, some are mentally defective and need care in a colony for such. For most of such unemployables a custodial farm where they can be made to work is their only hope of usefulness. For the others in such a colony something could be done by a good manager by teaching them how to work on a farm and placing them with agriculturists.

For homeless men seeking jobs, or pretending to do so, *municipal lodging houses* have been provided in some of our large cities. New York City has probably the largest and most completely equipped. In this fine, splendidly built and comfortably furnished institution a man is permitted to stay for not longer than three nights in any one month

[1] For details see Fetter, "Witzwil, a Successful Penal Farm," *The Survey*, Vol. 25, pp. 761-766; Von Schelle, "A Self-Supporting Penal Labor Colony," Nineteenth Century, Jan., 1910; Carlile, *The Continental Outcast*, London, 1906.

[2] *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, New York, 1908, p. 679.

[3] *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charity of Massachusetts, 1918*, p. 31.

while looking for a job. Each man when he comes in is examined for disease, and is given treatment for any minor ailments he may have. His clothing is disinfected, he is given a clean set of night clothes, a good bath, a good supper and a clean bed. In the morning he works a few hours in a woodyard attached to the institution to pay for his meals and lodging. In the meantime the employment bureau in the building gives him an address of someone who wishes a worker such as his statement the night before indicated him to be. The character of those who seek the lodging houses and fluctuation in the number of applicants have made it difficult to secure continued support from politicians and taxpayers.

The Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, and various city missions make some provision for the temporary care of such men and women, but none of these do very much to solve the problem. The lodging houses under municipal or other auspices, even when they are not commercial in their spirit, are merely stopping places on the way to prison or to another city where the same performance is repeated. About all they do is to prevent starving and freezing and so to a degree check indiscriminate giving to beggars.

Summary. In the treatment of unemployment our survey has indicated that the most hopeful plans are those which prevent unemployment. The problem must be attacked at its source through the stabilization of industry, the dovetailing of one seasonal-industry with another of a different season, a widespread and carefully managed system of employment exchanges, carefully guarded from the sinister influence of politics, manned by experts in labor placement, and closely connected with charitable agencies of the best sort to weed out and properly care for the unemployable. The labor exchanges must be closely tied up with a system of unemployment insurance to tide over those who are desirous of working, and to prevent that personal and family demoralization which inevitably follows inability to find work and lack of income. To prevent the unemployment due to inefficiency we must provide proper training of youth so that they shall have the skill necessary to enable them to make a good living at a steady job, and guidance in their choice of an occupation so that they may not find themselves at the end of a blind alley too late in life to change. For the unemployable the state should provide institutions for their care and custody, to teach such of them as are teachable a trade so that they may be rehabilitated, to protect society from the criminal among them, and to provide a place where those who cannot

make a living at large may work for their keep under the custody of men who are able to make the most of their poor abilities.

The Proposed Wisconsin Unemployment Prevention Law. A bill has been introduced into the legislature of Wisconsin at the present session (1921) which attacks the problem of unemployment in a new way. It is modeled on the Wisconsin Compensation Law for industrial accidents. This bill provides for unemployment-compensation. As the purpose of the accident-compensation law is to place the responsibility of preventing accidents on the employer, so it is that of this bill to place upon the shoulders of the employer the responsibility of preventing unemployment. This proposed measure differs from all others, therefore, in that it does not provide for any contributions by the employee and the state. Its chief features are:

1. *Scope of Act.* Applies to all employees of every corporation and of employers that are not incorporated who employ three persons or more.

2. *Exemptions.* (1) Farmers, canneries, state, cities, towns, villages, townships, school districts, private employers of less than three persons, and employees of each. (2) Persons dependent on others for their livelihood. (3) Those receiving pensions of $500 or over annually.

3. *Requirements.* Industry shall compensate workmen temporarily while unemployed provided: (1) he has worked six months for one or more employers under the act; (2) he has made application in the proper manner; (3) he is capable and available, but unable to obtain suitable employment (not required to work where there is a strike or lockout, or where less than the prevailing wage is paid, etc.).

4. *Employers Shall Insure Payments.* Unless exempted by the Industrial Commission, every employer must insure the liability for payments of unemployment-compensation in a mutual insurance company that is under the control of the Compensation Insurance Board. No employer shall deduct from employee's wage, or otherwise make him pay the cost of insuring this liability.

5. *Unemployment-Compensation Rating Bureau.* Every mutual insurance company doing business under this act shall be a member of the bureau for the purpose of classifying industries for unemployment-compensation purposes; and to establish premium rates systems based upon the regularity of employment.

6. *Rate of Unemployment-Compensation.* $1.50 for each working day for males and females over 18 years, 75 cents for those between 16

and 18 years, payments to commence the third day and paid weekly. Provision is made for transportation to obtain work outside district.

7. *General Rules.* (1) No more than 13 weeks of unemployment-compensation shall be payable in any calendar year. (2) No more than one week's unemployment-compensation shall be paid for every 4 weeks of work. (3) No agreement by any employee to waive his right to unemployment-compensation shall be valid; nor shall it be assignable or subject to attachment or be liable for employee's debts. (4) No unemployment-compensation shall be paid when unemployed due to strike or lockout.

8. *Service Card.* The Industrial Commission shall provide every employee with a card or book, upon which the public employment agency shall record the number of weeks the employee has been in the services of the employers; this will then show how many weeks of unemployment-compensation the unemployed worker is entitled to.

9. *Claims and Procedures.* All claims shall be first considered by a deputy of the Industrial Commission, who shall decide claims within one day; whereupon an order on the employer may be issued for the amount of unemployment-compensation due him.

10. *Contested Cases.* In any case where the claim is disputed, it shall be referred to the Industrial Commission and a still further appeal is provided to the Circuit Court, the court action to be defended by the attorney general representing the Industrial Commission.

11. *Unemployment Advisory Board.* Consisting of an equal number of members to represent both employer and employees, selected by the Industrial Commission from lists submitted by both parties for that purpose. One member at large shall act as chairman. The board shall serve without pay; shall meet each month to aid in general administration of the Act. Similar boards may be formed to serve in localities.

12. *Penalties.* Employees endeavoring to falsely secure payment, or employers attempting to avoid payment through misrepresentation, may be punished by prison sentence, or fine, or both, in discretion of court.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Unemployment and dependency. Lescohier, *The Labor Market*, New York, 1919, Chap. III.

2. Suggestions of a plan for lessening unemployment. Leiserson, "A Federal Labor Reserve Board," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1916, p. 161.
3. Unemployment insurance. Seager, "Unemployment: Problem and Remedies," *ibid.,* 1915, p. 493.
4. Unemployment compensation. "Wisconsin's Plan to Keep the Nation at Work," *Dearborn Independent,* Apr. 9, 1921.

PART V
PREVENTIVE AGENCIES AND METHODS

CHAPTER XXIX

RELIEF AND PREVENTION

WE have now studied the extent, the causes, the historic institutions and methods of dealing with the dependent, and the special classes of dependents. Attention has been given primarily to the methods of treatment, only incidental reference being made to preventive measures. This emphasis was to enable the student to understand and evaluate present methods. No engineer would think of trying to improve a machine, still less invent a substitute without first understanding its nature, and learning its merits and defects. So, we must understand, if we would perfect, our social machinery. We must know its history, study the way in which it works, appreciate its good points, ascertain its defects and the reasons for them. Up to this point the only assumption made in our study is that in the light of experience effective should supplant ineffective methods of dealing with dependents. We have had clearly in mind, however, that prevention is better than cure; formation than re-formation. With the historical background and the lessons of experience now before us the next step is to study methods of preventing poverty and dependency. Here, too, we shall try constantly to take counsel of experience, but must not forget that in some matters we are in the realm of untried theory or of experiments in process. Would that it were as easy to formulate an effective preventive program as it is to state its desirability! While in the following rhyme the contrast between relief and prevention is too sharp, the emphasis on prevention is forceful.

"The Fence or the Ambulance"

"'Twas a dangerous cliff, as they freely confessed,
Though to walk near its crest was so pleasant.
But over its terrible edge there had slipped
A duke and full many a peasant.
So the people said something would have to be done,
But their projects did not at all tally,

Some said, 'Put a fence 'round the edge of the cliff';
Some, 'An ambulance down in the valley.'

"But the cry for the ambulance carried the day,
For it spread through the neighboring city;
A fence may be useful or not, it is true,
But each heart was brim full of pity
For those who slipped over that dangerous cliff;
And the dwellers in highway and valley
Gave pound or gave pence, not to put up a fence,
But an ambulance down in the valley.

"'For the cliff is all right if you're careful,' they said,
'And if folks even slip or are dropping,
It isn't the slipping that hurts them so much
As the shock down below when they're stopping.'
Then an old sage remarked, 'It's a marvel to me
That people give far more attention
To repairing results than to stopping the cause,
When they'd much better aim at prevention.

"'Let us stop at its source all this mischief,' cried he,
'Come, neighbors and friends, let us rally,
If the cliff we will fence we might almost dispense
With the ambulance down in the valley.'
'Oh, he's a fanatic,' the others rejoined.
'Dispense with the ambulance? Never!
He'd dispense with all charities, too, if he could;
But no! We'll protect them forever;
Aren't we picking folks up just as fast as they fall?
And shall this man dictate to us? Shall he?
Why should people of sense stop to put up a fence
While their ambulance works in the valley?'

"But a sensible few who are practical, too,
Will not bear with such nonsense much longer,
They believe that prevention is better than cure
And their party will soon be the stronger.
Encourage them, then, with your purse, voice and pen.
And (while other philanthropists dally)
They will scorn all pretense and put up a stout fence
On the cliff that hangs over the valley."

In the next few chapters we shall have occasion to use quite often the word "socialized." It will be well for the reader to know just

what the term means. The writer does not mean "socialistic," for while he sympathizes with the socialists' indictment of "purely palliative" measures, he agrees with them neither in their economic concepts, nor in their theory that the collective ownership of the instruments of production would prevent poverty and pauperism. On the contrary, he stands with those who believe that, with human beings constituted as they are, private property in the instruments of production properly controlled in the interest of all the people, is much more promising than state socialism. That position, however, does not prevent his holding to the belief that the state should undertake such activities as the care of the dependent, including the special classes, that the state should exercise more control over private agencies, and that the state must undertake to make such adjustments in economic and social relations, that much of the present poverty and pauperism may be prevented. His social philosophy makes him differ with some of his fellows as to how far the public should supplant private agencies. He is not blind to the failure of public poor relief, for example, but he believes that in view of the limitations of private relief, it is better not to do away with public outdoor relief but to insist that it be done on principles which the private relief agencies have worked out and established. His faith in the betterment of society under its present economic organization, and in the growing part that the state must play both in treatment of the dependent classes and in the prevention of poverty and pauperism, does not claim to be justified in every respect by experience. But the same is true of the opposing social philosophy. In the meantime, he takes it that it is our business to make every effort to improve the machinery we now have and to labor to initiate and perfect a better on the basis of what we have. Social workers are like engineers building a bridge on the site of an old one while the traffic goes on. Relief must go on. The ambulance and the hospital at the bottom of the precipice must continue to function as long as people are still falling over. Neither can stop until people see that a fence is built around the top. Broken lives must be adjusted, lost ambition revived, suffering humanity relieved, but it will be found that those who man the ambulance and the hospital are not opposed to the building of the preventive fence. On the contrary, they are in the forefront of the fight for such a fence. Like the lawyer and physician they are not afraid to put themselves out of business.

In his use of the term "socialized," therefore, the writer means

such adjustment of present agencies and methods as will reduce the maladjustment and secure greater justice to the classes which are now at a disadvantage in the struggle for a decent life. That means that more of a purpose of helpfulness to one's fellows shall inspire our laws and customs, through the stimulation of a spirit of service. He believes that men live by their ideals, and that most of our trouble arises from the dominance of the ideals of self-interest rather than the ideals of justice and helpfulness. The following chapters are intended to suggest ways in which self- and class-interest shall be subordinated to consideration for the welfare of all. The old *laissez faire* philosophy is breaking at many points. It has broken down in government, in education, in philanthropy, and in economics. In its place is coming a philosophy inspired by the spirit of concern for every member of the community, the nation and the world, eventuating in the effort to see that justice is done to every man. It is coming to be seen that only as such adjustments are made as insure to each individual a fair chance can we have a society bound together in unity and harmony rather than split into warring classes. That philosophy means regulation by society and self-control under the dominance of a social spirit.

In the remaining chapters we shall suggest where the preventive fences should be built. Some of these fences, such as labor legislation and educational measures, belong to other workers. For the sake, however, of a well-rounded presentation it is necessary to refer to them briefly here because they have an important bearing on the problem under discussion.

Poverty is a result of social maladjustment somewhere. Only in part do the factors which produce it inhere in human nature. As we suggested in Part II, much of it is due to our social arrangements. Perhaps much of what we call human nature itself is produced by the circumstances about us. Certainly some of the human nature which accounts for inefficiency and independence is the result of social neglect. When the maladjustments are corrected, we hope that much of the poverty and pauperism characteristic of our complex civilization will cease to be.

CHAPTER XXX

SOCIALIZED RELIEF

THE demands of group life have partially tamed the tiger in mankind and have developed kindliness and helpfulness. Kropotkin has pointed out how natural selection established "mutual help" among the animals. In man group life has engendered sympathy for the suffering—at first for those of his own kin; later for an ever-widening circle until to-day we are touched by the stories of the sufferings of the women and children of our late enemies.

Sympathy with misery often has not been organized. Hence, the kindly individual who met a needy person did what he could to relieve him. As long as the want was that of his neighbor whom he knew, there could be only praise for his act. When, however, it is distant from us, or when society becomes so complex that we do not know the applicant for help, we must organize in order to help wisely Temptation arises for the degraded in spirit to play upon our humanity and to secure aid he does not need. Moreover, in order not to defeat our generous impulses, since service must ever accompany relief, our neighborly goodwill must be organized so that our gift may really help. "The gift without the giver is bare" expresses the general principle. In a complex society each giver must play his part in the team work of service. Team work implies organization.

Organized charity is an attempt to give expression to our sympathy for the suffering and our goodwill toward the unfortunate without defeating our purposes.

WHAT IS ORGANIZED CHARITY?

What are the essential principles of organized charity? Mr. Devine in 1904 stated them as investigation, registration, coöperation, adequate relief, and volunteer personal service.[1] They grew out of the fact that unorganized relief in large centers of population does not rest upon adequate understanding of the case and hence is likely to miss

[1] Devine, *Principles of Relief*, New York, 1904, p. 345.

the treatment necessary to restore the dependent to independence. The purpose of the Charity Organization Society is so to organize the various relief agencies in a community that each will function in coöperation with the others without overlapping or gaps. Said Dr. Devine before the National Conference in 1899: "Our ideal, as you will have observed, is avowedly one for the communities as a whole, not for particular groups of people who call themselves charity organization persons. I should, however, point out finally that it does call for a division of work, and for that kind of coöperation which insures both working together where that is necessary and agreeing to divide the field where that is wise. To the associated charities or charity organization societies, where such a division is practicable, should fall, by what is now a very general consensus of opinion, (1) the work of investigating and obtaining relief for those who are in need and whose needs are not otherwise specifically provided for, and of acting as a bureau of information to direct applicants to such special sources where they do exist; (2) the maintenance of a central registration bureau, the objects of which are to prevent unwise duplication and to afford information to those who have a legitimate desire for it; (3) the task of continued friendly foresight for such as need it and do not obtain it from some other suitable source; (4) the organization of relief where it must come from diverse local sources, and such special duties as enforcing the responsibilities of families, of employers and others, when it is in any way possible to connect them with the remedies sought; and (5) the study of the whole field of charity endeavor and charitable need with a view to the supply of what is needed and with constant and cordial appreciation of all the good work of every kind that is in progress, and with no less the readiness to expose every bit of masquerading under the garb of charity by that which is really the desire for personal profit or demagogy, or worse."[1]

As the movement has developed, however, it has meant in some communities a certain compromise in that the organization sometimes gives relief itself. In some places the organization has found it necessary to start either as part of its work or as special organizations certain agencies which are lacking in the community. For example, some societies have not hesitated to organize a committee for the encouragement of savings, or to start a plan for loan libraries and to provide temporary employment. Occasionally they have organized

[1] *Proceedings. National Conference of Charity and Correction*, 1899, p. 282.

a department to protect children from cruelty, a day nursery to care for children while their mothers are at work, an unemployment department, a committee to provide better housing facilities—in short, some of these societies have felt that they ought to promote the formation of any organization needed by the community to meet its social needs. Ideally the Charity Organization Society should promote such things only as experiments, and administer them until separate organizations can be formed or the public be educated to take over these activities. It will have its hands fairly full if it performs the five specific tasks outlined above. Where they have given emergency relief the problem has been to keep them from becoming just another relief society and thus competing with the societies already in existence.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED CHARITY

Relation to Private Relief Societies. As we have seen in a previous chapter, unorganized relief had led to pauperization. At the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century the great transformations in industry and commerce had greatly disturbed social organization and thrown thousands of people into misery in every land which the industrial revolution had touched. Churches, benevolent individuals, and private relief societies had attempted to solve this problem in the large cities, chiefly by relief and without that element of personal service necessary to prevent relief having a pauperizing effect. We have already noticed that in the early part of the nineteenth century both public and private relief had become so chaotic that thinking individuals in Hamburg and Elberfeld, Germany, had inaugurated a new system of municipal relief.

Origin of Organized Charity in England. Dr. Chalmers at his parish in St. Johns, Glasgow, in which there were about 10,000 people in the poorest part of the city, became convinced that indiscriminate almsgiving did more harm than good. He persuaded the civic authorities to forbid all such almsgiving and to allow him to institute a system of friendly visiting among the needy by a corps of workers. They gave relief only in cases of extreme necessity and tried to help the poor to help themselves. The result of this experience was that suffering was very much diminished, the amount of money necessary to relieve need decreased, and there was a great reduction of pauperism.

About the same time in London relief societies multiplied. Some of them introduced visiting among their beneficiaries. These visitors, however, usually gave relief, so that the relationship between the vis-

itor and the poor was not that of neighbors but that of giver and receiver, thus visiting failed to do the good which it might have done.

Mr. J. R. Green describes the situation in East London thus: "The greater number of the East End clergy have converted themselves into relieving officers. Sums of enormous magnitude are annually collected and dispensed by them either personally or through district visitors, nine-tenths of whom are women, and the bulk silly and ignorant women. A hundred different agencies for the relief of distress are at work over the same ground, without concert or coöperation or the slightest information as to each other's exertions, and the result is an unparalleled growth of imposition, mendicancy and sheer, shameless pauperism." [1]

The Origin of Organized Charities. Step by step some in the societies came to see that rather radical changes would have to be made in charitable procedure if the pauperization of the poor was to cease. Moreover, it became apparent that service to the poor was more important than mere relief giving.

About 1868 Edward Denison went to live in the East End of London thus to acquaint himself with the conditions among the poor. He reached practically the same conclusions as had Dr. Chalmers half a century earlier in Glasgow. Denison came to believe that giving aid to the poor was a mistake because by giving them alms you perverted their moral nature. Said he, "Build school houses, pay teachers, give prizes, form workingmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains, but give them no money except what you sink in such undertakings." The same thoughts were stirring in other minds and so in 1869 a number of those who had been studying the problem organized a society called The London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity. The situation giving rise to the society is stated by Mrs. Bosanquet. She says: "On the one hand, a confused mass of poverty, crime and mendicancy, living side by side with the independent wage-earners under conditions of overcrowding and insanitation, and baffling all the efforts of authority and benevolence. 'The magistrates of the Metropolis, one after another, express despair and hopelessness in the presence of the clamorous crowds that beset their offices from day to day.' On the other hand, a Poor Law administered so as to aggravate evil, and a host of philanthropic societies and individuals confused and helpless before the magnitude of the demands made upon them. Those actually

[1] Quoted in Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912,* London, 1914, p. 12.

engaged in relief work were unable 'to see the wood for the trees'; absorbed in the importunate claims upon their own time and resources, they knew and cared little for what others were doing; and while a united effort might have checked the rising tide of pauperism and mendicancy there was no one to marshal their forces and bring order into their campaign. To those who were studying the question the need was clear; the means of meeting it less obvious. The associations before which they expressed their convictions had not the organization which would have enabled them to give effect to their ideas; they were not in touch with the thousand and one agencies to be influenced, they had no standing in the poorer quarters where, if at all, the evils must be met and overcome. Some new agency was needed to bring together the thinkers and the workers, to show how principles might be applied in action, to give effect to theories and to turn schemes into working plans." [1]

Not all of the principles finally worked out were clear to those who organized the association. Many years were spent in the endeavor to provide a plan which would overcome the difficulties found in the work of the numerous private organizations for the relief of distress in London. The various relief societies were jealous of this central organization fearing that their prerogatives would be interfered with. An attempt to get legislation from Parliament to force the London charities to organize for concerted action failed. Representatives from the various London charities and the Charity Organization Society finally by resolution approved an official register of all applicants for relief in the metropolitan district for the purpose of preventing imposture and securing sufficient relief of distress. The resolution also provided for an effort to obtain an act of Parliament for the general registration of the charitable societies, for the audit of their accounts and the publication of their balance sheets on a prescribed plan. In actual practice this was later modified to the appointment of an officer in each parish to investigate and register all needy cases and also to serve as a means of communication between the charitable societies and the Board of Guardians. Moreover, they established an official body for the voluntary registration of the charitable cases and for the audit of the accounts of the charitable organizations. The societies did not take very kindly to the plan but gradually coöperation between them and the Charity Organization Society became established. The organization also established district committees so that by 1873 the

[1] Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912,* London, 1914, pp. 17-18.

metropolitan area of London was fairly well covered by such committees.

Case-work was almost unknown in early days of the society. There were difficulties also between the district committees and the central organization, but finally the latter was able, through representatives from the district committees, to secure a measure of control as to policies, and to provide for conferences through which education in methods was brought about. In some of the districts a great deal of dole-giving still took place but the machinery was now organized by which this could be reduced.

It is interesting to notice that very early in the history of the movement of England, loan funds were established to take the place of material relief, the migration of unemployed laborers was promoted in connection with employment offices established by some of the districts. Certain districts soon began to secure relief for each special case as it arose, either from individuals or charitable societies. While the attempt was made in these early years to make the Charity Organization Society a relief society, finally the view prevailed that if this were done its real function would be destroyed.

Furthermore, from the earliest days of the society's history it endeavored to enlist volunteer visitors for those in need of assistance. Any material relief given was accompanied by friendly visitation. Case-work in sporadic instances was introduced in 1877. Thus was established an agency which had for its purpose the coördination of the work of the various charitable bodies in London in order to prevent duplication of work and thwart impostors; insisting that charitable organizations endeavor to know what others were doing through a central organization; providing a bureau for the registration of the cases; stressing personal service in order to promote independence of spirit rather than mere relief; and devoting itself to measures which would prevent pauperization through the education of charitable individuals and associations in methods of constructive relief-giving.[1]

Origin of Organized Charity in the United States. American travelers had studied the London Society, and returned to America determined to see the same plan tried here. In both countries relief societies were failing to reduce pauperism. The policy of giving relief without service, and of making visitors almoners for the relief society, was bankrupt.

In the fifties large numbers of charitable relief societies, usually

[1] Bosanquet, *op. cit.*, Chaps. I-IV.

known as Associations for Improving the Condition of the Poor, had been organized. There were also other relief societies making even less pretense of raising the poor to independence, to make investigations before giving aid, and to repress imposture. Says Mr. Kellogg, "Rarely they employed the Friendly Visitor, and made employment the basis of relief. But, as they were invariably distributors of material aid, this function submerged all others and they sank into the sea of common almsgiving, appealing to their patrons for support on the ground that the money given to them would enable them to enlarge the number of their beneficiaries or increase the amount of their gifts, and attracting the needy to their doors with the hope of loaves and fishes." [1] Private relief, moreover, was "profuse and chaotic," not adequate, however, to the demands made upon it, was given in miserable doles quite ineffectual for real relief of need, and was handed out in a rather indiscriminate way to those who were most insistent.[2]

No less hopeless at that time was the situation in public relief. In New York City the relief was meager, being limited to fuel distribution, help for the adult blind and appropriations for medicine at the City Hospital. In some other places, such as Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Buffalo, the appropriations were large, and were suspected of corrupt and political perversion. Everywhere there was lack of adequate investigation before relief, and of tests of destitution, while the amount disbursed was shamefully inadequate.

Several approaches to charity organization in this country preceded the inauguration of the first one. In Boston in 1869 was erected the Chardon Street Building from joint contributions by the city and personal subscriptions, in which were housed the offices of the Boston charities of that time.

In 1875 a Coöperative Society of Visitors among the poor was formed in the north end of Boston, based upon the scheme proposed by Octavia Hill for London, a modification of the Elberfeld system in Germany. Each visitor was to have not more than four cases. The society held weekly conferences of the visitors and representatives from other charitable societies and opened a workroom in Chardon Street Charity Building.

In 1874 Reverend Ames, on the basis of the London model, attempted to form in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia, an

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1893, p. 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

association which employed friendly visitors to visit the needy who applied for aid. The association itself did not provide relief but used existing soup-kitchens, fuel societies, churches and outdoor municipal relief to secure what was needed and used its own resources only to supplement what was available from existing associations. By this plan it was able to unite the charities of Germantown, to repress imposture and to diminish the pauperization consequent upon the uncoördinated work of the various societies. It had a good effect upon the administration of municipal outdoor relief and gained the confidence of the people of the community. A few years later it led to the formation of the Charity Organization Society in Philadelphia.

In New York City in 1874 a bureau of charities was formed to register persons receiving outdoor relief. The plan, however, was wrecked by the refusal of the largest relief-giving society to coöperate.

Reverend Gurteen, an English clergyman who had been active in the London society and who was then assistant minister in St. Paul's Church in Buffalo, previous to 1877 had so systematized the work of his parish relief society that every applicant for assistance was promptly investigated. In 1877 he proposed the creation of a clearing house to which the charitable societies of Buffalo should send daily reports. He gave a series of lectures which attracted considerable attention. At the same time a conference of citizens who were endeavoring to reform municipal outdoor relief and who had failed to secure legislation in Albany, created a commission for the control of outdoor relief, and secured an ordinance from the city requiring all applications for relief to be investigated by the police. Out of these two movements grew the Charity Organization Society at a public meeting held December 11, 1877. It was established on the principle of coördinating the existing relief organizations and giving relief from its own resources only in emergencies.

Growth of the Movement. The movement then spread rapidly to other cities. Philadelphia organized in 1878, New Haven, Newport, Cincinnati, and Brooklyn in 1879, and New York in 1882. Many other smaller cities soon followed.

Among those established early in this country there were two types, (1) those which combined relief with their methods of investigation, registration, friendly visiting, and (2) those who gave no relief from their own funds.

In 1882 there were 22 Charity Organizations besides about 10 other societies which had adopted some of the chief features of charity

organization and were acting as their correspondents. These organizations were to be found in the chief cities of the country, the places where the problems of relief were naturally most acute, and from which radiated most potently the influence of their example in charity work. By 1892 the number of such societies had increased to 92. Of these 32 had sprung up independently of other charitable societies; 15 were organized by existing charitable societies; 6 were reorganizations; 1 a consolidation; and 1 was the enlargement of a committee to study outdoor relief. In nearly every case the motive was to get away from the wastefulness of public relief and from the chaotic condition in private relief. In 1892, 22 did not give relief from their own funds, while 20 gave some relief, 9 only in emergencies and 2 in order to avoid official relief. In the 10 years between 1882 and 1892 there was a very noticeable tendency to get away from relief-giving. By 1908 the number had grown to about 200 in the United States and Canada and 300 in all the world.[1] By 1918 there were 502 such societies in the United States, of which 159 had such standards that they were recognized by the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.

The war gave a great impetus to the growth of organized charity. As never before the importance of the principles on which organized charity rests was emphasized. The American Red Cross in its Home Service work for the families of men in the service adopted the charity organization principles. Its army of field workers and its many institutes training secretaries of home service and volunteers to look after the dependents of service men gave unprecedented popularity to charity organization ideas. All its principles—careful investigation, coöperation between social agencies dealing with disadvantaged individuals and families, adequate relief when relief was necessary, and service as the foundation of its efforts to reëstablish a broken down family—were borrowed directly from the charity organization movement. Covering some 15,000 communities, only 300 of which had any general family social agency, and enlisting some 30,000 people to whom the ideals of constructive family work were presented either by word of mouth or by printed page, the movement introduced a large number of people to the ideals of constructive social work. Consequently a large number of the chapters which carried on this work among the dependents of service men have asked the national organi-

[1] *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1908, p. 159.

zation to permit them to carry on similar work for the civilians in their communities.[1]

Variety of Activities. While a great many of the activities of later Charity Organization Societies are to be found in the early history of the parent society in London, the movement as a whole has shown development both in intensity of application to a limited number of problems and the stimulation of new activities either by means of subordinate committees or by the organization of new societies for specific purposes. The first report of the London Charity Organization Society pointed out that "on matters of detailed development, and particularly as to the best means of remedying the aggravated pauperism of the time, the Council of the Society have not as yet been closely occupied, but the daily experience of their committees in the various districts of the Metropolis shows that the great questions of Sanitary Improvements, Emigration, Education, Provident Societies, Improved Dwellings for the Poor, and other collateral subjects must at an early date engage their most earnest attention."[2] As a matter of fact, the London organization soon took up a number of these problems.[3]

Perhaps the diversity of work of a large American charity organization cannot better be indicated than by reviewing the citation of the activities of the New York society. In 1908 these were: (1) organization and coördination of charitable work; (2) sifting and testing applications for relief and obtaining from proper sources prompt and adequate aid; (3) establishing new activities where they were required, giving expert confidential advice to the benevolent as to their benefactions, and giving information concerning charitable institutions and agents that appeal to the benevolent for contributions; (4) rendering service to the poor through wise counsel, either by the paid visitors or volunteers, so as to make the poor at the earliest possible moment self-supporting and self-respecting members of the community. In order to perform these functions the organization conducted: (1) an investigation bureau to furnish information to private persons, hospitals, dispensaries, and other charitable institutions; (2) a registration bureau containing a confidential record of all investigations made by the society and of action taken on behalf of families under its care, available to all legitimate charitable interests; (3) a wood-

[1] Deacon, "The Future of Home Service," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, pp. 365-371.
[2] Bosanquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.
[3] For details see *Ibid.*, Chaps. VI, VIII, X-XVI.

yard to serve as a work test and also to provide an opportunity for families out of work to make their way; (4) a laundry to provide temporary employment for women with families, and also to train laundresses for positions; (5) the penny provident fund for the encouragement of small savings; (6) a publication department which at that time published a weekly periodical called *The Charities,* the Charities' Directory, a handbook on the prevention of tuberculosis, and a directory of institutions and societies dealing with tuberculosis in United States and Canada; (7) a library of reference works on applied sociology; (8) a tenement house committee whose business it was to endeavor to improve the conditions of tenement houses by securing legislation, to enforce existing laws and to encourage the building of model tenements; (9) a committee on the prevention of tuberculosis; (10) a school of philanthropy which served to fit people for social service either as professionals or volunteers; (11) a department for the improvement of social conditions.[1]

Some of these activities have since been discontinued by reason of the creation of special organizations to take them over, for example, the magazine, *Charities,* was consolidated with *The Commons* published in Chicago, its publication taken over by a corporation and its name changed to *The Survey.* The school of philanthropy was turned over to a special organization and an endowment provided for it by Mr. John S. Kennedy.

In other places the Charity Organization Society, under whatever name it may exist, has varied activities. In the last few years organized charities have taken up other problems, such as bringing back family deserters. Out of their enlarged experience one other principle has been established—the family must be considered as a whole when an attempt is made to solve the problem of one of its members. However, the main purposes which lay at the bottom of the movement in the beginning are for the most part still operative. On the whole we can say without exaggeration that no single movement has had such widespread effects on social work as the Charity Organization movement.

Development of Policies. In 1899 Dr. Devine declared "that there have been no radical changes in the ideals and fundamental objects of our society."[2] There have been, however, as Dr. Devine admits, changes of far reaching moment which as a rule are "changes

[1] *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform,* New York, 1908, p. 159.
[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1899, p. 276.

of methods or of scope or of emphasis, not changes of ideals or of goal." Some of these changes have been due to the varying needs of different communities; others, the results of endeavors to reach the same goal by improved technique. For example, in the early history of the movement both in England and in America one of the important purposes of the organization was to repress begging. That object has now been subordinated to efforts which would make begging unnecessary. Again, an increasing interest has been placed by Charity Organization Societies upon a campaign of preventive measures both legislative and private. Hence, out of these organizations have sprung campaigns to educate the public on preventive measures and legislative lobbying for preventive legislation as to child labor, and public employment agencies. Again, in the early history of the movement both in England and America, these societies were often active in securing the abolition of public outdoor relief. Recently there has been a tendency on the part of some of the leaders, to urge the legislative and administrative adoption of the principles and technique of the Charity Organization Society in public outdoor relief. The movement has, however, stood like a rock for investigation, registration of cases, coöperation between relief agencies, friendly visiting, trained personal service, and adequate relief. Never for one moment have the leaders turned aside from these ideals.[1]

SOME OUTGROWTHS OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT

The direct result of this movement upon relief principles and methods no one can measure. Like a new evangel in religion, at first it was misunderstood and abused. It was charged with selfishness, with inhumanity towards the poor, with substituting for the kindliness of charity, hardness of heart and coldness of spirit. However, after these years of trial it has won a place of honor. As Dr. Devine in 1899 said, "organized charity results not in the mechanicalization of charity, but in its spiritualization." Its fundamental principles of "investigation, registration, coöperation, friendly visiting and other forms of personal service, and adequate relief are, let us not say pillars of organized charity, but rather formative social forces wholesome, disturbing, purifying, healing and altogether essential." [2]

[1] For discussion of details see Devine, "Organization of Charity," *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1899, pp. 274-284; Brackett, *ibid.*, 1915, pp. 450-456; Riley, *ibid.*, 1916, pp. 342-345; Almy, *The Survey*, April 10, 1920, p. 82.

[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1899, p. 277.

These principles have been in large part, if not altogether, adopted by almost every case-working agency in every field of social work in the United States—child placing societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, some juvenile courts, juvenile protective associations, some mothers' pension administration authorities. In short, agencies which attempt to adjust social relationships by dealing with individuals and families recognize that the principles and methods worked out by organized charities must be applied if they are really to accomplish the objects for which they exist. Its principle of friendly visiting is a means of bringing together the fortunate and the distressed to their mutual advantage. As Mr. Kellogg pointed out in 1893, "It is the means by which the higher resources of society, its hope, discipline, thrift and kindness of heart, are diffused among the depressed and those who have fallen by the way; it is the means of contact with poverty of mind and purse; it is the vital agency in evoking the capacities of the poor for self-maintenance." [1]

Effect upon Private Relief Societies. While at first private relief societies sometimes resented the effort of organized charity to temper relief by common sense and skilful work with the poor, an increasing number now have adopted the principles. One can scarcely find a society which does not at least profess that it investigates, coöperates, sends friendly visitors into the homes where it gives relief and gives adequately. There is still some doubt among them as to the necessity of registering cases, on the specious ground that their families are not the riff-raff of society and therefore should not be exposed to the humiliation of the supposed publicity of a confidential exchange. Often, it is true, the professions are more observed in the breach than in rigorous application, yet more and more these organizations are appreciating the value of these principles in their work. Whatever advance has been made in the application of sound principles of relief by private societies is due to the publicity given them by organized charity.

Modification of Public Outdoor Relief. Outdoor relief officials have been slower than the officials of private relief societies to profit by the experience of organized charities. The officials have been usually old men, friends of county or city officials. They have not attended meetings where the problems of relief-giving were discussed, nor have they been spurred to consideration of the results of their

[1] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1893, pp. 67, 68.

work by an enlightened public opinion. They have been dole-givers rather than workers, and so have not been forced to see the results of haphazard methods. For the most part they have had to deal with the most hopeless classes of the destitute. Moreover, until recently the advocates of a better method have treated them with contempt because they were the agents of a public authority supposedly dominated by corrupt politics.

The last few years, however, have seen a decided change on the part of certain social workers. The champions of organized charity have awakened to the fact that their previous attitude was one of despair of democracy. Consequently both in public addresses and in private practice a number of social workers have shown that there is no inherent reason why public outdoor relief cannot be redeemed from its low estate. Such men as Brackett, Almy, and Riley have urged before the National Conference of Charities and Correction that public relief could be purified. Miss Vaile in Denver, Miss Hopkins in Grinnell, Iowa, Halbert in Kansas City, and Lynde in Grand Rapids, Michigan, have shown that it is possible to apply the principles of organized charity to public relief. While in some of these places, politics hampered or destroyed their fine work, the demonstration was made, and some of them still continue. Public outdoor poor relief in the whole state of Indiana has been reformed, and is conducted on the principles of organized charity, which have even been written into the law of that state. In Massachusetts a State Board of Charities and an enlightened secretary have been able to accomplish wonders in educating the public and the overseers of the poor to proper methods of outdoor relief.

Such successful efforts have shown that, given leaders of the right ideals and sufficient tact and tenacity of purpose, high-grade public poor relief is by no means impossible. Too often when such an experiment has failed it has been due to lack of real leadership. Such leaders must educate the public to back them up; they must know how to reach legislators, state and municipal; they must have the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon; they must see their hopes dashed to the ground, and yet not be discouraged; they must be willing to fail and yet from that failure learn the lessons it taught, so as to succeed at the next attempt. Who has not seen the attempt to establish the principles of sound relief in a private society frustrated from lack of such leadership?

Despite all the failures both in private societies and in public relief,

there is evidence that the principles of organized charity are establishing themselves in the minds of an increasing number of people, that many public officials are interested in their application to public relief, and that some officials are demonstrating that they can be applied to public relief with gratifying results.[1]

Public Welfare Departments. A recent effort to apply the principles of organized charity to public relief is the movement to organize public welfare departments in connection with city, county and state governments. The movement began with Mr. L. A. Halbert in Kansas City, Mo. In 1908 an ordinance was passed by the City Council establishing a Board of Pardons and Paroles. In 1909 this same body was authorized to administer the workhouse and in 1910 it was enlarged to five members and "given broad powers to devise and execute plans, to fulfil the duties of the city toward all of the poor, the delinquent, the unemployed, the deserted and unfortunate classes in the community, and to specify the private agencies which solicit money from the public for these purposes." Under this plan Mr. Halbert developed a large number of activities under city auspices applying the basic principles of charity organization. The city workhouse was moved to the country upon a municipal farm in connection with which were established certain industries. Private charities were studied for purposes of endorsement; non-support and desertion of families were vigorously dealt with; provision was made for the homeless and unemployed by using the Helping Hand Institute as a lodging house, by the establishment of an unemployment bureau, and by the operation of a municipal query. Often legal aid was provided; loan sharks were repressed and a remedial loan agency was organized under the supervision of the board. Dance halls and skating rinks were regulated, and later motion pictures were censored. Pool halls later still came under its supervision, a child welfare movement was promoted, the charities of the city, prostitution and unemployment, housing, recreation facilities, conditions of working women, the social effects of industrial accidents, and various other problems of social welfare were studied by the board.

By 1918 the movement had spread to 12 other states in the United

[1] For detailed discussion of these experiments in the application of the principles of organized charity to public outdoor relief see Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology,* New York, 1915, pp. 470-472; *The Development of Public Charities and Correction in the State of Indiana, 1792-1910,* Indianapolis, 1910, pp. 118-130; *Social Service in the Small Town,* Grinnell, 1913; Gillin, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa,* Iowa City, 1914, pp. 332, 333; Almy, *The Survey,* April 10, 1920, p. 82.

States and Canada. In 1911 a National Public Welfare League was organized for the purpose of giving advice to cities, counties, and states contemplating the establishment of Boards of Public Welfare. Mr. Halbert says, "The movement proclaims a practical Utopia to be realized by doing scientific social work on a large scale." This program is based on the idea that social sciences and social invention can revolutionize society. It accepts no misery as inevitable and no wrong as irremediable.[1] The movement will be watched with a great deal of interest by all social workers.

An even more striking illustration of the application of modern principles of social work to a public agency is that furnished by Commissioner of Charities and Correction of Westchester County, New York, under the leadership of Mr. V. Everett Macy.[2]

Promoting Supplementary Organizations. From the very beginning organized charity saw that even the best case-work, if limited to the individual and family, would not solve the problems of poverty and pauperism. However efficiently the social workers did their immediate task of relieving and rehabilitating the poor, conditions were driving down with irresistible force very many more than they could deliver from dependency. These social engineers saw that they must prevent pauperism and poverty by removing the conditions which result in distress. Hence, the various committees of the London Charity Organization Society referred to above attacked the problems of health, sanitation, education, and employment. Legislation and public administration must be improved. Sometimes organized charity has formed committees and departments to do some of the things needed, while at other times they have been instrumental in stimulating the formation of independent organizations devoted to such purposes. Not only have they furnished advice in household management, removed families from unsanitary quarters, and provided fresh air funds for mothers and children, but they have promoted legislation on housing and sanitation, marriage-law reforms, and care of the feeble-minded; they have promoted clinics, desertion bureaus, societies to fight tuberculosis, venereal disease, to develop thrift, to provide legal aid, and to secure recreation facilities for the poor. More recently they have instigated the formation of central councils of social agencies, federation of organizations for raising c.

[1] Halbert, "Boards of Public Welfare; A System of Government in Social Work," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1918, pp. 220-229.

[2] For details see *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Charities and Correction of Westchester County*, New York, 1917.

joint budget, and have either themselves established a bureau for the endorsement of charities appealing for funds, or have been instrumental in inducing some other agency to perform that function.

The workers from charity organization societies have done their part in developing state conferences and the National Conference of Social Work—conferences in which are discussed the various social problems and in which were born some of the most far reaching social programs. The *Proceedings of the National Conference* for the last forty years are a library of the most important discussions of social problems in the country. A number of the state conferences have employed full-time trained social workers to promote the organization of social work, and to advise communities in the state on social organization and legislation.

From its early days in London the charity organization movement stimulated publications on the important phases of its work. In this country the leading magazine dealing with social problems, *The Survey* (formerly *The Charities and Commons*) was sponsored by the New York Charity Organization Society. *Lend a Hand,* a publication founded by Dr. Edward Everett Hale of Boston, was the result of his great interest in the problem of the poor. Moreover, so important had the problems of charity organization become when the Russell Sage Foundation was organized that a department was established therein called The Charity Organization Department, which has been the source of a great literature upon the subject of socialized relief and service.

Strange as it may seem, the charity organization movement, which antedates all the other modern social movements in the United States, was the last to achieve national organization. The reasons for the national organization have been set forth by Mr. McLean as follows:

"In most cities, particularly the smaller ones, the roots were close to the surface and spread out laterally rather than horizontally; that is, the negative idea of the mere systematization of relief, the checking of duplication and fraud and similar ideas constituted the whole content of the program of these societies. This was to some extent true of the early nineties, but approximately from 1895 to 1905 there was an increasing call made upon the recognized associated charities or charity organization societies from communities about to organize, asking for advice as to forms of organization. . . . The recognized societies thus importuned to advise groups organizing in new communities at first confidently replied upon the basis of their own experience. Thus in each part of the country there was

a set of societies resembling a model to be found in the nearest important society which had been consulted. Thus weakness and strength alike were perpetuated. . . . During all these years there was growing up a recognition of the essential unity of the field. This could not fail to come into existence. There could be no barriers separating single municipalities or other units. The small city found its most difficult problem in this or that girl who had come in from the rural sections. The intermediate city found that its group of dependent families was recruited not only from the rural sections, but from the smaller cities which had not intelligently looked after their neglected families. The larger cities gathered their cases from all over the country. Thus slowly came the realization that this was not a mere community problem. This did not mean that each community should not be locally and independently responsible for the neglected families residing in it. It did mean, however, that the different communities were so inter-related that it was for the interest of all to have right principles of rehabilitation everywhere being actively employed. So there came to the leaders in the movement the definite appreciation of the need of field work, similar to that done in other social activities. There was the need for the exchange of experience, and for guarding new movements against fallacies and weaknesses, showing them how to start on right foundations at the beginning, thus conserving local resources in every way."[1]

This field work for the development of better methods in already existing societies and for the organization of charities where conditions were ripe for it, was inaugurated by *The Survey* as a department of that publication in 1907. In 1909 it was taken over by the Russell Sage Foundation and made a part of the Charity Organization Department. In 1911 it was taken over by the National Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, now the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, which publishes its own magazine, *The Family*. The Association has a field staff which constantly travels about the country assisting communities to better organize their relief and service work for the poor, and stimulates them by surveys and reports to better methods.[2]

Training Schools for Social Workers. With the development of the charity organization movement the need of trained workers became apparent. For a long time each society trained its own workers by taking promising people upon the staff as workers in training, and having some staff member give them training by instruction and supervision of their work. The New York Charity Organization Society

[1] "The Extension of Organized Charity in the United States," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, July, 1912.
[2] McLean, *op. cit.*

finally decided that, since it was so frequently called upon by other communities for workers, it would attempt the experiment of establishing a school of training, which would enable it to train its own workers and at the same time provide a training center for those who wished to prepare themselves for charitable work as a profession. In 1904 it opened its school of philanthropy as a professional training school demanding the full time of its students throughout the academic year.[1] Since then a number of similar schools have sprung up in various parts of the country. The most important of these, besides the parent school, are that at Chicago, which just this last year (1920) has been taken over by the University of Chicago, and those at Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Richmond. In addition to these, a number of colleges and universities are now developing schools or courses for the training of social workers.[2]

Social Research. Inherent in the movement for the organization of charity is the demand for knowledge of conditions affecting the poor and of the work done by each agency in the community. As we have seen, duplication of work and overlapping of fields generated the demand for organization. Agencies had to be convinced by facts carefully gathered concerning the conditions. Neither could the benevolent public be convinced of the necessity of a coördinating agency unless very specific facts were placed before it. Hence, in order to justify the principles on which it was established, charity organization had to engage in social research. Moreover, the wider problems of prevention of distress could be revealed in a way to challenge attention only by a study of social maladjustments.

Hence, charity organization societies enjoying the confidence of their communities have promoted research. Since one of its principles is registration of facts concerning its cases, in its records each society has available for study a mass of facts. In the endeavor to get behind surface conditions good case-work demands a study of all the factors which affect the individual or family. In no other way can a good diagnosis of the case be made, and only so can treatment be adequate. Moreover, only as a society studies the results of its work can it determine whether the methods it uses are adapted

[1] *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, 1905*, p. 91.

[2] Among them Minnesota, Chicago University, Ohio, Smith College, Wisconsin, Western Reserve, Goucher College for Women in Baltimore, Missouri, and Iowa. As these are growing in number each year, the list is not exhaustive. The necessity of training Home Service workers for the work of the Red Cross during the War has stimulated this movement.

to its purposes. Out of these conditions, therefore, have grown studies which have given a scientific basis to applied sociology. The whole modern social survey movement owes more than can now be determined to the studies which charity organization societies have made during the half century of their existence. The results of first studies of the causes of pauperism and poverty in this country are to be found in reports made by charity workers in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.*

A recent development of social research is that conducted by some of the great foundations such as Russell Sage Foundation, through its survey committee, and the Carnegie Foundation which is at present carrying on extensive studies in Americanization. Without doubt these great organizations owe something to the charity organization societies.

Central Councils of Social Agencies. Another development in coöperation in social work is the central council of social agencies. In the words of Mr. McLean, central councils are "delegate bodies representing the social agencies of the city, these agencies still maintaining independence of action in all fields and being bound together by coöperative rather than contractual relationships."[1] These councils are neither city conferences of social agencies nor financial federations, one of which preceded the development of the central council and the other of which followed. The oldest council is that of Pittsburgh which is essentially a city conference, as is also that of Seattle, while that of Cincinnati is rather a federation fostering contractual relationships in the raising of funds.

Some of the more recent councils have concentrated on developing standards for the various agencies in the council. In order to establish such standards the councils have been forced to formulate plans for a self-survey of all private and some public agencies. Perhaps the movement can be better understood by outlining the methods followed by the St. Louis Council. "The St. Louis council, organized in January, 1912, determined early in its existence that it would devote its attention to a self-survey. It found that if it gave too much attention to legislative and public administrative matters, it would not have time for the survey. So it asked an organization, which was really a city conference on social work, to undertake this other functioning. Nevertheless, no less than 28 city and state matters were taken up

[1] "Central Councils and Community Planning," *The Survey*, June 2, 1917, pp. 217-219.

in the first three years of its existence, in many of which it played the major, sometimes the only, rôle." [1]

As a result of this survey of the work of the social agencies in a city extending over a number of years, overlapping societies have been discovered, gaps in the requisite number of agencies have been revealed and systematic programs for social development have been made possible. These councils have no administrative functions but serve five purposes:

1. To develop better understanding and coöperation among existing agencies.

2. To further new activities whenever required by inciting the proper organization or group to undertake the work.

3. To provide means for united action in carrying on any educational or agitational campaigns for governmental action in the administrative or legislative field.

4. To develop constantly improving standards of work among existing organizations.

5. To work out and carry out, through its influence on the proper groups, a systematic program for social development.[2]

No machinery yet devised has been as successful as these councils in promoting good work among the various social agencies and in developing a social program to meet all of the needs of the community and the state. Since the only force they can exert is the moral force which comes from the presentation of facts, central councils are a mighty agency for the education both of social agencies and the community. There is no doubt that these councils have justified themselves in the work which they have been able to do.

Federations and Community Unions. Somewhat similar to central councils but having quite another objective, at least in their beginning, are the Federations of Charities. These federations are chiefly for the purpose of doing away with the separate drives for financial support for various social agencies of a community. Numerous drives had become a source of vexation to the business men of Cleveland, and in May, 1900, the committee on Benevolent Associations of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce was formed in order to be of service to the organizations desiring public support. Its duties were "to protect the giving-public against solicitations for unworthy purposes and thus assist worthy and efficient institutions whose

[1] McLean, "Central Councils and Community Planning," *The Survey*, June 2, 1917, pp. 216-219.

[2] *Ibid.*

income had become adversely affected by the existence of much fraudulent solicitation. The committee was to investigate carefully all charity institutions and issue a card of endorsement to such as complied with a certain standard of excellence. The committee pursued a constructive policy endeavoring to bring societies up to better standards, studying the needs of the community, working for the consolidation of such agencies as overlapped or limiting the field of each to certain activities or certain parts of the city, and endeavoring to promote new organizations to fill gaps in the city's agencies. After twelve years of this work the committee decided that it must go further and provide for a united drive for funds. Some of the most reliable charitable organizations of the city had been unable to raise sufficient money to do efficient work, while some which placed more emphasis on money raising than upon service got more than their share. Moreover, the demands had continually increased until a certain class of contributors were unduly burdened. Consequently after making a study of the charitable budgets in 1907 and learning that the charities were supported by a comparatively small number of people, the suggestion was made for a united drive. The plan, however, was not put into operation and a study was again made in 1910. As a result of this study a federation of the agencies was proposed in the hope that the excessive cost of collection would be decreased, that the public would be more widely interested, that business men could be relieved of the excessive amount of time they gave to seeing solicitors and that there would result increased contributions. As a result, the Cleveland Federation was formed for a united drive, providing for 10 members to be elected by the organizations in the federation, 10 members to be elected by patrons contributing to the federation and 10 members appointed by the Chamber of Commerce. Under this plan any person may contribute to a particular organization, if he so desires. The undesignated gifts are to be divided among the various constituent agencies according to their needs as determined by the federation, giving due consideration to the amounts used by them in previous years.

After three years of operation under this plan the results showed increased contributions from previous contributors; an increase of $100,000 over the combined contributions of the previous year at a cost of only 8 per cent for collection as compared with a cost of from 12 to 14 per cent before the federation; a better coöperation between the agencies concerned, and the education of the public

through a highly organized publicity. In 1916 there were federations in 11 cities in the country, four cities having abandoned federations once begun.

The federation has not stopped with its financial purpose. It now serves as a means of studying the methods of the different agencies assisting them in coördinating their work more closely with other agencies and planning for the development of social work throughout the entire city.[1]

In 1914 the Cleveland Welfare Council was started as an advisory body to the new City Department of Public Welfare. In January of 1917 this was merged with the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy and the new organization was named the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. About 21 civic and social organizations in the Welfare Council were added as coöperating members who do not participate in raising funds to the 61 agencies in the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. The plan of organization was changed so that the General Board of this Welfare Federation consists of two representatives from each of the constituent bodies, one of which must be a paid worker. This board meets quarterly; it elects a Board of Trustees which usually meets fortnightly and carries on the business of the organization. A Central Financial Committee directs the money raising. The Endorsement Committee has been organized along the same lines as that of the Chamber of Commerce. The Welfare Federation has now extended its work to a study of wider problems. The consensus of opinion at the present time seems to be that the Federation has been a decided success in Cleveland and will be elsewhere when the ground has been properly prepared for it.[2]

A somewhat similar organization is the so-called Community Union established in Detroit and a few other cities. In Cincinnati and Detroit the Union, under the director, Mr. William J. Norton, has endeavored not only to coördinate the work of the various social agencies, unify the financial drives and standardize methods, but also to decrease the

[1] *The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy as Proposed by the Committee on Benevolent Associations of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce*, Jan. 7, 1913; C. W. Williams, "Cleveland's Group Plan," *The Survey*, Feb. 1, 1913; "Some Questions About Charity Federation," *The Survey*, June 17, 1916; "Putting Coöperation on the Map," *The Survey*, Dec. 25, 1915; "Three Years of Charity Federation," *The Survey*, Oct. 28, 1916; "The Human Problems and Resources of Cleveland," "The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy," *The Social Year Book*, Cleveland, December, 1913; Williams, "The Essentials in Cleveland's Experiment in 'Creative Benevolence,'" *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1913, pp. 111-115.

[2] Kingsley, "Principles and Opinions of Federations or Councils of Social Agencies," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 514-521.

waste in purchasing supplies, maintaining separate offices and staffs when they can be combined, and planning for the development of social work in the entire city.[1]

Such are the fundamental principles at the basis of "organized charity." How wide has been the reach of its influence! Beginning with the attempt to suppress begging and to prevent pauperism by doing away with duplication and indiscriminate giving, it has awakened in people quite remote from it a passion for facts concerning social methods and conditions, and has stimulated a desire to prevent social evils by striking at their roots. It has not only revolutionized charity, but it has inspired the hope that through legislation and trained administration private and public agencies working together may prevent maladjustments out of which social evils grow. Its principles have passed beyond the field of charity. They have been adopted in correctional work, and are influencing every line of work which deals with individuals or families. Now we hear the term "case-work" applied even to groups. It has enlarged our vision of social work. In the endeavor to apply scientific charity principles we have come to see that all social problems are inextricably interwoven. One cannot be solved without the simultaneous endeavor to perfect all of our social machinery so that individuals and families will not be crushed down in the social process. Socialized relief must go hand in hand with social service and social legislation.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. A History of the Charity Organization Society of London. Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912,* London, 1914.
2. What is social case-work? Richmond, *Social Diagnosis,* New York, 1917, Chap. I; Lee, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1911, pp. 260-262.
3. Development of charitable work in the United States. Devine, *Principles of Relief,* New York, pp. 314-357.
4. The Welfare Federation of Cleveland. Kingsley, "Should Everybody Care," *The Survey,* Jan. 15, 1921, p. 564.
5. Community Foundations. Hollingshead, "The Community Foundations," *The Survey,* Jan. 2, 1921, p. 639.

[1] William J. Norton, "City Planning in Social Work," *The Survey,* Sept. 9, 1916; Norton, "Workers of Financial Federation," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1917, pp. 503-507; Johnson, "Ideals of Financial Federation," *Ibid.,* pp. 507-510; Norton, "War and the Federation Movement," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work,* 1918, pp. 589-595.

CHAPTER XXXI

SOCIALIZED NEIGHBORLINESS

NEIGHBORLINESS is not simply proximity. That classic figure of neighborliness, the Good Samaritan, has never been excelled. The neighbor was not the man who lived near to the man beset by robbers on the Jericho road, but the man who succored him in his need. Neighborliness is not limited by race, creed, or social class; nor by riches, poverty, education, or ignorance. Need, on the one hand, and opportunity and ability on the other, constitute the conditions of neighborliness.

In the vast complexity of our modern social life, with the development of social classes, not only divided from each other sharply by difference of immediate interests, but also living apart from each other in different residence districts, the members of one class find it difficult to know of the needs of the others. Neighborly good-will becomes vicarious. The rich and educated find it easy to give money rather than to endeavor to know and help their neighbors. The poor find it hard even to conceive that they have something which the rich need. Moreover, contacts being more difficult, interests become specialized. We spend what leisure we have with those of our own class. The conditions of our neighbors are not flaunted before our very eyes. The amount of human kindness is perhaps as great as ever, but it is atrophied by reason of our separation from its immediate presence. We see it only by proxy. Moreover, specialized in our business and social interests we often, like the priest and Levite in the parable, pass by on the other side. Social settlements are an attempt to socialize neighborly good-will.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT IDEA

Like charity organizations the settlement was an outgrowth of the humanitarian movement which showed such impetus in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The writings of Carlyle had shaken the classical political economy and had rudely invaded the smug complacency of the upper classes, especially the educated.

At Oxford John Ruskin was not only attacking the *laissez faire* social philosophy of the time, but urging with religious fervor the responsibility of the favored classes for the gulf between them and the unfortunate. Frederick Maurice in 1860 had established the Workingmen's College. In 1866 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, where he exerted considerable influence with the students, and where he published his *Social Morality* in 1869. In his Workingmen's College he had used Cambridge students to teach the classes in their spare time. Charles Kingsley was teaching history at Cambridge and devoting a great deal of time to the cause of the poor in London. Thomas Hill Green was also at Oxford instilling into the minds of his students the idea of the brotherhood of man. Perhaps these men are a sufficient explanation of the growth of a feeling among the students at the two great universities that they should devote some of their energies and time to learning by actual contact the life of the poor of London. It should not be forgotten, however, that John Richard Green, the historian of the English people, was vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, was in contact with some of the men at the universities, and was revealing to them the conditions he found in his parish. It was with his people that Edward Denison went to live in 1867, the first of that long line of Oxford and Cambridge students who went down to the poor people of the East End to share their lives with them and to learn of them. Out of that atmosphere at the universities sprang the settlement idea.

TOYNBEE HALL, THE FIRST SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

The idea of a settlement developed gradually. Elements of the idea were contributed by many minds. The results of the Industrial Revolution were becoming apparent not only in the increased wealth of England, but also in the increased squalor of large sections of the workers. West London made the contrast with East London plainer than ever before had been the contrast between riches and poverty. The first result of the consciousness that the introduction of machinery and large scale production in industry had emphasized the poverty of the poor were attempts to improve the poor laws in 1834 and again in 1867, and to introduce better methods of relieving the wants of the poor through the Charity Organization Society of London, described in the previous chapter, or, as Canon Barnett put it, to do something "by law and by societies." The next was to get men in

the universities to ask "What can I do?"[1] University men were declaring that "the great work of our time is to connect the centers of learning with centers of industry," and were urging students to "find their friends among the poor." In answer to these exhortations Maurice had established in London the Workingmen's College, referred to above, and, pleading for teachers, had found a response among the young men of the universities. Seven years later Denison had gone to live among the parishioners of Green in London. He died soon, but not before he had learned how hard was the struggle of the poor—a lesson he has left recorded in his letters. He was followed by Edmund Hollond. Mr. Barnett, an Oxford graduate, was curate at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London. Hollond heard that Barnett wished to get into the East End. At that time (1872) the living of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, in the great East End, fell vacant. Hollond wrote to the bishop of London and asked him to offer it to Mr. Barnett. The bishop did so. The bishop described it in his letter to Barnett as "the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles." Barnett and his fiancée went to look it over and so Barnett accepted the work and just before Christmas, 1872, became vicar. After three years the Barnetts went to Oxford for a short visit with friends, and to tell about the conditions they found in their part of the city. Mrs. Barnett has described vividly that eventful visit, on which they got their first chance to present the claims of the poor to Oxford students, among whom were Arnold Toynbee and others who later found their way to St. Jude's and its vicinity. Each undergraduate was asked to come down and see things for himself. They came during the vacations and took lodgings in East London and, as Mrs. Barnett says, "felt all the fascination of its strong pulse of life, hearing, as those who listen always may, the hushed, unceasing moans underlying the cry which ever and anon makes itself heard by an unheeding public."[2] Many other visits were made to Oxford and Cambridge in which the Barnetts had the opportunity to urge "the duty of the cultured to the poor and degraded." The students came, but there was no organization. The men attached themselves to the Charity Organization District Committees and other existing agencies there.

Among those who came to the neighborhood of St. Jude's was

[1] Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, pp. 96, 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

Arnold Toynbee. The summer vacation of 1875 he spent in Whitechapel. This practice he followed for several years. He graduated in 1878, was married in 1879, but his poor health made it necessary for him to be away from England a large part of the time during the summers. Often he lectured to workingmen on economic subjects (he died in 1883), and showed his practical interest in the poor.

Toynbee's interest had been shown also by his work among the youth of Oxford, "where with a subtle force of personality he attracted original or earnest minds of all degrees, and turned their thoughts or faces toward the East End and its problems." He induced many men to work with the Barnetts.

In 1883 Barnett wrote a paper which he read at a meeting at St. John's College, Oxford, on "Settlements of University Men in Great Towns." As a result of this stirring paper, which Mrs. Barnett has preserved for us, a committee was formed, money was raised and a head sought to make the ideal a reality. In 1884 Barnett was asked to preach in Balliol Chapel, Oxford, on the anniversary of Toynbee's death. During the sermon the suggestion came to both Mrs. Barnett and Bolton King, the honorary secretary of the committee, that the proposed settlement, which was to be established nearby St. Jude's, where they had spent 11 years of their lives, should be called Toynbee Hall. Thus began the first university settlement in the world.[1]

THE MOTIVES OF THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

The philosophy back of the movement was not clearly defined at first. It has been suggested that a passion for the democracy inherent in Christianity and felt by those Oxford and Cambridge men who had come under the teachings of the men at the two universities had much to do with the movement. However, if we may judge from its first expressions, that feeling was not always consciously religious. It was rather humanitarian and social. With some, as for example Barnett himself, it is probable that the religious motive lay back of the movement. Even in his case, however, the philosophy was religious only in that broad ethical sense inspired by Christianity. In that sense, in many cases, if not all, religion has remained a motive. In the strict sense settlements have never been religious in the same way as missions to the poor in great cities. As time has gone on, however, settlement workers have had to define the motives and outline

[1] Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, pp. 96, 117.

a philosophy. As long ago as 1893 Jane Addams, one of the pioneers in the United States, and perhaps the most brilliant expositor of the ideals of settlements, said that the "subjective" motives which urge towards settlements are three: (1) "The desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression"; (2) "to share the race life, and to bring as much as possible of social energy and the accumulation of civilization to those portions of the race which have little"; and (3) to bring about a "renaissance of Christianity, a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects." [1] Surveying the whole history of settlements, and endeavoring to sum up the motives which lie at their base, it may be said that settlements have been and are motivated by three ideals:

1. **The Desire for Knowledge.** With the growth of cities and the division of the population into classes, class interests develop. Since numbers in each class are so large, the contact, for the most part, must be vicarious. Ignorance leads to misunderstanding and the growth of prejudices. Class interests drive men apart. Unless there is knowledge of the conditions under which other classes are working and living, class interests become dominant and class conflict results. Such conflict can be overcome only by appreciation of the point of view of others. Some members of each class must get into contact with as large a number as possible in other classes, and then report their findings to other members in order that there may be that understanding and coöperation which makes a healthy social order.

Moreover, appreciation of the *personalities* in other classes comes through contact. How often the members of one class are blind to the excellencies of the members of another class until by living and working with them the fine qualities are recognized! How frequently one misunderstands others, when he does not see them struggling with the difficulties of their position! On the other hand, how frequently has it happened that in the settlement one schooled in an entirely different social atmosphere from that of the slums has come to see how, in spite of the untoward circumstances of life, some of the finest qualities of human personality are manifested by the poor!

Moreover, settlement residents desire not only the personal knowledge of *conditions* which they gather from residence in the slums, but they desire to ascertain from careful objective study the extent and character of the problems of the poor. How many model studies

[1] *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, p. 2.

of social conditions have been made in connection with settlements! Studies in the administration of poor relief in London were made in the early days by Toynbee Hall.

Such study was a prominent idea in the establishment of Andover House, which has become the South End House of Boston. Professor Tucker, in 1891, proposed that there should be established in one of the more crowded districts of Boston a house "designed to stand for the single idea of resident study and work." Says Mr. Woods, the present head resident, "The singleness of this idea has ever since been the guiding principle of the settlement which came of that initial effort."[1] The South End House studies concerning conditions in Boston were made by Robert A. Woods and his fellow-residents in South End House, Boston.

Hull House "Maps and Papers" are the result of this same motive in Hull House, Chicago.

2. **Democracy.** In the United States the word "democracy" is often on our lips. How one-sided was our conception of the term is shown by the long fight necessary to secure women's suffrage. In social matters we have not achieved as important results as in political. Says Jane Addams, "We have refused to move beyond the position of its (democracy's) eighteenth century readers who believed that political equality alone would secure all good to all men. We conscientiously followed the gift of the ballot hard upon the gift of freedom to the negro, but we are quite unmoved by the fact that he lives among us in a practically social ostracism. We hasten to give the franchise to the immigrant from a sense of justice, from a tradition that he ought to have it, while we dub him with epithets, deriding his past life or present occupation, and feel no duty to invite him to our houses. . . . We have almost given it up as our ideal in social intercourse."[2]

For the achievement of this social democracy the settlement is founded. Its residents are neighbors in the real sense to all the people round about it. Its house is as open to them as their houses are to its residents. Moreover, it endeavors to bring together in its work the cultured and the rich on the one hand and the poor on the other. Here is realized the Biblical statement, "The rich and the poor meet together; Jehovah is the maker of them all."[3]

[1] Woods, *The City Wilderness,* Boston, 1899, Preface.
[2] *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, pp. 2 and 3.
[3] Proverbs 22:2.

Furthermore, in its *study* of working conditions and in providing a forum for frank *discussion* of problems affecting the poor in their work, the settlement is in line with its democratic motive. How often the unorganized and exploited workers in the region of the House on Henry Street in New York City, in Hull House in Chicago have found an attentive ear, a meeting-place for the discussion of their questions, and a voice for their protests! Sympathy and advocacy of their claims by settlement house workers are visible in the books of Miss Wald and Miss Addams.[1]

The settlements extend democracy to education. On the formal side elementary education has been fairly well achieved in the great cities of America. Nevertheless, in many of the crowded districts even the elementary educational facilities are not adequate. The necessity of going to work prevents many children from securing a suitable training for life. The settlements have ever been prominent in advocating better school facilities. When these were not to be had from the public school, settlements have organized classes to realize their ideal of democracy in education. Likewise, in the extension of education the settlements have been leaders. Classes for adults denied educational advantages have been formed until the public school system could take over the work.

A corollary of the motive of democracy is that of *sharing with the disadvantaged the heritage of culture and opportunity.* Our forefathers founded here a nation in which the political privileges of the few would become the privileges of all. Implicit in their doctrines was a wider and deeper democracy. Time has shown that political democracy cannot stand alone; hence, the emphasis upon the public school for all. But an elementary education does not give a proper share in our culture; hence, our development of higher institutions of learning with provision for nominal tuition and scholarships, so that the poorest youth may share more fully in our intellectual achievements. Democracy also implies opportunity for vocational and technical education, university extension, public art galleries and cultural lectures for all who wish them. Settlements have started many of these movements.

Culture is not communicated only by formal instruction; it comes to us chiefly by contact with the cultured. It is the teacher which makes the school. Too often after school days the poorer children

[1] Wald, *The House on Henry Street,* New York, 1915, Chapter 11; Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House.*

lack opportunity to be in cultured society. The settlement, by bringing cultured and uncultivated together, furnished the opportunity. On the other hand, frequently the rich and educated have a narrow and selfish culture. The settlement gave them a chance to broaden their outlook, enlarge their sympathies and discover undreamed-of refinements among the unprivileged. Immigrants often bring with them elements of culture lacking in our Anglo-Saxon civilization. Why should these people, any more than the poor, be denied opportunity for the widest culture? There is no air of superiority or subserviency in a settlement; the rich and educated there have no more rights than the poor and the foreigner. There is no "uplifting" attitude tolerated. It is recognized that the poor do as much for the rich there as the rich for the poor. They work together for the attainment of a common end. They share with each other their special social endowments, points of view, opinions and culture.[1] Hence, the settlements reiterate that they provide the facilities whereby the poor and the rich alike may help themselves to a nobler and more generous attitude by contact with each other. Barnett presented this ideal when he spoke of these young university men who would come to the settlement, "taking up such work as was possible, touching with their lives the lives of the poor, and learning for themselves facts which would revolutionize their minds."[2] Only by living with the disadvantaged and sharing their lives can such understanding and sympathy be engendered in human hearts, and that wisdom learned which makes it possible to share the riches of one's life without degradation to either the giver or the recipient. Destroying condescension on the one hand and preventing resentment on the other, the settlement provides an exchange of service and culture on the basis of mutual friendship and respect.

It also breaks down undemocratic cleavage between the classes. Said Barnett in 1883, "The needs of East London are often urged, but they are little understood. . . . It is impossible but that misunderstandings should follow ignorance. . . . The want of that knowledge which comes only from the sight of others' daily life, and from sympathy with 'the joys and sorrows in widest commonalty spread,' is the source of the mistaken charity which has done much to increase the hardness of life of the poor."[3] There set forth in

[1] Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, p. 9.
[2] *Practicable Socialism,* London, 1915, p. 99.
[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 104-105.

the *magna charta* of the movement is the method of bridging the chasm between the classes. The settlements have kept the faith.

Another ideal implicit in the democratic motive of the settlement is that of *improving our civic institutions*. Politics in America has registered its greatest failure in city government. Therefore, in this country settlements take an active interest in efforts to cleanse city politics of the graft that battens on the poor. Where has there been a settlement which has not been a conscience to the aldermen, the policemen, and the health officers of its city? Set among the people whom bad city government strikes first and hurts most, the settlements have challenged the betrayal of the people's rights by false leaders. They have firmly stood for good government—for decency in the public institutions through which democracy expresses itself.

3. **Opportunity for Self-Expression.** A third motive in settlements is to give opportunity for self-expression. How few means there were when settlements began for children to play, for the social intercourse of youth, for families to mingle with others, and for the discussion of the common problems of a community.

Children must express themselves in play-activities. Recent studies have shown that carefully guarded play is necessary for the wholesome development of mankind.[1] How deadly is the lack of playgrounds in the congested districts of great cities! Without a place to play, children cannot develop their native capacities. The settlements have been leaders in establishing playgrounds for the neighborhood children and have led the campaign for public playgrounds. The fresh-air outings were a movement of the same sort. Jacob Riis has told of the little girl who was sent to the country for a few weeks by a "fresh-air charity," who wrote back to her mother that she was living in a house surrounded "by Christmas trees," and that the farmer did not get his milk out of a can, but "pulled it out of a cow." Their rides on the hay, on old Dobbin, their swim in the brook or lake and their freedom to roam about the country gathering flowers and watching the pigs have given new opportunities for self-expression. The settlements have led in their development.

As with the children, so with city youths. Living in a family in small and crowded rooms, where shall they receive their friends, where do their courting, where have their parties and dances? The saloon and low dance hall often was all that offered itself to their

[1] Gillin, *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918; Thurston, *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918.

starved longing for a place to have their social gatherings. The settlement provided halls in which they could hold their gatherings, where they could give plays and musicals, hold club meetings, and have parties.[1]

WHAT IS A SOCIAL SETTLEMENT?

This sketch of the development of the social settlement prepares us for a definition. Jane Addams says that it is "an effort to add the social function to democracy." She adds, "The settlement then is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern condition of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of the city. It is an attempt to relieve at the same time the over-accumulation at the one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this over-accumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational advantages."[2] In brief, we may define the settlement as *a center in which men and women of education, wealth and leisure, may meet on terms of neighborly friendliness the less fortunate citizens of their community, where each may learn from the other and through friendship render service to each other, resulting in enlargement of vision, development of personality, and united action for social betterment.* It is not a place where rich condescend to the poor, and where the poor receive subserviently the gifts of the rich and educated. It is a place where in the spirit of democracy, men and women of all classes, all races, all religions, work together for the common end of personal and social improvement.

In the attempt to organize neighborliness, no formal procedure is followed, no rigid lines of work are laid out. Residents live there, so that they may become acquainted with the conditions of the people of the neighborhood. They welcome to their homes the neighbors who wish to come and in the friendship of that home learn the neighbors' point of view, and the neighbors in turn learn their point of view. The residents do not do something for their neighbors. They work with them. The only reason for organization is that neighbors may work together in the solution of common problems. Classes and clubs are formed only that neighbors and residents may together improve themselves and the conditions under which they have to live.

[1] Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House;* Wald, *The House on Henry Street,* New York, 1915; *The Survey,* Dec. 1, 1917, pp. 244-247.
[2] *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, pp. 1 and 22.

The organization of the settlement is extremely simple. At the head is a head resident or warden, who selects his associates, and organizes and directs the work. Usually the support of the institution is secured in large part from friends of the head resident. Usually he is a university man, who has connections with people who are glad to invest their money and often their spare time in the settlement. As the work develops, however, many of the clubs and other activities of the settlement become self-supporting. It has been the hope of some of the settlement workers that ultimately the neighborhood would support the movement entirely—a hope not yet realized.

Some of the workers are not residents, and others report at certain periods to lead clubs, to carry on research, and to participate in various other activities of the settlement.

All kinds of activities which promise to develop neighborliness between the settlement residents, their friends, and the people in the neighborhood are inaugurated. The Henry Street Settlement in New York began its activities by organizing visiting nursing. The Chicago Commons has made the family central in its program. Kindergarten classes, boys' and girls' clubs, housekeeping clubs, manual training work, gymnasium, discussion groups, study clubs of various kinds, the organization of leagues to better conditions in that part of the city—these and many other activities are to be found in settlements.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

Beginning with the establishment of Toynbee Hall, dedicated in 1885, the movement found its first expression in America in a neighborhood gild established by Dr. Stanton Coit in 1887, in the East Side of New York. He had prepared himself by a brief residence in the previous year at Toynbee Hall. Later this neighborhood gild became the University Settlement. In 1889 the College Settlement was established in the East Side of New York by Mr. Charles B. Spahr, Hull House, Chicago, by Jane Addams and Ellen H. Starr, and in 1891 Professor Tucker of Andover Theological Seminary founded Andover House, since changed to South End House in Boston. London has over 40 settlements, and New York City over 50. Throughout the world there have been founded 700 in 150 cities.[1]

They vary in characteristics. Some few have religious connections. Most of them, however, are without ecclesiastical affiliations. Among them there are several music settlements and a few nurses' settle-

[1] Ross, *What is America?*, New York, 1919, p. 93.

ments. As we have seen, the Henry Street Settlement in New York City began as a settlement for visiting nurses. Almost always, however, in response to the demands of the neighborhood, a settlement started along a particular line like nursing or music enlarges its activities.

RESULTS OF SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

It is difficult to study in terms of definite measurable achievement the results of the social settlement movement. Their work is largely spiritual in nature, rather than material. Sometimes, to be sure, they administer relief to the poor. Usually, however, their activities are of quite a different nature. They have formed rather the center from which have gone forth influences both directly and indirectly affecting relationships between people—relationships difficult to tabulate.

On Industrial Relations. If one reads the history of almost any settlement, he will notice how frequently mention is made of the settlement house becoming the focus for the discussion of evil conditions in industry. Toynbee Hall, Hull House, the Chicago Commons, and the House on Henry Street have been meeting-places for the organization of underpaid, overworked and otherwise exploited workers. Residents in the settlements have endeavored first to get the facts concerning the conditions of the working people. On the basis of these facts, they have proceeded to coöperate with their neighbors in the endeavor to better conditions. For example, when the shirtwaist strikers in New York City were in difficulty because of efforts used to break their strike, the residents of the Henry Street Settlement paid their fines when arrested. Many of the settlement's wealthy friends found satisfaction in picketing side by side with the working girls.[1] Hull House has frequently been the center to which workers suffering from evil conditions came either to protest or to organize.[2]

Inasmuch as the settlements have known by first-hand contact the difficulties of the poorly paid workers of the tenements, and have ascertained patiently the facts as to the hours of labor resulting in sickness and the wreck of homes, their words have been heard by unprejudiced people in legislative and executive circles.

On Recreation. The settlements were the originators of the small park playground for children in their congested districts. Living among the people who were denied places for the children to play,

[1] Wald, *The House on Henry Street,* New York, 1915, pp. 209, 210.
[2] Addams, "The Obective Value of the Social Settlement." *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, pp. 50, 51.

and observing the results of lack of play, Hull House and the Commons in Chicago, Henry Street and other settlements in New York have secured small places and fitted them up as playground centers for children in their immediate vicinity.

Moreover, the settlements have been very active in the promotion of municipal playgrounds. Miss Wald and her associates in New York played their part in getting the city to start Seward Park on the East Side.[1] Almost every settlement, moreover, carries on fresh-air excursions in connection with this work, in order that the children and their mothers in the summer time may go away from the crowded tenement districts and enjoy a period of recreation in the country or in the parks. How much the great recreation movement now popularly accepted throughout the country owes to the influence of the settlement, no one can tell. The settlements, however, played their part in calling attention to the need of recreation, and so they share in the development of the movement. As public authorities have taken up the matter, the settlements have withdrawn to devote their energies to other things that need to be done.

On Charity. One of the difficulties Mr. Barnett found in East London during his first years of work there was the pauperized condition of the people, by reason of the way in which charity had been dispensed. He suggested that university men coming into residence could do a great deal in overcoming this pauperized spirit among the poor. He says, "What university men can do in local government is written in the face of parishes redeemed from the demoralizing influence of out-relief, cleansed by well-administered law."[2] Mrs. Barnett, in describing her own experience when she and Mr. Barnett came to St. Jude to begin their work in 1873, says: "We began our work very quietly and simply; opened the church (the first congregation was made up of six or seven old women, all expecting doles for coming), restarted the schools, established relief committees, organized parish machinery, and tried to cauterize, if not to cure, the deep cancer of dependence which was embedded in all our parishioners alike, lowering the best among them, and degrading the worst. At all hours, and on all days, and with every possible pretext, the people came and begged. To them we were nothing but the source from which to obtain tickets, money, or food. And so confident were they that help would be forthcoming, they would allow themselves to get into cir-

[1] Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915, pp. 86, 87.
[2] *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, p. 101.

cumstances of suffering or distress easily foreseen, and then send around and demand assistance. . . . The refusal of the demand of doles made the people very angry. Once the vicarage windows were broken, once we were stoned by an angry crowd, who also hurled curses at us as we walked down a criminal-haunted street, and they howled out as a climax to their wrongs, 'It's us as pays 'em.' But we lived all this down, and as the years went by, reaped a harvest of love and gratitude, which is one of the gladdest possessions of our lives, and is quite disproportioned to the service we have rendered." [1]

The settlements have always coöperated with the charity organization societies seeking to get rid of relief work as soon as possible. The settlements have represented the service end of philanthropy rather than the charitable end. Says Jane Addams, "I am always sorry to have Hull House regarded as a philanthropy, although it doubtless has strong philanthropic tendencies, and has very distinct charitable departments, which are conscientiously carried on. It is unfair, however, to apply the word 'philanthropy' to the activities of the house as a whole. . . . Working people live in the same streets with those in need of charity, but they themselves, so long as they have health and good wages, require and want none of it. As one of their number has said, they require only that their aspirations be recognized and stimulated, and the lines of attaining them put at their disposal. Hull House makes a constant effort to secure this means for its neighbors, but to call that effort philanthropy is to use the word unfairly, and to underestimate the duties of good citizenship." [2]

On Education. The settlement workers have been among the earliest to recognize the inadequacy of educational facilities, both in kind and number, and in character of subjects. Settlement workers have been constant in their efforts to improve facilities for the education of their neighbors. Before there were kindergartens in the public schools, the settlement started kindergartens. As soon as they were able to get the public kindergartens established, they themselves withdrew from that activity. Before the schools provided manual training and domestic science, the settlement, seeing the need of such training, provided classes for their neighbors' children in these subjects. Even to-day at Chicago Commons there is a housekeeping class in which young women are taught how to furnish a simple flat, in-

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 109, 111.
[2] *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, pp. 55, 56.

expensively and tastefully. The Henry Street Settlement, in New York, likewise has stimulated the establishment of housekeeping courses.[1]

In like manner the settlements helped to establish branch libraries in the poorer sections of the cities long before the munificence of Andrew Carnegie had made possible the numerous branch libraries scattered throughout the country. The University Settlement in Milwaukee persuaded the city librarian to establish therein a branch library, which as soon as possible was moved to a nearby public school.

Furthermore, the settlement has been friendly throughout its history to University Extension for the men and women who have ceased attending school, but desire further training. That connection was made in Toynbee Hall. It has continued to the present. To-day in most of our settlements extension classes are held, and will be held, until other places are provided where adults can get such further training as they desire. Thus in these and many other ways settlements have been outposts in the field of education, reporting where the school system fails to meet the needs of the poor, the residents being for the most part educated people, and having connections with influential citizens, have been able to protest and suggest in a practical way.

On Politics. Says Graham Taylor, "One of the earliest efforts to rid the City Council of the gang which had so long throttled and disgraced Chicago was initiated in the Seventh Ward at Chicago Commons by the nonpartisan organization of citizens to nominate and elect the best available aldermanic candidates to represent the ward, irrespective of party affiliation. For nearly 20 years, with only one or two exceptions, due to changing preponderance of racial votes, the aldermen thus chosen have been among the most trustworthy and effective, who have served the city's best interest and have finally established the nonpartisan character of the aldermanic office and election. Their public service in thus superseding some very untrustworthy predecessors was attested not only by repeated reëlection but by the choice of two of them by the people of the whole city for a high judicial and state administrative office." [2]

Mr. Woods bears testimony to Barnett's constantly increasing influence on local and national politics in London in these words: "His great reward, however, has come in the direct results of his prophetic

[1] Wald, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 109.
[2] *25th Annual Report, Chicago Commons,* Chicago, 1919, p. 7.

humanism; and in the growing influence of Toynbee men, in the School Board, City Council, National Board of Trade, Parliament, and Colonial administration."[1]

What has happened in London has occurred also in America. The settlement residents have had a growing influence in their respective communities, in the state and in the nation. Illustrative of this tendency, it is sufficient to cite men like James Bronson Reynolds, formerly head resident at University Settlement in New York; Dr. Graham Taylor, founder and for over a quarter of a century head resident of Chicago Commons; Robert A. Woods of South End House, Boston; Jane Addams and Julia Lathrop of Hull House, Chicago.

Mr. Reynolds was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Union in the city campaign for better government in New York City in 1897. He was appointed a member of the State Tenement House Commission by Governor Roosevelt in 1900. In 1902-'03 he was secretary to Mayor Low, and later was appointed by the President of the United States as special adviser on municipal problems of the District of Columbia. In 1906 he was made special presidential commissioner to investigate the Chicago Stock Yards and later was chairman of the presidential commission to investigate industrial conditions at Panama, and from 1910 to 1913 was assistant district attorney of New York county.

Graham Taylor for many years has taught in Chicago Theological Seminary. Until this year (1920) he was president of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. He has served on the Illinois commission for the protection of workers operating dangerous machinery. For a long time he was associate editor of *Charities and the Commons,* now the *Survey,* the leading journal devoted to social reform in the country. In 1914 he was president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

Robert A. Woods has engaged vigorously in local and state politics, has served as member of the Boston Licensing Board, until national prohibition became a fact, and as lecturer in social ethics at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Boston. From 1896 to 1906 he was a member of the Public Bath Commission of Boston. In 1917-1918 he was president of the National Conference of Social Work.

Jane Addams is so well known for her public activities that a recital of them all would be superfluous.

[1] *The Survey,* Vol. XXX, July 5, 1920, p. 456.

Settlement workers generally, because of their intimate knowledge of social conditions in their communities, because of their high-minded disinterestedness and public spirit have led in movements, private and public, for the betterment of social conditions. Wherever human misery has stalked, there they have been found, not only protesting in the name of our common humanity, but suggesting constructive measures for the cleansing of political conditions, and for securing opportunity to the unprivileged to share in the heritages of our democracy.

On Health. No one can be in intimate contact with the problems of our cities, as is the settlement worker, without becoming conscious of the relation between social conditions there and the health of the people. Says Lillian Wald, "The appointment of the first physician to the public schools of New York City was brought about almost entirely through the neighborhood workers' discovery of a child who was attending school while desquamating from scarlet fever, who did not stop with the mere discovery; and the present extension of medical inspection in New York City, which includes trained nurses, and makes possible the carrying out of the treatment prescribed by the school doctor, was also brought about because a neighbor in a crowded neighborhood discovered for herself that a child with a very small sore on his head could be excluded, on account of that sore, from participation in the educational provisions of the city." [1]

Miss Wald's "Nurses' Settlement" on Henry Street in New York City naturally emphasizes health matters. In 1903 she established a milk station in the settlement and taught mothers how to prepare modified milk. She secured the services of physicians in the neighborhood as consultants, and frequently had them hold conferences. Out of that grew the movement for municipal milk stations in New York City.

Union Settlement in New York City in 1905 financed an investigation of midwives by a committee, of which Miss Wald was chairman. Out of that study grew the legislation in New York regulating midwives, and the establishment in connection with Bellevue Hospital of the first school for them in America.

In 1908 Miss Wald began to urge the Red Cross to develop a system of visiting nursing in the country areas. Out of this grew the development of town and country nursing of the Red Cross, which has now become the Department of Nursing with its stimulating effect in all

[1] *The Child in the City,* Chicago, 1912, pp. 250-251.

parts of the country. In 1909 the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company started the policy of nursing its natural policy holders. This had been suggested by Miss Wald to one of the officials of the company. During the experimental stage the staff of Miss Wald's settlement was used to care for its patients. When the need of public health nursing began to increase, the Henry Street Settlement coöperated with other visiting nursing bodies by offering the best graduate training, and sought the coördination with formal educational institutions for instruction in social theory and pedagogy. As a result in 1910 the Department of Nursing and Health was created at Teachers' College, Columbia University. Because of her activities Miss Wald was elected the first President of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing.[1]

Similar activities affecting questions of health are to be found in the history of Hull House. In the early days after the Woman's Club of Hull House had by inspection found shocking conditions of filth and neglect in the alleys and back-yards of the ward in which Hull House is located, Miss Addams applied for and obtained the position of garbage inspector and appointed Miss Amanda Johnson as her deputy. The next year Miss Johnson became inspector, and for three years devoted herself to cleaning up that ward. When an epidemic of typhoid broke out in the vicinity of Hull House in 1902, the investigation of the residents of Hull House showed the probable connection of the epidemic with bad sewage disposal. The publication of the report led to vigorous efforts at correction. Earlier than this Mrs. Kelly, a resident at Hull House, revealed the connection between a serious outbreak of smallpox and clothing made in a sweat-shop in Chicago. The law of 1893 prohibiting the making of certain garments in tenements was passed.[2] Similar activities for the health of the people are to be found in other settlements.[3]

On Social Research. The fundamental idea of Mr. Barnett in the establishment of Toynbee Hall was to provide a place where educated men might learn to know the conditions of the other half. In his address at Oxford in 1883, in which he outlined the possibilities of a University Settlement, he set forth the opportunity which a settlement would provide for men to learn "for themselves facts which would revolutionize their minds." After 21 years of experience with Toynbee

[1] Wald, *The House on Henry Street*, New York, 1915, Chapter III.
[2] Hamilton, "The Social Settlement and Public Health," *Charities and the Commons*, Vol. XVII (March 9, 1907), pp. 1037-1040.
[3] See *25th Annual Report of the Chicago Commons*, Chicago, 1919, pp. 13, 14.

Hall Barnett said of the settlers in that unique institution, "They have not come as 'missioners,' they have come to settle, that is to learn as much as to teach, to receive as much as to give." [1]

As the years have passed this fundamental foundation of the settlement has not been forsaken. Said Robert A. Wood in 1893, "The close scientific study of the social conditions in the neighborhood about a Settlement is indispensable to its success." [2] No one has illustrated that necessity better than Mr. Woods, as is shown by the long line of studies of the neighborhood around South End House, Boston, made under his direction.[3]

While not all the settlements have been so fruitful, all the important ones have been closely connected with investigations of conditions in their districts.

On Social Democracy. It is impossible to evaluate exactly the service which the settlements through their residents have rendered to the cause of democracy. That they have accomplished much in bringing together in mutual sympathy and helpfulness, the immigrant and the poor on the one hand, and the rich and cultured on the other, no one who has followed the settlement movement can doubt. That they have only touched the fringe of the problem and have made only a beginning in bringing about that democratic spirit which must smooth out the artificial inequalities of life, does not detract from their great contributions to the advance of democracy. They have interested a part of the West End of London in the neglected East End; they have brought some of the West Side of New York to take a sympathetic interest in the East Side; they have connected the North Shore of Chicago with the slums; and at the same time they have through this contact removed some of the bitterness of the poor towards the rich. Thus they have helped to develop that brotherhood which is implied in the term "Democracy."

On Religion of Service. Three conceptions of religion have ever persisted side by side. One is that religion is intellectual conformity

[1] *Practicable Socialism,* London, 1915, pp. 99-127.

[2] *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, p. 68.

[3] *The City Wilderness,* 1898; *Americans in Process,* 1902; *South End Factory Employees; The Lodging House Problem in Boston; Part-Time, Day and Evening Schools; In Freedom's Birth Place.* Other residents have published studies on *The Public Charity Institutions in Boston; Public Baths in Boston; Some Slums in Boston; Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston; The Unemployed in Boston; Boston Evening Schools; Beggars and their Lodging; Steam Laundries in Boston; Italian Immigration in Boston.* These studies are going on from year to year. See *The Survey,* February 17, 1917, p. 568.

to a set of doctrines. On this conception the religious man is he who accepts and is influenced in his thinking by those doctrines. Since men's minds are so different, and the experience of men in different circumstances varies so, this view of religion inevitably tends to division in religion. Another view of religion is that of certain forms and ceremonies, which are conceived of as "services" to God. This is a religion of action, but action connected with ecclesiastical institutions, often quite divorced from any relationship with one's fellows. Again since religious institutions in different countries vary much, and therefore ceremonies differ, this conception of religion is divisive. The other conception of religion is that of doing good to one's fellows in the name of God, that is, in the spirit in which we conceive that God would act were he in our places. It is a religion of humanitarian service. If one reads the life of Christ as set forth in the Gospels, he cannot escape the conviction that His conception of religion was the latter.

Certainly in its early days Christianity was looked upon as service to one's fellows. The exhortations of St. Paul to his converts witness this conception, in spite of the fact that he had been trained in rabbinical theology. It was that conception of religion manifested by the early disciples in Rome, which caused the Roman people to exclaim "Behold how these Christians love each other!" Nor is this conception unique in Christianity. The great Hebrew prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B. C. were its classical advocates. However much this conception may have been smothered by the other two, both in Judaism and Christianity, it was the inspiration of that kindly consideration of one's neighbors which has characterized them both.

Hebrew philanthropy is known throughout the world for its success. As we have shown in a previous chapter Christianity's chief distinction in contrast with the paganism which it displaced was its philanthropy.

What, then, has been the influence of the settlement upon the development of this conception of religion? One of the roots of the movement was the desire for understanding between the classes and a passion for social justice. The leaders of the movement in England were motivated by religion. The settlement was the means of expressing the social motives of their religion. They were dissatisfied with its individualistic, other-worldly purposes. The Church seemed content to get individuals to join it, while ignoring the conditions under which they lived. In spite of its activities extending over hundreds of years, the rich ignored the poor, and the poor hated or begged from the rich.

The result was disastrous to both. Democracy and brotherhood did not develop. Religion was socially abortive. Said Barnett in that address to the men gathered at St. John's College in Oxford in England 1883, "No talent, be it called spiritual or secular, need be lost on account of its unfitness to existing machinery. If there be any virtue, if there be any good in man, whatsoever is beautiful, whatsoever is pure in things will find a place in the settlement." [1] Dean Hodge of Boston in 1893 said: "But if we take religion to be synonymous not with institutionalism, not with denominationalism, not with barriers nor badges, but with the spirit and the life of Jesus Christ, and if we accept that definition which describes it as ministration to the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and as keeping of the conscience in spite of the world: if to go about doing good be a sign of religion: if to reach out the hand to those who are down be a sign of religion—then is the settlement religious through and through, and the house in which its workers live is the House of God." [2] On this point Jane Addams has said, "I believe that this turning, this *renaissance* of the early Christian humanitarianism, is going on in America, in Chicago, if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize, without much speaking, but with a bent to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christianity. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the Settlement movement, and it is also true that force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any Settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likenesses and ignore the differences which are found among people whom the settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition." [3]

One who surveys the work of social settlements throughout the world cannot be unimpressed by the fine spirit of service expressed in this religious ideal to be found in their work. The passion for justice reminds us of the lofty enthusiasm of Amos and of Jesus. Their devotion to this ideal through good and evil report is worthy of the martyrs. Their patience in the face of misunderstanding gives an example of patient persistence in well-doing. Their love of the unprivileged leading to the self-sacrifice of the most unselfish sort has not been exceeded in the history of Christian piety.

[1] *Practicable Socialism*, London, 1915, p. 102.
[2] *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1896, p. 152.
[3] Addams, *Philanthropy and Social Progress*, New York, 1893, pp. 20, 21.

They have broadened our conception of Christian philanthropy, they have ever kept before them the ideal of Him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. They have taught us that the artificial distinctions between men of different languages, different customs, various religions, different economic status, after all can be bridged by devotion to the common ideal inspired by a great religious motive, namely, the religion of social service.

On Americanization. The settlements, especially in this country, are to be found in great immigrant colonies. One of their problems has been to interpret the immigrant to America and America to the immigrant. It is the settlement workers who have called our attention to the elements of culture and to the social characteristics which these peasants from other lands have brought with them, and which if adopted would enrich the culture of America. On the other hand, it is they who have interpreted the social ideals and the political conception of America to these ignorant and bewildered people fleeing from political and religious persecution. It is they who have called our attention to the necessity of adapting our school to their needs, explaining our laws, and of inculcating in them standards of living necessary in a great and crowded city, if they and their children are to have health, culture, and economic opportunity.

Settlements have attacked the problem of Americanization not only in formal ways, such as classes in English and Civics, but in that more subtle and infinitely more effective way of saturating the immigrants with a feeling of American ideals and feelings mediated by the intimate contact of neighborly intercourse. The settlement first showed the way. It is to be hoped that all other efforts of Americanization will take council of the methods employed by the settlements in this difficult problem.

On Social Centers. Long before the social or community centers were heard of elsewhere the settlements were providing the center without the name. The clubs and forums organized in the settlements and the neighborly groups coming together for the discussion of common problems found in the organization of the settlement a center to which the neighborhood was welcome. It was due not a little to the encouragement of the settlement workers that they came to be used as community centers. Says Graham Taylor, "From the beginning Chicago Commons became also a neighborhood center. No other was so free to all, private or public, or so cheery and social in its welcome and atmosphere of friendliest fellowship . . . so the social and pleas-

ure clubs, the fraternal and benefit orders, the trade unions, and national groups, the churches and schools of the neighborhood have used the Commons building as though it were their own, paying only the cost of light, heat and care, by way of coöperation." [1]

As early as 1893 Robert A. Woods suggested the use of school buildings as social centers. He said, "The schools can be made in many ways better factors in the social development of the children than they now are, by the introduction of many new methods of instruction, of the gradual addition of Manual Training to the curriculum, and of a larger use of school buildings for combined instruction and recreation." [2]

Such are a few of the contributions which the settlements have made to the improvement of social conditions. Their constructive and productive work has been of the greatest value. The marvel is that with so few precedents and with scarcely any carefully prepared program, they have done so much. Perhaps the very absence of such a program set them free from what Tolstoi would call the "Snare of preparation," and left them untrammeled to develop the activities in all their communities in a spirit unfettered by formal machinery. That they have done so much is due largely to the fact that they have been headed by educated men and women of great ability, who possessed a rare consecration to high ideals.

CRITICISM OF SETTLEMENTS

Notwithstanding their achievements the settlements have not escaped criticism.

The churchmen have sometimes found fault with them because they have not been avowedly religious in the theological or ecclesiastical sense. Jane Addams tells of having been asked to resign from a board because Hull House did not teach religion. The religious spirit permeating the settlements has not been sufficiently theological or denominational to suit some religionists.

The settlements have been criticized because their leaders ofttimes have not been trained economists. This accounts for the fact, according to Prof. Laughlin, that the settlements have been sympathetic with socialism. He suggests that the settlements are open to those who have suffered abuse of government and economic exploitation, but not equally open to those who could exploit the fallacies of Marx.

[1] *25th Annual Report of Chicago Commons,* Chicago, 1919, p. 6.
[2] *Philanthropy and Social Progress,* New York, 1893, p. 79.

They have endeavored to raise the standard of living and to increase wages, but have lacked a proper understanding of the economic principles which govern wages and the distribution of income.[1] It is possible that critic and criticized differ in their confidence in the *laissez faire* philosophy.

They have been criticized also because they have no clear-cut program and definite objectives. Founders of settlements pick out a bad spot in a city with the vague aim of improving conditions through neighborly intercourse and coöperative effort. They are opportunists in their choice of methods, say the critics. As a matter of fact, settlement workers themselves would be the first to acknowledge that they have no clearly defined program when a settlement is established in a certain community. After they know the ground, they make the program to fit the needs of the community. No one would be quicker to acknowledge the shortcomings of settlements than the settlement workers. They know better than anyone else in how slight a degree they solve the tangle of problems presented by our great cities. They do claim, however, and 35 years of experience justifies their claims, that the spirit of their work is socially sound and that it bears good fruit. They have shown that the class divisions are artificial and may be bridged by the spirit of brotherhood; that there are men of good-will among both the rich and the poor, and that there is a passion for justice in men in different classes, which may be called out by proper opportunity for coöperation. They have indicated a way by which the class conflict may be resolved in the development of mutual appreciation of the human problems of rich and poor, educated and ignorant.

While they have not perhaps been attentive enough to differences dependent upon inheritance, they have inculcated a spirit of helpfulness and a sense of responsibility in overcoming the accidental and superficial inequalities in society. The injustices against which they are struggling are man-made, and, hence, remediable.

Most settlements have been in favor of unrestricted immigration, against the contentions of those who have proposed restriction of immigration on the basis of the literacy test, and on the basis that the foreigners are poor and unskilled and therefore are likely to become a burden on the country for support. They have stressed the fact that the literacy test would have shut out some of the most capable of our foreign born citizens, and that even the poor and unskilled

[1] Laughlin, *Latter-Day Problems,* New York, 1917, pp. 99-101.

immigrant comes to us in his working days and more than pays his way in the wealth which he creates. They have not, however, faced squarely the fact that unrestricted immigration intensifies competition in the lower economic classes, lowers the American standard of living, and causes poverty.

NATIONAL CONFERENCES OF SETTLEMENTS

The chaos existing in the ideals and methods of settlements has not escaped the attention of settlement workers. Since 1892, five years after the first settlement was established in the United States, more or less informal gatherings of settlement workers have been held. In 1908 a group of 20 settlement residents from New York, Chicago and Boston met to discuss the question of fuller coöperation. A handbook was proposed, which was finally prepared by Mr. Woods and Mr. Kennedy of South End House, Boston, and published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1911. Since that time usually in connection with the National Conference of Social Work, the Conference of Settlement Workers has been held. In 1910 a committee of 10 was appointed to gather and present the results of settlement experience as to the most needed and promising direction of services.[1]

Whether through these conferences, the standard of social settlement work can be unified remains to be seen. Even could the work of settlements be standardized it is a question whether more would be gained than lost, and as Mr. Woods has said, the settlement is an attitude not an institution. Nevertheless doubtless the exchange of points of view and comparison of methods will be of value.[2]

THE FUTURE OF SETTLEMENTS

Engaged in the task of putting themselves out of business, as settlement workers have so often said, the question arises as to what the settlements will busy themselves with—their club work taken over by the public recreation centers, their kindergartens, and the teaching of domestic science and trades by the public schools, their playgrounds by the public authorities, their Americanization work by the public school, their nutrition clinics by public schools and health departments and their health instruction by public health authorities.

While it is felt by some of the younger settlement workers that a

[1] Woods and Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements*, New York, 1911.

[2] The earlier National Council of Settlements later was made a National Federation of Settlements. In 1916, the Federation voted to make it International in scope. *The Survey*, June 3, 1916, p. 277.

redefinition of settlement aims is necessary, there is still in the friendly contact with people, the helping hand in new situations, not yet covered by public provisions, and the agitation for public consideration of new problems opportunity for a great service. Moreover, neighborliness has not yet been completely socialized in the sense that the municipalities have succeeded in giving it that unofficial character, so marked in the settlements and so stimulating to the people. It is the conviction of many interested in the settlements, that conditions in our cities still present problems sufficient "to show that the function of the settlement in spite of all their additions to the machinery of social service, is in essentials what it was in the days of its birth." The division of classes is still wide enough to call for the best efforts of a mediating agency.

At Toynbee Hall, the original settlement, the present warden thinks that the functions of the settlement "are mainly to throw the light of truth upon questions which admit of precise answer, on which the parties concerned are opposed to each other." For example, much light is needed upon the relation of present real wages of workers as compared with their real wages before the war. Therefore, Toynbee Hall is emphasizing more than ever research work. It has found also a new field in the study of the apparatus available in London for the health and entertainment of boys, for protection from demoralizing influences of life in congested and industrial areas. Moreover it has a large program in promoting higher education designed especially for the member of trade unions in London. Hence, it has the opportunity to become a great popular university. Mr. Mallon, the warden of Toynbee Hall, thinks that there remains for the settlement a large task in calling attention to the lack of proper facilities for the people, such as housing, the lack of public and private baths, parks and playing fields, and other necessities and amenities of life; and lastly the settlement as yet has no competitor as an agency of peace and goodwill.

In America, the settlements still believe that in spite of the Americanization program resulting from the war, the settlement is still the most important agency for the Americanization of foreigners. The Irene Kaufman Settlement in Pittsburgh has recently introduced a personal service department, from which persons are sent to hospitals and homes, through which nurses are secured, medical and legal inquiries are answered, legal and medical assistance freely secured where people are given advice concerning vocational guidance, and issuance of birth certificates, and parents are advised concerning their children.

During one year, this department provided 10,598 individual services to the people of the neighborhood. There is no doubt that the settlements gladly see others take over certain of their activities, since thus they are enabled to undertake new activities and services for the people of a community.[1]

However, whether settlements continue to exist or not, they have made an important contribution to social work. They have been the social experiment stations where new ideas were given the test. They have shown that certain chasms in social and economic life may be bridged by understanding and sympathy; goodwill can be organized; social service can be filled with the spirit of religion and yet be scientific. They have discovered that, in spite of clashing interests, there are foundations of social order in the appreciation of evil conditions springing from intimate acquaintance and in the better elements of human nature kindled into activity by the sight of suffering fellows.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The origin of Toynbee Hall. Barnett, *Practicable Socialism,* London, 1915, p. 107.
2. Canon Barnett's reflections on settlements after twenty-one years. Barnett, *op. cit.,* p. 121.
3. Survey of the settlements in the United States. Woods and Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements.*
4. Criticism of the settlements. Kelley, "The Settlements: Their Lost Opportunity," *Charities,* Vol. XVI, pp. 79, 186, 315. Knox, "The Social Settlement and Its Critics," *The Survey,* Vol. XXX, pp. 486-487.
5. The task of the settlement today. *The Survey,* Vol. XXXII, p. 296.

[1] *The Survey,* June 3, 1916, p. 277, and December 11, 1920, pp. 395-398.

CHAPTER XXXII

A SOCIALIZED HEALTH PROGRAM

IN Chapter XXV certain indications were given of the bearing of disease upon the problem of poverty and dependency. It was shown that our institutions for the treatment and prevention of disease have grown up in a haphazard way, with the result that with increasing knowledge of the problem and its relationships, gaps in provisions for the care of the sick are now discovered. It is clear that present methods of dealing with health are quite inadequate. People do not know enough about health and disease to secure good health. They are ignorant not only of the elementary principles of hygiene, but even of the agencies dealing with health and disease in the community. Moreover, they cannot recognize the early signs of disease. When they do recognize them, they often delay seeking advice because they cannot afford to pay for it. They still believe in the efficacy of drugs. Agencies to promote right living and to arrest incipient disease are so few that health education makes slow progress. Hospitals are so few, dispensaries and clinics so unevenly distributed, and nurses so scarce that great numbers are practically denied the attention they should have. To a great extent, medicine and nursing are still commercial although free treatment and free nursing are developing. Only to a limited degree have we departed from the theory that health is a personal matter, and adopted the theory that it is of both personal and social concern. The former theory gives us our commercial nurse; the latter our sanitary laws, our health departments, our school and public health nurses, our municipal and state hospitals, and the beginning of public health education. We have made a good beginning, but what has been done suggests some things still to be attempted.

Recognition of a Health Minimum. Doctors in private practice, hospitals for pay-patients and nurses for private patients we still need. There can be no quarrel with those who employ their own private physician and nurse and have a private room in a hospital with special attention, any more than there can be objection to those

who desire to send their children to private schools, provide private tutors and governesses for their children, or provide their own playgrounds, play apparatus, and private supervisors of play for their children. There is social justification for any provisions for one's self and his family above the social minimum which should be provided for all.

We recognize in education, however, and are coming to recognize in recreation, a minimum which every person must have if the state is not to suffer. In education we have gone farthest. We insist that every child must attend school a certain length of time. We have provided variety in the curriculum so as to adapt our educational methods to the needs of different individuals. In some states and municipalities we provide at public expense, not only buildings, apparatus, and teachers, but books and meals that children, who could not otherwise get the most out of school, may have every chance to profit from our educational system. Further, in some places we have provided medical inspection of school children, school clinics, and school nurses, in order that the children may be kept in such a state of health as will enable them to profit from their opportunities. If people do not have adequate incomes, we provide, through relief, a minimum. Now, we also provide medical attendance for those who cannot afford to pay a doctor, but frequently it is of such a character that the stigma of pauperism is attached to it. The situation with respect to free medical attendance is at present much the same as it was before free public schools were established, when "ragged schools" were the only provision made for poor children. Since health is no less necessary for the public welfare than education, has not the time come to provide for all the people a minimum of attention to health?

Is Our Present Health Minimum Adequate? It may be urged that we have provided a certain minimum. We provide sanitary inspection, departments of health to enforce health laws and regulations, and laboratories in which studies of the conditions of disease are made. Through the United States Public Health Service and through state and municipal departments of health we publish information on health matters. The Federal Children's Bureau is conducting clinics and publishing bulletins bearing upon the health of children and mothers. Can we go farther?

In spite, however, of what we have done and are doing for public health, we are touching merely the fringe of the problem. As Dr. Hill says: "But of all these manifold duties of the state to the citizen,

only one of which can be clearly shown to bear directly on his bodily welfare has been, as yet, fully recognized—only one rests on definite precedent, authorization and organization—and that one is the supervision of infectious diseases. The personal hygiene of the citizen (*apart from the infectious diseases*), and the *remedy* (even, until lately, the mere *detection*) of his defects, disabilities, or non-infectious diseases, have been regarded (except in the case of the pauper, the criminal, or the insane) as of little or no interest to anyone but himself. And this, notwithstanding that all his material surroundings, and all his relationships, business and social, have been of acknowledged interest to the state from time immemorial." [1]

Practically all the other elements in the program for a sound public health are still unfulfilled. For example, while we inspect the child who is in school, we fail to give any attention to pre-school years. Why should the child suffer for its first five years, defects and disabilities which are to be systematically corrected in the sixth? asks Dr. Hill.[2] If "the most valuable production of the State is its citizens; and the State, properly conceived, exists only to insure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to them," [3] then certainly even from the standpoint of the discovery of infectious diseases and much more from the standpoint of correction of defects, we should give attention to the health of pre-school children.

But we cannot stop there if we are concerned with the child, for what the child is depends much upon the attention which was given to his mother before his birth. Therefore, if we are concerned not only with the child, but with the mother as well, pre-natal care and teaching must be given her.

Furthermore, in any consistent program for the conservation of health, there must be a program of education which will teach personal hygiene for all the people, adults as well as children. Pamphlets, magazine articles, lectures, exhibits, lantern slides, etc., do something in this way. What they do, however, is inadequate. Every state should provide for its children at least (1) education of the parents in the personal hygiene of the child; (2) education of the children in the care of their own health; (3) supervision, for the detection and also for the remedy of initial defects in children, at least as early as the beginning of their entrance to school; (4) supervision of children

[1] Hill, *The New Public Health,* New York, 1916, p. 39.
[2] Hill, *op. cit.,* p. 37.
[3] Hill, *op. cit.,* pp. 37, 38.

throughout school life for the purpose of detecting and remedying the defects, disabilities, or diseases which may develop during that period; (5) the supervision of infectious diseases. Can it, however, stop with the children? Must it not have a public health program for the whole population? What are the elements in such a program?

EXTENSION OF PUBLIC HEALTH PROVISIONS

Perhaps the elements in a public health program for the control of disease and the insuring of public health cannot be better stated than in the words of Dr. Hill. He proposes a "Commission on Bodily Welfare" which should deal with:

> "Item 1. The education of *every citizen* in personal hygiene.
> "Item 2. The supervision of *every citizen* for detection of defects, disabilities, and disease.
> "Item 3. The treatment of *every citizen* for all defects, disabilities, and diseases detected.
> "Item 4. Finally, . . . the supervision of that small group of citizens, the infectious persons." [1]

In America we have only begun to approximate this ideal. The education of every person in personal hygiene, apart from the infectious diseases, is hardly foreshadowed by what we are doing. Medical supervision, except that given to the pauper, the criminal, and insane, is extended to but a small number of the citizens, namely, to the school children, and those of comparatively few cities, in most states leaving the country children, and the children of other cities entirely uncared for. Furthermore such supervision as we have does not pretend to remedy defects, but simply to detect them. Again, our present program, except for the dependents, and certain infectious diseases like smallpox, does not provide for the treatment of disease, except as individuals may privately purchase, or private philanthropy provide such treatment.

In practice we have reached only one part of this program, namely, the supervision of known infectious persons. Our machinery for the *detection* of infectious disease, however, and the protection of the rest of the community against infected persons is still far from perfect.

The control of infectious diseases, it is clear, is the one field of

[1] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

public health in which we have relatively certain knowledge, and in which we have developed a technique adequate to the problem.[1]

For the better *control* of infectious diseases we need a properly equipped health machine manned by experts who know by experience how to control sources of infection. When this is done the utmost possible in the state of our present knowledge will have been done.

About certain non-infectious diseases we know something. Lead-poisoning, phosphorous disease, poisoning from arsenic and illuminating gas, environmental disease like scurvy and miner's elbow, and some others we know how to control by legislation and education. A great many other diseases, however, which afflict humanity, and which are non-infectious we really know little about and hence cannot hope to prevent their occurrence. Furthermore we know much better how to avoid certain diseases than how to secure a high degree of health. The means of achieving health have not been studied as carefully as the methods of combating disease. Fortunately, however, except in infancy non-infectious diseases furnish only about one out of every thousand deaths.[2] On the other hand, infectious diseases furnish more than one-sixth of all deaths, and about half of this sixth are from one disease, namely, tuberculosis.

Health Education. However, what we do know of how to secure good health, and how to avoid disease should be taught to our citizens. Health education should be much more widely extended. The public press, that "Postgraduate Institution" of American adults, should be much more widely used. Posters, leaflets, public health lectures, lantern slides and films, can assist very materially in disseminating the knowledge we have. Vastly more important is it, however, that the school children should be taught the fundamental principles of health and of the avoidance of disease. Since only about one-half of the children attend school in any one year, and even a school child spends about one-ninth of each year in school, the teaching of these principles even in the grades will not do everything needed.

A combination of school and after-school education must be relied upon to build up the proper attitude toward public health. Even if the children in grade schools could be taught as much as the thoroughly trained nurse knows, much of it they would forget and what they remember would demand in some cases facilities they do not possess. As Dr. Hill suggests, "Lectures, writings, sermons, appeals to mothers'

[1] Hill, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII.
[2] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

clubs, university extensions, moving pictures, all the publicity that can be had or hoped for, will not suffice to teach technique to the mothers now in possession of the coming generation. Nor, once more, if it taught them, would it provide the facilities needed. Economic conditions must change and change specifically to aid the mother if we are to gain at all. Also, the prevention of disease must engage the serious attention of governments—the *prevention* of disease, not the talking about it or the looking wise over it, or the making of fine addresses on it, but *preventing* it. Such prevention *may* include a tremendous organization to prevent human discharges entering water supplies, milk supplies, food supplies; must involve watchfulness of hotels, restaurants, public institutions of all sorts—in short, of all public alimentary utilities, with all their off-shoots and side issues wherever found. It *must* include, as its chief and most efficient weapon, the finding of the sources of infection, and the prevention of spread of infection from those sources. This is peculiarly a governmental function, but the whole must be coöperative. The government must strike at the sources and at the public routes of infection. The woman must strike at the private routes. The man must support both methods for the sake of the women and children." [1]

In a number of our states, legislation has provided for the public health nurse. This person is not in the old sense of the term, a nurse. She is one who has had instruction in public health sufficient to enable her to help in the education of the people in health matters. She can teach them how to avoid some disease, and she can inculcate what is known in reference to the conservation of health. Municipalities in increasing numbers are providing for such nurses. They are of great assistance to the medical inspectors of schools, and should be more widely extended. The State of Wisconsin has passed the law providing that by July 1, 1921, every county in that state must have at least one public health nurse or a trained health instructor.

Increase Health Agencies. After all is done to prevent disease, with our present knowledge, much will still remain. Therefore in a thorough manner we should develop our social agencies for the treatment and care of the sick. Hospitals should be more numerous, and be more accessible to those who are in the low-wage class. They must be open on such terms as should not discourage the person who needs a hospital from taking advantage of its provisions.

Clinics should be multiplied. These have been found economical

[1] Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32.

because many people who do not require hospitalization do need advice and often some treatment. A beginning has been made in the public provision for hospitals and clinics. In a number of states, counties have provided county hospitals, numerous cities have such institutions, and where they are properly supported and adequately manned, they provide facilities for a large number who would otherwise be denied proper care and treatment.

What should be the relation of private hospitals to public hospitals is indicated by the relationships of these institutions in great cities like New York and Chicago. Experience in these cities has shown that with every provision of private philanthropy and public funds the facilities are inadequate to meet the needs. What is imperative, no matter whether it comes from private gifts or from public funds, is such provision as will enable every ailing person to have easy access to sources of advice and treatment.

The same principles should apply to nursing. The private nurse will have her field no matter what provision the public may make for the nursing of the sick in their homes, and for public health nurses to give advice and to carry on health propaganda. Private visiting nurses' associations who send nurses into private families have pointed out the way to fulfil a great need. There is no reason why more adequate provision should not be made for this service in the homes of the poor and the great middle class of our society. Experience has shown that the poor are willing to pay a nominal sum for these services, that great good can be done, that enormous expenditures for treatment in hospitals, and loss of wages and time can be prevented by such nursing as the visiting nurse can give for a short time a day in these homes. It has demonstrated beyond a doubt that proper care of the sick in their homes prevents much poverty and often is the service which stands between a family and dependency.

The importance of saving life and preventing disease is so great from every point of view, economical as well as social, that every effort must be made to prevent the enormous waste of life and health, which now costs the United States an estimated billion and a half dollars every year, reducing many to poverty and bringing others to pauperism.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The inadequacy of our best efforts to deal with disease suggests that further steps should be taken to provide against the economic losses from sickness. Even should hospitals be universally established

in such numbers that every individual who needs hospital care could get it at a price within his reach, were nursing provided so that every sick person might have a nurse at even a nominal fee, and were clinics available for the treatment of ambulatory cases, so that everyone could have the advice of a doctor at nominal expense, nevertheless sickness would still cause loss of time with consequent loss of wages. Out of the situation has grown the demand for health insurance.

The development of industry, the use of machinery, and the increase in the number of wage-earners have materially multiplied the number of industrial accidents, and have also added to ordinary illnesses occupational diseases. In some states, compensation is now granted the worker who has been disabled by occupational disease, as well as by industrial accident. When such is the law, health insurance naturally follows accident insurance. Moreover, because of the hazards in industry to the health of the workers some of our great insurance companies have developed health insurance. This has been extended from extra-hazardous occupations to those in which the risk to health is not so great, and will in the end cover all occupations.

Voluntary Health Insurance. Health insurance on the individual's own initiative, however, has certain drawbacks. In the first place, the individual must be convinced of the importance of insuring his health. Then, he must have enough income to pay the premiums, which condition cannot be met by many of our ill-paid workers, the very ones who most need the protection. Consequently, optional health insurance is not an adequate preventive of our poverty and dependency which flows from ill-health.

In our country, however, except for the group insurance provided by employers for their employees for accidents to the latter, individual insurance is the only form of health insurance available. Moreover, it is a question whether insurance in private profit-seeking companies is ideal for the ordinary man. Even when the company is mutual, it is liable to inefficiency. Often insurance companies not supervised by the state are financially unsound. These evils may, of course, be corrected by government control, which if it is obtained through government subsidies, is a step toward compulsory health insurance. Furthermore, the government subsidy acts to relieve the insured from a part of the burden and so encourages him to carry insurance.

Government subsidy to encourage health insurance, first introduced

in Sweden in 1891, now exists in six countries.[1] The subsidy allows government control and stimulates more workers to take the insurance. Experience has shown, however, that the class which needs it most cannot afford to carry it even with government assistance.[2]

Compulsory Health Insurance. While in several European states insurance associations existed having certain features of compulsory state-supervised health insurance, it was not until 1883, when Germany introduced her compulsory health insurance, and put into operation a thoroughly coördinated plan, that the movement really began. This legislation covered in 1885, 4,671,000 persons, or about 10 per cent of the total population. In 1911, the law was amended to include about 14,000,000 persons, or 22 per cent of the population. Its scope was further enlarged after the revolution in 1918. The German act places invalidity, that is, chronic sickness or impairment of earning capacity, under the Old Age Insurance Act, so that Germany's health insurance covers only temporary illnesses.[3] It provides for contributions part from the employee, part from the employer, and the remainder from the state. This feature has been kept by practically all the other European countries having compulsory health insurance.

The cash benefits for sickness in Germany are 50 per cent of the full wage. Then the beneficiary obtains medical attendance, including not only a physician's services, but hospital treatment, necessary medicines, appliances, and sanitarium care. The Act also provides for the insured a maternity benefit for six weeks following confinement, and an additional allowance for a limited time provided the mother nurses her child. The uninsured wife of an insured man is entitled to those benefits. In September, 1919, Germany extended maternity care by providing a lump sum of $11.90 for confinement, $5.95 to provide treatment of pregnancy complications if necessary, and a maternity benefit equal to the sick benefit, but payable for 10 weeks, six of which should follow confinement. A nursing benefit equal to half of the sickness allowance was provided for 12 weeks following confinement, if the mother nursed her child. These benefits were allowed to insured women, and to uninsured wives and daughters of insured men, who lived in the same household. Domestic servants and farm

[1] Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, France, Ireland, and Switzerland.

[2] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, pp. 416, 417.

[3] Great Britain, in instituting compulsory state insurance, departed from this policy, and included invalidity under its health insurance.

laborers, who were not insured under the National Act, must, according to this recent legislation, be provided the same benefits by their employers as provided for the insured persons. Women of small means who were uninsured also received maternity benefits from the treasury.[1]

This German legislation has been extensively copied in Europe. By 1920, 12 European countries had compulsory health insurance.[2] The subject was under discussion in Italy, Belgium, Sweden and the United States.

A detailed description of the English system will make us familiar with the general principles of such insurance. The National Insurance Act was passed in 1911, went into operation through the United Kingdom July 15, 1912, and was simplified somewhat in 1918. With certain minor exceptions all employed persons between the ages of 16 and 70, unless employed in other than manual labor at a wage of more than $800 a year, are required to be insured. Great Britain followed Germany's plan requiring contributions from the employee, the employer, and from the state. This is a recognition that the responsibility for sickness is partly the individual's, partly the employer's, and partly a concern of the state. The ordinary rates of contribution are 7d. for men, 6d. for women, 3d. of which is paid by the employer, and the remainder by the employed person. Exemption from payment of contributions may be obtained by persons who have a private income of at least $130 a year or who are mainly dependent on some other person, or upon an occupation which is not employment within the meaning of the Act, or who is employed for less than 13 weeks in each of two consecutive years. In these cases, however, the employer must make his usual contribution. These people are entitled to medical and sanatorium benefits subject to certain conditions. Moreover, reduced rates of contribution are required from insured persons and increased rates of the employer, when the employee receives less than 2s. 6d. a day. Contributions are not payable during a period of temporary unemployment nor during the period an insured person is sick or disabled. The insured person's contribution is taken out of his wages, and paid by the employer by affixing stamps to a contribution card. Full benefits are not paid until 104 contributions

[1] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York, 1920, pp. 417-424.

[2] Austria, Hungary, Luxemburg, Norway, Serbia, Great Britain, Russia, Roumania, Holland, Portugal, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland.

have been made. His benefits are also affected by any undischarged arrears after a certain period of grace.

Furthermore, full benefits are paid only to those who are members of approved societies, who are the real carriers of the insurance. If a person is not a member of such a society, he is what is called a deposit contributor, and is only entitled to benefits so far as his contributions warrant.

There are five types of benefits provided under the law: (1) medical benefit; (2) sanatorium benefit; (3) sickness benefits; (4) maternity benefits; (5) disablement benefits.

Under the medical benefit, free medical attendance and medicine is secured from any practitioner chosen by the insured from a so-called "panel-list" prepared by the commissioners of insurance. This benefit is available immediately for an insured person who joins an approved society, and continues even after the age of 70, when sickness benefits cease. Sanatorium treatment is administered by the local insurance committee and is intended only for tubercular cases.

Sickness benefits are weekly payments to persons rendered incapable of work through specific disease or bodily or mental disablement. The payments are made by the approved society to which the insured person belongs, upon receipt of the addressed certificate. The full benefit is not paid until 104 contributions have been made. Until then, 6s. a week is paid for men and 5s. a week for women. No sickness benefit is available until the person has been insured 26 weeks and paid 26 contributions. Benefit begins on the fourth day of incapacity, and continues for 26 weeks if the person is incapable of work. Sickness benefits are not paid while the insured is an inmate of a workhouse, hospital, asylum, convalescent home, or infirmary, unless he pays for his own care, or if he is an inmate of a sanitarium or similar institution receiving sanatorium benefit. However, if he has dependents while he is in any of these institutions, his sickness benefit may be applied to them. If there are no dependents, the benefit may be paid to the institution in which he is cared for and any unexpended balance is paid to him on leaving the institution. In case of incapacity by accident, injury, or industrial disease for which compensation may be claimed, he receives only the difference between the amount of compensation and the normal rate of sickness benefit. If he ceases to be employed he remains insured for all benefits for one year from the date he quits work, and medical and sanatorium benefits continue until December 31st next following.

Disablement is 5s. a week, normally to be paid to such insured persons as have exhausted the 26 weeks of sickness benefit, who are not able to return to work. In order to receive disablement benefit, he must have paid 104 weekly contributions.

Maternity benefit is the payment of 30s. to the wife of an insured person or to the insured woman. If her husband is insured, and she herself is also insured, she is entitled to two maternity benefits. If she is a member of a women's society, she also receives double benefit. Maternity benefit is contingent upon having paid 42 contributions before claim is made.

The benefits to "deposit contributors," that is, those who are not members of approved societies, are identical with the benefits of those who are members of friendly societies, except that the right to benefit is exhausted when the balance in the "deposit contributor's" account is used up. Moreover, medical benefit is not obtainable immediately upon entering into insurance, as it is in the case of those who belong to approved societies. It is apparent, therefore, that membership in an approved society is an advantage. Since, however, approved societies may reject any person applying for membership, the provision had to be made for others.

The act also provides that an insured woman who marries and stops work, ceases to be entitled to the ordinary benefits after eight consecutive weeks' absence, except for illness, within a year from date of marriage. After that period sickness benefit is paid at the rate of 5s. a week for not more than six weeks during the year following the eight weeks of unemployment and the full maternity benefit of 30s. on her first confinement after the eight weeks of unemployment and within two years of the date of her marriage, while medical and sanatorium benefits continue up to the end of the calendar year following the eight weeks of unemployment.

Special provisions are made also for soldiers and sailors for whom the contributions are less.[1]

On the basis of experience with this act in Great Britain, recent legislation has shown a tendency to be even more inclusive than Great Britain's law. In Czecho-Slovakia, no employed persons are exempt from the obligation to be insured. The commission in Sweden studying the subject has recommended a similar provision. Other countries depart from the British system in some respects—for example,

[1] *Hazard's Annual*, 1919, pp. 714-716.

the relative share contributed by the employee, the employer, and the state differs.

While Great Britain followed the German system of using the already existing friendly societies as the carriers of insurance, in Germany the insured are grouped according to the trade or locality, whereas in England they are given unrestricted choice of society. Experience has shown that the German system is better in this respect, because it is difficult under the British system to locate the trades and localities in which the sickness hazard is great. This should be known in order either to increase the contributions in such trades and localities or to diminish the benefits. Since Britain's system, however, provides for flat rate contribution, it did not seem desirable to segregate workers by localities and trades.

With a flat-rate contribution and free choice of carriers, there results a segregation of special risks which embarrasses certain societies. Even were the flat rate not combined with choice of approved society, a flat rate is still undesirable. First, it is impossible, even with the most carefully prepared sickness data, to foretell the probable liabilities in each trade group or locality. Second, the amount of contribution under the flat-rate plan is regarded by the contributors as permanent and is difficult to change. In consequence of the flat-rate and the free choice of carriers in Great Britain, the Treasury has had to subsidize certain groups, whose funds under the flat-rate contribution plan were inadequate to meet the benefit demands because they had members who experienced a greater incidence of sickness than the actuaries foresaw. A good illustration of the difficulties of a flat-rate contribution is seen in the case of women. Experience under the act has shown that they are much more liable to sickness than men. Hence, a society which has a large membership of women has to have help from the government from a reserve taken from the funds of all the societies.

Furthermore, in Great Britain the law provides for a double local administration: (1) that of the approved societies and (2) local insurance committees. The central insurance commissioners are to centralize the administration and policies of both of these local groups. The difficulty is that the administration of medical and sanatorium benefits, although naturally falling according to the British scheme upon the approved societies, is farmed out to the local insurance committee in a given locality. This requires duplicate records, increases the staff of workers, adds to the cost of administration, and

only partly provides for the local administration because most of the work is done through the approved societies.[1] The German system with contributions flexible around an average has obviated this deficiency.

Results of the British System. In spite of the cumbersome system of the British Empire, highly beneficial results have appeared. During the first year of benefits, January, 1913, to January, 1914, it is estimated that 3,600,000 persons, or 25 per cent of those insured had secured benefits. This cost the United Kingdom $30,000,000, and in addition $9,700,000 was spent in 1915 for the disabilities benefit. One of the astonishing discoveries under the operation of this law was the great number of ill people who previously had dragged along without medical advice, forcing themselves to work from day to day, who now for the first time had proper medical attention. It was a matter of astonishment even to practising physicians. A British investigating committee states that "Already there are indications that as a result of the rest obtained under the act, a better condition of health has in certain cases been attained, than has been experienced for many years."[2]

During the first year, 887,000 mothers received maternity benefit, involving an expenditure of $7,000,000. The result of this benefit was that there was a great decrease in the number of mothers seeking assistance from the out-patient departments of hospitals and through maternity charities, and a corresponding increase in their willingness to pay for services.

The effect of these laws was at once visible to Poor Law officials and charity workers. The calls for medical care from the parish doctor, for midwife assistance, and for outdoor relief in time of sickness greatly decreased. In Bristol and Manchester pauperism diminished in 1913, as compared with 1912, 25 per cent. It is estimated that in Liverpool among the dock workers in half of the cases which received sick benefit, the home would have been broken up and its members sent to the workhouse, but for the insurance. Charity workers found that the number of calls and the amount of assistance asked for greatly diminished. Sanatorium benefit was provided for 44,000 insured workers in the first 18 months of the operation of the act. A great stimulus was given to the supervision of preventive agencies like outdoor chari-

[1] Halsey, "Compulsory Health Insurance in Great Britain," *The American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1916, pp. 127-134.
[2] Halsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.

ties and to supplying milk and eggs to patients in their homes, in order to assist in early recovery.

The anti-tuberculosis movement was greatly strengthened because it paid now to cure as quickly as possible the cases of incipient tuberculosis. Within the first 20 months, 3,000 new funds had been provided for tuberculars. Parliament found it advisable to make a grant of $7,200,000 to defray part of the expense of tubercular sanatoria. Says Miss Halsey, "If even a cumbersomely conceived plan of health insurance can improve health, decrease pauperism, and forge an effective weapon against tuberculosis, are not we Americans challenged to devise a system which will function more perfectly in our war against poverty and disease?" [1]

HEALTH INSURANCE IN AMERICA

A similar question has arisen in the minds of a large number of people in the United States which has no compulsory health insurance. Perhaps New York has a greater extension of voluntary health insurance than any other city in the country. The committee on social insurance of the American Association for Labor Legislation found that there were thousands of petty health insurance funds in that city. A close study of 36 of these organizations, comprising 14 fraternal societies, 11 trade unions, 7 mutual assessment societies, 2 private stock companies, and 2 establishment funds, disclosed that these 36 funds insured only 170,000 persons.[2]

After studying carefully this voluntary health insurance, the committee found that many of the wage-earners were not carrying it because they were either disqualified or too poor. In practice three classes were discriminated against, namely, people not in good health, those in hazardous occupations, and persons in middle life. Women are also barred by many fraternal and by some of the mutual societies and stock companies. There is no adequate state control of these systems. The benefits paid were of short duration. They did not result in such benefit to the insured as if efficient medical care were a part of the system. In practice, medical care usually is not given and, when provided, is likely to be very inadequate. They found the cost of insurance very high even in the mutual companies, while in fra-

[1] Halsey, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

[2] For detailed evidence of the inadequacy of voluntary health insurance see *Brief for Health Insurance, American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1916, pp. 180-185; Cf. Andrews' discussion in *Proceedings, Conference on Social Insurance*, Bulletin, Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 212, p. 639.

ternals and mutuals the insurance is also lacking in security. All of them ignore disease prevention.[1]

For the last decade universal health insurance for workers has been engaging the serious attention of thoughtful people. In 1919 a bill passed the New York Senate. At present writing (1921) nine states of the Union have had reports from official investigating commissions which have made available many facts bearing upon the need of this type of insurance. As yet it cannot be said that there is unanimity of opinion concerning the subject. There has been much discussion in various conferences and much is being written about it *pro* and *con*.

The statistics from Germany's experience with compulsory health insurance show that from 1870 to 1900 the average duration of life for males has increased from 38.1 to 48.8 years; for females, from 42.5 to 54.9. Professor Zacher believes that this increase of the duration of life "is in great part due to the curative and preventive work of the insurance system."

Investigations in America show that from 60 to 80 per cent of the expenditure of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is made by reason of sickness. The Boston District Nursing Association which aids about 75,000 persons every year finds that nearly 50 per cent are unable to pay for nursing care. The Buffalo Charity Organization Society reported in 1915 and 1916 that more than 78 per cent of poverty was due to sickness. The United States Immigration Committee in 1909, in a study of 31,489 cases, found that sickness was a factor in dependency in six and one-half times as many cases as industrial accidents.[2]

The special state commissions are almost unanimous in their conclusions that some form of health insurance is necessary to prevent the present waste of time, money and suffering. The California Social Insurance Commission says, "Health insurance to be effective must be made compulsory upon the individual worker." Two years later, the Pennsylvania Health Insurance Commission stated, "Our commission believes that the best way to close this sickness high-road to poverty and dependency is to make available immediate and adequate medical care for sickness cases, and to prevent the financial burden from fall-

[1] Kalet, "Voluntary Health Insurance in New York City," *American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1916, pp. 142-154.

[2] *The Need for Health Insurance in America*, published by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

ing entirely on the person least able to bear it, the sick worker."[1] In some way, the burden should be distributed among all the wage-earners, or shared by industry and the community. Some labor leaders, many employers, and many physicians are favorable to compulsory health insurance.[2]

As the result of the study of its committee on social insurance, the American Association for Labor Legislation has prepared a tentative bill which has been rather largely followed in the bills which have been introduced into the various state legislatures.

In its two main features, this bill follows the European precedents. It provides both for financial benefits and for conservation of health through the treatment of the sick and through indirect methods of prevention. It is compulsory and includes insurance against sickness and disability for every person employed in the state at manual labor, in any form of wage contract except home workers and casual employees. The latter classes may be included by the social insurance commission to be appointed in each state. It also provides for every other employee, whose remuneration does not exceed $100 a month, except employees of the United States and of states and municipalities in which provision is already made for their care during sickness. It also contemplates *voluntary* insurance for casual employees and home workers whose earnings do not exceed $100 a month on the average, and members of the family of the employer who work in his establishment without wages.

Its benefits are to be extended to all insured members in case of any sickness or accident, or death, not covered by the Workman's Compensation. Its minimum benefits are medical, surgical and nursing attendance; medicines, surgical appliances, cash benefits, funeral benefits, and medical and surgical attendance and medicines for dependent members of the families of insured men. Except with maternity benefits, insurance begins with the day of membership. Maternity benefits shall be payable to any woman insured against sickness for at least six months preceding confinement, or to the wife or widow of any insured man. Medical, surgical and nursing attendance shall

[1] Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, N. Y., 1920, p. 427. See also two pamphlets published by the *American Labor Legislation Review* entitled "Health Insurance Sufficiently Endorsed," "Massachusetts Endorses Health Insurance."

[2] See Green, *The Trade Union Sick Fund*, and *Compulsory Health Insurance* supplied by the American Association for Labor Legislation. "Attitude of British and German Trade Unionists toward Health Insurance," Princeton University Press.

not continue longer than 26 weeks in any one year. Medical service is to be provided by the carriers of the insurance, either from a panel of selected physicians, from whom the patients shall have their choice, from salaried physicians in the employ of carriers, from district medical officers in prescribed areas, or by a combination of those three methods. Moreover, in order to separate treatment from supervision, each carrier is to employ a medical officer to examine and supervise the medical service. Medical and surgical appliances not to exceed $50 a year are to be provided. Hospital treatment upon the approval of medical officers instead of other benefits shall be provided with the consent of the insured member of his family. On refusal to submit to hospital treatment, cash benefit may be discontinued. Hospital treatment shall extend only over the same period as cash benefit.

An arbitration committee to settle disputes between the insured and physicians and between funds and physicians is provided for.

Cash benefits begin with the fourth day of illness, and equals two-thirds of the weekly wages for not more than 26 weeks in any one year. For a member receiving hospital treatment, a cash benefit of one-third of the insured's wages is to be paid to his family or dependents while he is in the hospital. Cash benefits are to be paid weekly, if possible, but in no case less frequently than fortnightly.

Maternity benefits are provided for, including all necessary medical, surgical and obstetrical aid, materials and appliances for insured women and the wives of insured men. A cash maternity benefit is payable to the insured equal to the regular sick benefit for a period of eight weeks, six of which shall follow confinement on condition that the beneficiary abstains from gainful employment during that period.

Funeral benefit to the amount of $50 is provided for. Additional benefits may be paid by the carriers with the consent of the commission. In case of unemployment, insurance is to extend for one week for each four weeks of paid-up membership during the preceding 26 weeks.

Contributions are suggested, one-fifth by the state, one-half of the balance by the employer and the other one-half by the employee, unless his earnings fall below $9 a week. In that case, the state still pays one-fifth, but the employer's share increases. In all cases the contributions are to be computed as a percentage of wages. Provision is made also that the amount of contributions is to be computed so as to be sufficient for the payment of benefits, expense of adminis-

tration, necessary reserve and guarantee fund. Differences in the rates are to be based on the sickness experience in different industries.

A state insurance commission is suggested which shall divide the state into districts, with the minimum of 5,000 persons subject to compulsory insurance. One or more local or trade-union funds are to be established in each district. The Act provides for the administration of the funds by approved funds or societies. Each fund must have a committee of not less than 20 nor more than 100 members, elected annually, one-half from the employers, and one-half from the employed members. This committee elects a board of directors for one year of not less than 8 and not more than 18 members. One-half of these directors are to be elected by the employers and one-half by the employees. These directors must be different people from those on the committee. Reserves are provided for in this fund, and payment of contributions is made by the employer, the employee's share being deducted from his wages.

In this proposed scheme, each insured person is to be a member of the trade fund of the trade at which he is employed in the district in which he lives. If there is no such fund, each must be a member of the "local fund" of such district. The approved society may be a labor union, a benevolent or fraternal society, an establishment society, or a local fund organized for this purpose. These must be approved by the Commission. None can be approved which is carried on for profit, and none but such as is under the absolute control of the insured members, except that the employer may at the beginning appoint one-half of the directors of an establishment society. It must satisfy the Commission that it is sound financially, and it must grant the minimum benefits provided in the act. Except in the case of establishment societies, it must have a membership of at least 500 persons insured for the minimum benefits. It must convince the Commission that its existence will not endanger the existence of any local or trade fund. The Commission's approval may be withdrawn after hearing. The State pays its contribution to the approved societies reserving 10 per cent of the State's contribution for a guarantee fund.

Provision is made for a Health Insurance Union between two or more health insurance carriers within a district for purposes of economy of administration.

The Commission provided for is composed of three persons appointed by the state, one of whom shall be a physician, who must devote his entire time to the duties of his office. The Commission is

to have a secretary as the servant of the Commission, and may employ other officers to assist in carrying out these duties. It has to make a report each year, and shall submit that report to the Social Insurance Council composed of twelve members, six of whom are to be elected by the employer directors of the local trade fund, and six by the employee directors. The Social Insurance Council also has power to review the regulations of the Commission. The Act also provides for a medical advisory board chosen by the state medical societies, which is to be consulted on medical matters, and to which all medical disputes are referred. The Commission which settles other differences may settle the dispute itself, or refer it to a special committee.[1]

The attempt has been made in this tentative bill to follow the good features of the European laws and to adapt them to the conditions in the United States. It is difficult in America to provide a uniform system of health insurance. In our political system, each state may have a different law on the matter. The hope of the American Association for Labor Legislation is that the states which enact laws will so far as possible follow the provisions of this suggested law.

Whether this model law is adopted or not, a number of the states have been so aroused to the necessity of caring for the sick in a more constructive fashion, and of preventing the poverty and pauperism consequent upon illness, that it seems probable they will enact some kind of compulsory health insurance.

ARGUMENTS FOR UNIVERSAL HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The arguments for compulsory health insurance for wage-workers are briefly the following:

1. The sickness and death rates prevalent among American wage-workers are high.

(a) They are higher than for the general population.

(b) This is true both of sickness from common disease, from tuberculosis, from degenerative diseases of middle life and from infant mortality.

2. Better provision for medical care among wage-workers is necessary.

(a) Because wage-workers are unable to meet the expense of proper medical care.

[1] "Brief for Health Insurance," *The American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1916, pp. 239-268.

(b) Because hospital wards and dispensaries are inadequate in number and are looked upon by the workers as charity.

(c) Because obstetrical and other home nursing care is inadequate.

(d) Because facilities for laboratory diagnosis and for consultations between specialists are demanded by modern medicine.

3. More effective methods are needed for meeting the wage loss due to illness.

(a) This wage loss amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars annually.

(b) The savings of wage-workers are insufficient to meet the loss.

(c) Existing systems for insuring against loss of wages are inadequate.

4. Additional efforts to prevent sickness are necessary.

(a) Because the present methods of factory legislation and inspection are insufficient to secure hygienic conditions of work.

(b) Because infectious diseases are not thoroughly prevented.

(c) Because degenerative diseases are rapidly increasing.

5. Existing agencies cannot meet these needs.

(a) Charitable institutions and organizations cannot provide an adequate solution.

(b) Establishment funds are inadequate to the task.

(c) Commercial health insurance cannot be developed to meet the needs.

(d) Fraternal insurance is inadequate.

(e) Trade-union benefits are too limited.

(f) Voluntary subsidized insurance has been shown by European experience to leave large numbers of workers without protection.

6. Compulsory contributory health insurance providing medical and cash benefits is an adequate method of securing desired results.

(a) Because compulsory insurance presents advantages not offered by any other method.

(b) It supplies all the needs of the sick wage-worker.

(c) Its cost is divided equitably between employee, employer, and state.

(d) It will stimulate a campaign for the prevention of illness, because the provision will pay.[1]

[1] These are the arguments presented in the "Brief for Health Insurance," *The American Labor Legislation Review*, June, 1916, pp. 155-236. Detailed facts on each of these points will be found stated there.

With a compulsory and practically universal health insurance, an impetus would be given to all of the elements in the program discussed in the earlier part of this chapter. Just as the compensation laws have made the Safety Movement a financial advantage to both the employer and employee, so it is believed health insurance would stimulate into activity, because of the economic motive, every movement for the prevention of disease. There is, however, one difficulty. The number of sick people is so much greater than the number injured by industrial accidents, and the difficulty of determining the genuineness of a case of sickness as compared with a case of injury from industrial accident, make the administrative difficulty much greater than in industrial accidents. Then, too, it is to the interest of the doctor, if not that of the employee, to have the sickness continue as long as possible. It is believed that with one set of doctors giving treatment and another supervising the cases and determining when benefits shall cease, and with a sickness benefit only two-thirds of the wage, there will be little malingering. So far European experience has not shown that this is an insuperable obstacle in the administration of compulsory health insurance.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST HEALTH INSURANCE

The proposal of compulsory health insurance is opposed chiefly by the commercial insurance companies writing health insurance, who are excluded from carriers provided in this bill.[1]

The proposals of the American Association for Labor Legislation have been subjected to certain criticisms, and questions, constitutional and otherwise, have been raised.

It has been objected to on the grounds that (1) no conditions among wage-workers in America create a necessity for compulsory health insurance; (2) the bills presented in a number of legislatures, following rather closely the tentative draft of the American Association for Labor Legislation, are unscientific and conducive to added wage loss rather than the contrary; (3) this scheme provides an opportunity for the exploitation of the workingman and a curb on the political power of the wage-worker; (4) since it will be to the interest of the employer under a plan to which he must contribute

[1] Andrews, "Progress Toward Health Insurance," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917; Frankel, "Some Fundamental Considerations in Health Insurance," *Conference on Social Insurance*, Washington, 1916; also other papers on Social Insurance in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 525-558.

to have only healthy employees, many who are now employed will be discharged;[1] (5) that a plan which excludes the commercial insurance companies is unfortunate because these companies have had a large experience and should be given an opportunity to show whether they can carry such insurance as cheaply and as securely as fraternal societies and trade and local groups provided for in the proposed law;[2] (6) present voluntary methods provide adequately for the protection of workers during sickness; and (7) it is socialistic.

The evidence on the first point is all against it. It has been shown that the statistics of the leading charity organization societies of the United States since 1878 indicate that sickness as a major cause of poverty accounts for from 15 to 75 per cent of the dependency coming to their attention; that the poor are three times as frequently afflicted with serious illness as the well-to-do; that in three cities studied—Milwaukee, Rochester, and Boston—from 27 to 60 per cent of the sick studied did not have the attendance of a physician.[3]

On the second point Mr. Forrest estimates that such a law would entail an expenditure of at least a billion dollars a year for operation and management. Professor Fisher has pointed out that the present loss from preventable diseases is probably about one and a half billions.[4] It has also been suggested that "from such data as exist, however, it appears that the premium rates under true social insurance could be increased 50 per cent because of incompetence and extravagance in administration and yet leave a margin in favor of social insurance as compared with private, competitive, profiteering insurance."[5]

As to the third point, it is difficult to see how the workers would be exploited by a plan in which they have at least half of the representatives on the boards controlling the administration.

The fourth point is a more serious objection. Doubtless with an unlimited labor supply the employer will carefully select his employees on the basis of health. With a limited labor supply he will consider whether he can better afford to employ people who are liable to become sick or produce less. It is probable, however, that with the

[1] Forrest, "Compulsory Social Health Insurance," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 542, 543.
[2] Frankel, "Some Fundamental Considerations in Health Insurance," *Conference on Health Insurance*, Washington, 1916.
[3] Eugene Lies, "Sickness, Dependency and Health Insurance," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 550, 551.
[4] *Report on National Vitality*, Washington, 1909, p. 12.
[5] Meeker, *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, p. 535.

emphasis which health insurance will give to measures for better health among workers, those who are now ill because of bad working and living conditions will suffer less from sickness. By selecting the weak and sickly for unemployment the employer will stimulate general health measures in the interest of the whole population. For those who cannot be employed under health insurance other social measures will have to be devised. Either by charity or by general health insurance they can be cared for probably at no greater cost than their sickness and consequent poverty now entails.

The fifth objection can be met only by actual experience with such a law in operation. Certainly public policy should not be dictated by a tender consideration of profits for a group. If experience should ultimately show that commercial insurance companies can carry health risks as cheaply as mutual, trade, establishment or local groups, the law can easily be modified to include them.

The contention that present voluntary health insurance adequately provides for the protection of people during sickness cannot have much weight in the face of European experience with even subsidized voluntary health insurance in Europe already referred to.

Finally, that the plan is socialistic, as Meeker has said: "If it is socialism to provide adequate protection to the lives, health, and well-being of our working population, then let us have some more of the same." [1]

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Insurance against sickness and death in Europe before 1912. Frankel and Dawson, *Workingmen's Insurance in Europe,* New York, 1911, pp. 147-280.
2. The effects of health insurance in Germany. Zahn, "Workingmen's Insurance in Germany: Its Social, Hygienic, and Politico-Social Importance," *Transactions, Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography,* Washington, 1913, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 370-384.
3. The debate on health insurance. The arguments for and against by a large number of men on both sides of the question are given

[1] *Op. cit.,* pp. 534, 535. For detailed presentation of rebuttal of opponents arguments see "Health Insurance: A Positive Statement in Answer to Opponents," *American Labor Legislation Review,* Dec., 1917.

in *Proceedings of the Conference on Social Insurance,* Washington, 1917, Bull., U. S. Bur., Labor Statistics, No. 212, pp. 419-728.

4. The effects of health insurance in Germany on poor relief. Zahn, "Workingmen's Insurance and Poor Relief in Germany," *Transactions, Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography,* Washington, 1913, Vol. VI, pp. 271-321.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIALIZED EDUCATION

IT has been more than 60 years since Herbert Spencer published in this country his essays on education. In those essays he reminded us that at that time our education, like our clothes, was intended far more for decoration than for utility. He raised the question as to what knowledge is worth while. In the attempt to answer that question he laid down certain criteria by which one could discriminate between different kinds of knowledge on the basis of relative worth. He therefore classified in the order of their importance the leading kinds of life-activities of mankind as follows:

1. Those activities which directly minister to self-preservation.
2. Those which by securing the necessaries of life indirectly minister to self-preservation.
3. Those which aim at rearing and disciplining offspring.
4. Those which are concerned with the maintenance of proper social and political relations.
5. Those which fill in leisure time and gratify the tastes and feelings.[1]

His conception of the function of education was "to prepare for complete living." The only way to judge of any educational course was to measure the degree in which education discharged that function. By the standards he proposed he condemned the English education of 1860 as based upon "not what knowledge is of most real worth, but what will bring most applause, honor, respect—what will most conduce to social position and influence—what will be most imposing." [2]

Would a similar indictment hold to-day? Was Spencer right when he said that the function of education is to help each individual of the race to live a complete life? Assuming that complete living is the end to be striven for, was he placing the emphasis properly in asserting that education should concern itself first with training peo-

[1] *Education*, New York, 1880, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

ple in those activities which minister to self-preservation, then those which concern the propagation and rearing of the young, then those which have to do with proper social and political relations, and finally with those which contribute to the gratification of the tastes and feelings during leisure time?

Certainly it is less true to-day than when he wrote, "Of the knowledge commonly imparted in education, very little is of any service in guiding a man in his conduct as a citizen."[1] Yet we are far from that adjustment of our educational curriculum which will prepare one for the complete life. How many are turned out of even our higher educational institutions without the fundamental knowledge necessary to self-preservation! If that is true of those graduated from the higher educational institutions, what shall we say of those who never see a college or university? The great numbers of those who do not know how to make a living after a college education is a sufficient commentary on the way in which our educational system is fitting our people indirectly for self-preservation through trained ability to be self-supporting. The ignorance of our educated people concerning the fundamental principles on which human breeding for a better race must be based, the unconcern of college graduates at the propagation of feeble-minded, insane, and hereditarily defective strains indicts our educational program on Spencer's first point. The fact that in many of our colleges and universities one may graduate without taking a single course in natural science, politics, economics, or sociology, indicates the educational anarchy which reigns. Still, let us be thankful that such subjects are offered at all. Our educational system has shown a progressiveness which, while not radical, is hopeful. We do know what the results of our present and past systems have been. We are ignorant of what might be the results of radical changes. Hence, we have been slow to overturn suddenly the whole plan of education. The function of education as set forth by Spencer we do not question, but there may be some question as to the relative value he imputes to the various activities.

From the standpoint of poverty and dependency, education as preparation for a complete life means preparation for a life of self-support according to a standard of life which provides at least the minimum of decencies and comforts necessary to enable the individual to function in the society to which he belongs. That minimum is less than the ideal, no doubt, but in many cases it is more than some

[1] *Education*, New York, 1880, p. 71.

of our population receive. From the standpoint of the wage-earning class as a whole, the order in which he arranges the activities of life for which education should prepare people is certainly the proper one. The primary consideration for those with whom the student of poverty and dependency is concerned is that every help which education can afford should be made available to them. There is no blinking the fact that there are many incapables in the low wage-earning classes; yet, education which will give the greatest help must prepare each individual for as complete a life as his abilities developed to their highest power make possible.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION

The reaction against the formal so-called "literacy education" characteristic of western civilization up to 150 years ago perhaps can be said to have begun with Rousseau's *Emile*. In the reaction against the very formal education of his day, Rousseau suggested the substitution of the naturalistic method, teaching the child by means of very slight direction of his natural impulses in early childhood and then later by having him learn from the natural objects about him. The value of Rousseau's work consists chiefly in a rather fragmentary suggestion of a method. It was not based upon experiment but resulted from his reaction against the whole social tendency of his day.

Basedow (1723-1790) endeavored to realize Rousseau's suggestions, with which he combined many of the principles taught by Comenius. In his plan manual labor was combined with study in the classroom. With this went a study of the world of nature, including man and his social relationships. The influence of Rousseau and Basedow was to be seen in schools which sprang up in the latter part of the eighteenth century, conducted by Campe (1746-1818), Salzmann (1744-1811), and Von Rochow (1734-1805). The schools of the latter were intended to improve the methods of farming and living among the peasants of his estates in Brandenburg, Prussia.

Another democratic educational development was the charity schools of England and the American Colonies. The idea was to give the poor who could not pay for an education an opportunity to learn. The religious motive, however, emphasized the study of Bible, prayer book and catechism. The Sunday schools which originated about this time were another movement to give the poor educational opportunity. In the beginning the Sunday schools gave instruction in secular subjects as well as in religion.

In the United States the movement for universal education was opposed at first by the aristocratic elements of society, which held that the poorer classes were intended to work and not to think. However, working against that view were the doctrines emphasized by Protestant sects, that each individual is infinitely precious in God's sight, and that each one must read the Bible for himself. Moreover, the movement for political democracy in early society in the United States gave an impetus to free schools for everyone. If men were to govern themselves they must be intelligent. This movement for free and universal education was slow in developing but finally became established about the middle of the nineteenth century. Early education in the United States, however, profited much from the thoughts of the early European educational reformers like Rousseau and Basedow. Since the main purpose was to teach people to read, write, and cipher, first for the reason that only thus could they read the Bible and obtain that measure of education necessary to the exercise of their responsibilities in a democracy, it was characterized by its rather formal nature. Higher education was thought to be only for those in learned professions like the ministry, and then later law and medicine.

In the meantime in Europe other educational reformers were carrying on experiments in education in the spirit of Rousseau and Basedow. The most interesting of these was Pestalozzi. He differed, however, from Rousseau and other predecessors in building his system in a positive rather than a negative spirit. Pestalozzi was inspired by the belief that through education a corrupt society can be reformed. Impressed by the degraded peasantry of his native town in Switzerland, he undertook to train the peasants in better methods of agriculture. Influenced in the education of his son by Rousseau's *Emile*, he began writing and suggesting new ideas and educational principles for the uplift of the masses. He emphasized the fact that learning was not to be obtained merely from books and that the children of the poor could be trained to earn their living and at the same time develop their intelligence and moral nature. He tried various experiments to demonstrate his theories. His agricultural venture at Birr having failed, he turned to an attempt to educate industrially some of the needy children in his vicinity. Their education proceeded as they worked, largely through conversation. His ideas finally took shape in his story of *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781). In 1798 he established a school and orphanage at Stantz. In all of his educa-

tional work he endeavored to train the children by observation of natural objects and the life about them and by the manual training which he introduced. With his methods we are not here concerned. His influence, however, has been very great. The social tendency of his teaching is indicated by Graves in these words: "Pestalozzi held that poverty could be relieved and society reformed only through ridding each one of his degradation by means of mental and moral development." [1] His methods were adopted in Switzerland, Prussia, and other German states, as well as in France and England. Finally, in the early part of the nineteenth century, his methods were introduced into America. "Thus the tendency of modern civilization to care for the education of the poor, the defective, and the delinquent through industrial training has sprung from the philanthropic spirit of Pestalozzi and his practical collaborator, Fellenberg, and has become apparent in all advanced countries." [2]

Fellenberg (1771-1844) continued Pestalozzi's methods and established an agricultural institute for poor boys in 1808. Industrial training was combined with agriculture in this institute. Part of his idea was that by this means the boys could support themselves while learning and then they could go out as rural school-teachers and heads of similar schools elsewhere. Fellenberg did not stop merely with the poorer classes. He felt that the wealthy should understand and come into sympathy with the laboring classes. Therefore in 1809 he opened a literary institute for the wealthy which combined the usual academic studies with Pestalozzi's object lessons and with emphasis upon physical activities. The students worked in the gardens and on the farm and at such industries as carpentry, turning, and simple mechanics. Around these two institutions at Hofwyl there grew up a community of young people from both the poorer classes and the wealthy, which managed its own affairs, arranged its occupations, games, trips, chose its own officers and made its own laws. In 1823 he started a school for poor girls under the charge of his wife, having for its aim the practical training of these girls.

The methods of Fellenberg were followed in Switzerland, Germany, France, and England. Education through industrial activities was not introduced into the United States until about the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In the next 20 years a large number of institutions of secondary or higher grade, with manual

[1] Graves, *A Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, p. 286.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

labor in addition to literary work in their curricula, sprang up in this country. Primarily the object of the industrial work was to enable the students to work their way through school or college and at the same time to secure physical exercise.[1]

This movement had a direct bearing upon the development of our agricultural colleges and upon the program of such schools as Carlisle, Hampton, and Tuskogee, engaged in the education of the colored races.

The work of Horace Mann in the establishment of our common school system is too well known to call for detailed reference here. Mention must be made, however, in this connection of his emphasis upon universal education and his interest in the practical aspects of education. As Graves has said: "In surveying his educational positions, we find Mann's foremost proposition was that education should be universal and free. Girls should be trained as well as boys, and the poor should have the same opportunities as the rich. Public schools should furnish education of such a quality that the wealthy would not regard private institutions as superior. This universal education, however, should have as its chief aim moral character, and not mere erudition, culture, and accomplishments. And morality, he felt, would not be accomplished by inculcating sectarian doctrines. Mann was, however, mainly a practical, rather than a theoretical, reformer, and to the material side of education he gave serious attention. . . . As to methods, he maintained that instruction should be based upon scientific principles, and not upon authority and tradition." [2]

In Europe the experiments of Pestalozzi were bearing fruit in the work of men who had been studying his suggestions. One of the most important of these is Froebel. We know him best as the founder of the kindergarten. While he confined his attention chiefly to the education of younger children than had been included in any school system, part of the principles which he followed were not without influence upon educators throughout the world. Says Graves: "His emphasis upon this psychological principle of motor expression under the head of 'self-activity' and 'creativeness' is the chief characteristic of Froebel's method. Rousseau had also recommended motor activity as a means of learning, but he had insisted upon an isolated and un-

[1] Graves, *Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, p. 298.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 309. Mann also doubted whether it was reasonable that algebra, which would not be used by one in a thousand who took it, should be studied by more than 2,300 students, while bookkeeping, which is useful to every man, should be pursued by only half that number. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

social education for Emile, whereas Froebel stresses the social aspects of education quite as clearly as he does the principle of self-expression. In fact, he holds that increasing self-realization or individualization through 'self-activity,' must come through a process of socialization. The social instinct is primal, and the individual can be truly educated only in the company of other human beings. The life of the individual is necessarily bound up with participation in institutional life. Each one of the various institutions of society in which the mentality of the race has manifested itself—the home, the school, the church, the vocation, the state—becomes a medium for the activity of the individual, and at the same time a means of social control. As far as the child enters into the surrounding life, he is to receive the development needed for the present, and thereby also to be prepared for the future. Through imitation of coöperative activities in play, he obtains not only physical, but intellectual and moral training. Such a moral and intellectual atmosphere Froebel sought to cultivate at Keilhau by coöperation in domestic labor—lifting, pulling, carrying, digging, splitting—and through coöperative construction out of blocks of a chapel, castle, and other features of a village. Similarly, the kindergarten was intended to 'represent a miniature state for the children, in which the young citizens can learn to move freely, but with consideration for his little fellows.' [1]

"In the use of stories, legends, fairy tales, and such like, he followed the method of Herbart.

"But in his emphasis upon motor expression and social participation, together with his advocacy of a school without books or set tasks, Froebel was unique, and made a most distinctive contribution to educational practice." [2]

Of the influence of Froebel on education in the United States Graves says: "This use of constructive and occupational work for educational purposes rather than for industrial efficiency soon spread throughout Europe, and was first suggested to the United States by the Centennial Exposition of 1876 at Philadelphia. . . . The Froebelian emphasis upon motor expression, the social aspect of education, and informal schooling are evident throughout Parker's work in his elementary school, and are even extended so as to include speech and language-arts. Similarly, Dewey's occupational work and industrial activities, which were used through the entire course of his

[1] Graves, *Student's History of Education,* New York, 1915, pp. 357, 358.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 363.

'experimental school' in Chicago, although not copied directly from Froebel, closely approached the modified practice of the kindergarten." [1]

In the meantime in England the school system had not been making the progress which characterized the systems of France, Germany, and the United States. In spite of the charity schools, the church and public schools remained formalistic in their methods. The first break was made by the attacks of scientists and philosophers, among them Herbert Spencer and Huxley. Both of these men attacked with great force the ineffectiveness of the current classical education, and stressed the importance of science in education. They were followed by others, until finally both in England and elsewhere science has taken a position alongside the classical studies in higher education. The indirect effects of this invasion of the old formal education was to liberalize the curriculum, even down into the secondary and elementary schools. This movement, beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century, has now affected the whole school situation throughout the western world.

Following closely on the heels of the introduction of the study of nature into the school system, has come the tendency to modify the curriculum by the introduction of other subjects such as civics and other social sciences. As one writer has stated it, "The scientific movement has even more points in common with the sociological. In its opposition to the disciplinarians and its stress upon content rather than form, the scientific tendency coincides with the sociological, although the former looks rather to the natural sciences as a means of individual welfare and the latter to the social and political sciences to equip the individual for life in social institutions and to secure the progress of society. But while the scientist usually states his argument in individual terms because of his connection in time and sympathy with the individualism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the same writer usually, as in the case of Rousseau, Combe, Spencer, and Huxley, advocates the social, moral and political sciences as a means of complete living. Similarly the sociological movement has especial kinship with the economic and utilitarian aspects of the study of the sciences, for professional, technical, and commercial institutions have been evolved because of sociological as well as scientific demands. Again, the use of the sciences in education and as a means of preparing for life and the needs of society overlaps the modern

[1] Graves, *Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, p. 364.

sociological principle of furthering democracy. Both tendencies lead to the best development of all classes and to the abandonment of artificial strata in society." [1]

The great industries of our day have had their effect upon political theory, jurisprudence, sociology, and education. At present, as never before, efforts are being made to adapt the educational process to preparation of the individual for usefulness in life. In line with this movement is the introduction of industrial education into the school system. With the displacement of home and shop work by factory work, apprenticeship has well nigh disappeared. In the endeavor to supply an equivalent of this apprenticeship training, practically all states have not only developed great technical schools but have introduced vocational training into the common school system. The movement has not gone as far in the United States as in Germany, and some of our educators feel that it should not, on the ground that in the common schools manual work should not be primarily vocational, but rather educational in the sense in which Fellenberg used the term.

Industrial training in the United States began during the latter half of the nineteenth century by the establishment of evening continuation schools and private day schools. Most of these were on the basis of philanthropy. Since 1906 several hundred day trade schools have been organized, chiefly at public expense, in our larger cities. In some of our states continuation schools serve not only those who seek training for business and industry, but also for students who are beyond the compulsory school age but are backward in the common branches.

The tendency in the United States is to introduce into the curriculum of the high school subjects which prepare a student to take up some line of business.[2]

The most recent movement in the United States for the promotion of vocational education is the Federal Act subsidizing state efforts in that direction. On February 23, 1917, the President approved an act providing for a Federal Board of Education and appropriating a sum of money to be distributed among the states which accept the act. The act is coöperative in that the money appropriated by Congress must be matched dollar for dollar by each of the states. The Federal Board has the responsibility of seeing that the various states receiving Federal money maintain certain standards in doing this

[1] Grave's *Student's History of Education*, New York, 1915, pp. 416, 417.
[2] *Ibid.*, Ch. XXVII.

vocational training. These standards pertain to the courses offered and the training and abilities of the teachers engaged in vocational training. Vocational training in the fields of agriculture, home economics, and industry is provided for.

This act is the culmination of an evolution in national appropriations for vocational education. National grants to states were made for education as early as the first part of the last century. At first these grants were made for no specific purpose, without administrative machinery, and without the provision of safeguards in the expenditure of the funds. Beginning with the Morrill Act in 1862, however, the Federal Government has gradually passed from the granting of money for indefinite purposes to granting money for specific purposes, from irresponsibility on the part of the state receiving the money to that of obligation to use the money in conformity with the statute, and from non-supervision to careful safeguards to guarantee that the Federal money is spent for the specific purposes of the act. To share in the Federal grant each state must satisfy the Federal Board as to the kinds of vocational education it proposes to give, its schools, and the qualifications of its teachers.

The general theory at the base of the act of 1917 is that the nation has an interest in educating its people to make a living; that, since education is an affair of the states, the actual carrying out of a vocational education scheme should be in the hands of the state, and that since vocational education is of joint interest to the various states and the nation, joint control of such a system must be set up.

Since the act provides for vocational education, no part of the funds may be used by states in general education. The purpose of the act is to stimulate the states to provide education for an occupation. Since public money is used, no part of it can be used by private schools. Moreover, such education shall be provided only for those who are of an age to profit by vocational training, i.e., above fourteen years. It is assumed that below that age pupils are not of sufficient maturity to choose a vocation, and should have a general education to fit them for an intelligent choice of a vocation. Furthermore, the education contemplated in this act is of less than college grade; hence, its provisions apply only to secondary schools. Since such training must be given in many institutions in each state, the supervision must be by state authorities, the only limitation being that the Federal Board has the duty of seeing that the institutions, course of study, and the teachers approved by the states meet the standards set up by the Federal Board.

To do this the Federal Board has provided an inspection staff covering the whole country, organized by districts.

By the end of 1917 all the states had submitted plans which were approved by the Federal Board and became entitled to the allotment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918.

Since the crux of the plan is efficient state supervision and training of teachers for these schools, it is necessary that each state place the administration of the plan in the hands of a competent board. The act provides that either the state board of education or a special board of vocational education in each state shall be designated as the body to have charge of the administration. In 32 states the State Board of Education has been designated.[1]

Already the Federal Board has brought about the introduction of vocational training into many secondary schools. A part of its task is encouragement of the teaching of agriculture in these schools through a system of grants in aid. In 1919 of the 2,039 schools of all types which had received aid from Federal funds for classes in vocational subjects, 863 were agricultural.[2]

In like manner in the other fields of vocational education the work of the Board has been to study the field, and stimulate public understanding of the needs, aims and effective methods of promoting such education. The more than 2,000 schools which have coöperated with the Federal Board of Education in such courses in 1919, which number was about 300 more than the year before, are evidence that it is securing results. Where the Board found vocational education already in operation, the effort has been to standardize it and to encourage each state to provide the various kinds of classes—day, part-time, and evening classes—suited to the situation of those above the age of 14 as in each state the circumstances and needs warrant. In vocational training for industry, for example, the law provides for a minimum sum of $5,000, of which 20 per cent may be used for home economics education. One-third of the amount must be used for part-time classes. There is also available for the training of teachers in trade and industrial subjects $5,000. Hence, under this act there may be organized six types of trade or industrial schools: (1) Unit trade;

[1] In 7 states—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, and California—there was already in operation vocational education under state supervision; in others, the whole machinery had to be set up by the state legislature and money appropriated.

[2] *International Year Book, 1919,* New York, 1920, p. 215; see also *Second Annual Report, Federal Board for Vocational Education,* Washington, 1918.

(2) general industrial in cities under 25,000 inhabitants; (3) part-time extension; (4) part-time trade preparatory; (5) part-time general continuation; and (6) evening industrial classes.

A *unit trade school or class* is one for the specific purpose of preparing persons for useful employment in a particular trade or pursuit, by instruction of less than college grade, to meet the needs of persons over 14 years of age, which gives at least half time to practical work on a productive basis.

The *general industrial school or class* is intended to provide for vocational instruction in cities of less than 25,000 people, in which it probably would be impossible to provide a unit class in some one trade, as plumbing, for example. In this case boys wishing instruction in other of the building trades would be added to the class and an instructor able to give training in all the various building trades desired by the members of the class would be provided. In such a class instruction in related subjects, such as mathematics, estimating, elementary architectural drawing, etc., would be given.

The *part-time extension classes* are intended for those already in a trade who wish to receive further training in their lines. Such a class must be held for not less than 144 hours per year.

The *part-time preparatory classes* are for those of the same age who have already entered upon employment but wish instruction in a trade other than the one in which they are employed. This class, too, must be held for not less than 144 hours each year.

A *part-time general continuation class* is intended for those between 14 and 18 years of age who have entered employment and who wish to study subjects which will enlarge their civic or vocational intelligence, such as English, civics, history of industries, arithmetic, trade mathematics, some commercial subject or elementary school subject.

The *evening industrial classes* are intended for persons over 16 years of age in subjects supplemental to the employment in which they are engaged, such as classes in blueprint reading for plumbers' helpers, and other subjects below college grade relating to the particular trade.

The schools and classes provided for in this act, then, are clearly vocational, that is, for those who have definitely decided to take up a certain employment in industry, or who are already employed but desire better to prepare themselves for the job.

From the standpoint of education in a more general sense the industrial development of the United States has had a very important

part in modifying the methods of training children. The work of Dewey and others of his type has been to make the industrial environment contribute to the development of the child through contact with the life about him. Says Dewey, "The problem of general public-school education is not to train workers for a trade, but to make use of the whole environment of the child in order to supply motive and meaning to the work." [1] He illustrates this method by describing methods used in schools in Chicago, Gary, Indiana, and Cincinnati. In these instances, however, the activities of the schoolroom are not vocational, but in a broad way educational. The whole purpose is to make the activities serve the educational needs of the child. In a general way such education prepares him for making a living, but the training is much broader than that to be found in a vocational school. Hence, in these two ways, the changes in our economic life have influenced the whole conception of education and modified the content of the curriculum. In the one case, however, the purpose is to fit the student for a vocation on his leaving school; in the other, to make him acquainted with the life of society in the midst of which he lives, so that when he leaves school he will understand the elementary facts of society and the fundamental facts which lie at the base of industry and life.

This brief review of the development of education makes it apparent that the criticism of Herbert Spencer in 1860 is not as deserved to-day as it was then. Progress has been made. Society has in part accepted his statement of the function of education. It has not yet, however, completely adopted his theory of the subordinating of subjects in the curriculum. The development that has occurred, however, since his day not only in England but in the United States as well, has pointed to a fuller appreciation of the necessarily close connection between education and that type of life which is independent, self-supporting, loyal, and patriotic. While something still remains to be done to adjust our educational institutions to their function as described by Spencer, the progress of the last 60 years shows us that the future is not hopeless.

FURTHER SOCIALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE INTEREST OF THE PREVENTION OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

The interest of the student of poverty and dependency in education is determined by the fact that education in many cases has a

[1] *Schools of To-morrow*, New York, 1915, p. 252.

direct bearing upon these phenomena. If he finds that some fall into poverty and dependency because of lack of training for life and for making a living, he is concerned with the practical question of what kind of an education will remedy this condition and how to get it for as large a number of people as possible.

What Kind of Education Has a Bearing upon the Prevention of Poverty and Dependency? Answering this question we must bear in mind that some cannot profit from the kind of education suitable for most of the pupils in the public schools. The defectives (and those who have special bents for which the public schools may not provide) must be eliminated from consideration in working out a program for the pupils in the public schools. For such special methods and probably special institutions should be provided. Moreover, since many factors, some of them subtle almost beyond analysis, enter into the production of poverty and dependency, consideration must be given to the various kinds of education which contribute to life and livelihood. What are the outstanding elements in an education which helps to prepare children and youth to live in our complex civilization without becoming poverty-stricken or dependent?

1. **It Must Be One Which Prepares to Make a Living.** Not that upon the school should lie the whole burden; it should, however, bear its proper share. That share will be whatever society cannot do better through some other agency. Once the home and the shop through the apprenticeship system provided for such education. With the changes in our social and industrial life many of the functions of home and shop have decayed. Some of them have been taken over by the school. If the school accepts this responsibility, it must endeavor to train the child for livelihood to the utmost of its ability considering the circumstances of school and home, and the native ability of the pupil.

How do the schools of to-day measure up to that responsibility? All agree that in a great many cases they fail. Aside from the lack of native ability in the student, the explanation is to be found in two facts. The compulsory school age is too low to enable the school to give a training in any adequate way. The school also is not given the necessary amount of money to provide equipment, teachers and subjects necessary to train for livelihood, even if the compulsory school age were raised. Consider how many more buildings would be necessary were the children who are in the grades to remain for high school. Think of the necessary expansion of teaching staff. With

every attempt at specialization the expense for equipment and teaching staff would be greatly augmented.

In 1918 only 9.3 per cent of the total school enrolment was in high schools, academies and secondary schools, while only 2.1 per cent was in higher institutions of learning. In 1915 it was estimated that 42.3 per cent of the youth between 15 and 17 years of age were not in school at all. A precipitate decline in attendance at the schools begins at the end of the fifth grade and at the age of 14 years for the pupils.[1] Hence, if the school is to train the child for livelihood, the compulsory school age must be raised. If the age is raised, we must spend much more on education than now. That much is clear.

"But," says someone, "may not the content of the curriculum in the grade schools be so changed that much precious time will be saved which is now wasted on subjects which have no relation to making a living?" The reply is that it is impossible to prepare people by education to make a living without proper general education. The doubters regard this reply as begging the question, in that it assumes that all the "cultural" studies now required are prerequisites to training for livelihood. Then the school men retort that they have obligations to train these children, not only for livelihood, but for a life of satisfaction to themselves, of culture, of good citizenship. Thus the argument comes to a stalemate. Whether the amount of time and attention now devoted to elementary and cultural studies in the common schools is just the amount necessary for the best results can be determined only on the basis of experience. It is doubtful whether we have enough experience yet for a positive reply. When the experience of Germany is cited, it is pointed out that Germany's system led to a regimentation of the school population which denied to most the broader education of culture and professional training, while it trained the masses of youth for a single career, and was adapted to an aristocratic state of society. The experiment must be made here to be conclusive, and it has not yet been made. Furthermore, any such scheme as Germany's would entail a great increase in cost of education. In 1918 we spent in this country $1,059,934,803 for the education of the more than 24,000,000 enrolled in the schools of the country.[2]

[1] *Statistical Survey of Education,* 1917-18, Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1920, No. 31. p. 32; *Report of the Commissioner of Education of the United States,* 1917, p. 7; *Second Annual Report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education,* Washington, 1918, p. 52.

[2] *Statistical Survey of Education,* 1917-18, Bulletin, Bureau of Education, 1920, No. 31, pp. 4, 5.

One thing, however, is certain. To prepare our young people to make a living, we must either cut down the time spent in elementary and cultural studies and introduce in their stead vocational studies, or we must raise the compulsory school age and spend more on schools. It is held, moreover, that a child cannot profit from vocational studies much before he reaches adolescence. If that is true, then the only alternative is to raise the upper limit of the school age and spend more money.

2. **It Must Be an Education Which Prepares for Life in the Largest Sense.** If the youths are to be good citizens—independent, ambitious and socially useful—their education must not merely prepare them for a specific job, but must give them the intellectual and moral heritage of the race. Certain ideals of conduct, such as love of country, respect for age, for womanhood, for childhood, respect for justice, knowledge of health conditions, ideals of helpfulness to the unfortunate, of fair play, personal honor and of independence and self-support, must be inculcated.

These ideals have a very direct bearing upon poverty and dependency. Even though the individual may have a small income, if he is possessed of these ideals he will be much more likely to make ends meet and to manage his affairs successfully. He will have certain ambitions for his children, which will lead him to make provisions for the future, otherwise likely to be neglected. He will understand the importance of thrift, insurance, and careful management. The woman will be more likely to be a better manager of her household affairs and to plan more carefully for the health and proper upbringing of the children. Educated in personal and public hygiene, such persons will know better how to protect the family and themselves from the inroads of diseases. They will give early attention to the prevention of sickness, that very important cause of dependency. Given in their education certain ideals of personal conduct, they will order their lives in such a way that poverty and dependency will be less likely to occur. Imbued with ideals of respect for age, for womanhood, and childhood, of justice, of helpfulness to the unfortunate, of fair play, of personal honor, and of independence for self-support, they will bring into operation both in their own lives and in the lives of others those subtle social forces which both directly and indirectly produce the unconquerable spirit in the face of difficulties. Thus will be obviated that breaking down of the spirit which has so much to do with dependence upon others.

3. **It Will Be an Education Which Selects and Trains Those Most Promising for Leadership.** Our emphasis upon the adaptation of our educational system to the needs of the masses should not blind us to the necessity of providing for the development through the educational system of those with great ability to be the leaders and social inventors of civilized society. Upon both leaders and led depends the welfare of society. Neither should be neglected. There will be no dead level of ability even after each has been given the best education of which we can conceive. Nature has attended to that. Some come into the world with great native endowment; others with very little. Education can never level those hills or fill those valleys in the landscape of our population. Neither is it desirable that such leveling should occur. No clearer statement of sociological faith touching this matter has been made than that by the Apostle Paul. In discussing the gifts of the Spirit in the church at Corinth, after citing the fact that "there are diversities of gifts," he calls attention to the purpose of this diversity. It was that "there should be no schism in the body," but that "the body of Christ" might be built up, each one contributing his part to that end.[1]

Without leadership and vision the nation will perish. As true today as ever is it that man does not live by bread alone. He lives also by the inspiration of great ideals. These ideals are most effective when incarnated in living personalities. Therefore, education must provide that selective process which discovers and develops the leaders with ability to inspire and suggest. America has been rich in such leaders. Without them the masses of the people slump down into hopelessness. Such people are the ones who invent not only machines which increase our economic effectiveness, and devices for the more equitable distribution of the good things of life, but also those spiritual standards which have so much to do with the will to achieve in spite of adverse circumstances. Our educational system must not only provide for the deficient and arrange that their utmost capabilities are developed for the welfare of society, but so far as possible open opportunities to the highly endowed in whatever station of life they may be found, and develop their capacities to the utmost both for their own advancement and for the welfare of their fellowmen.

That something in the way of adjustment of our educational opportunities to the needs of our day is necessary is indicated when one surveys the present provisions of our school system. Thus, while in

[1] I. Cor. 12:4-30; 14:26; Eph. 4:12-16.

1910 one-third of all workers engaged in gainful occupations were in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, and while more than one-fourth of them were in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and while but 4 per cent were engaged in professional service, yet our high schools, academies, colleges and universities have been adapted largely to the education of the professional classes, while the development of trade schools for the masses has only just begun.

It is suspected that there are many potential leaders in all the pursuits of life who are denied the opportunity for that education which would develop their capacities. While the very highly endowed individual will sometimes push up through adverse conditions and find his place of leadership at the top, there is evidence that many of high capacity are not discovered until it is too late to give them the encouragement and training necessary to their highest development.

The movement in this country as well as European experiments for the widening of educational opportunities seem to indicate that a further extension of educational opportunity would repay many times the cost involved. For example, in agriculture the farmers' institutes, the "short course," the demonstrations and short course in home economics; the inclusion in the curricula in our secondary and higher institutions of manual training, have indicated that both from a cultural and a practical standpoint increase of educational opportunities will produce results both in the increase of personal efficiency and the discovery of leaders. The extension courses by correspondence and the extension classes both in cultural and practical subjects already in existence in some states indicate the value of wider educational opportunities for our people. Many of the problems of detail remain still to be solved. Experiments will indicate the limitations and discover new ways by which the rich heritages of knowledge and skill can be made available to larger numbers of the people. Gradually as experiments in the field of elementary and secondary education show the way, we shall perfect our curricula and our methods of teaching to produce men and women of practical training for the earning of a livelihood and that broad culture which lies at the foundation of fine character so necessary for a citizenship inspired by ideals of personal independence and service to the state, so important to the development of an independent, self-respecting, self-supporting people. Hand in hand with this educational progress must go, of course, economic arrangements and improvement of the machinery of government which will give justice to every individual and deny to none

the opportunity for the utmost development of the personality of each. The ideal to be sought in our educational program is that adjustment of the child and the man to his environment, economically and socially, which will enable him to bring under his control both the resources of nature and the achievement of group life for the welfare of both himself and his fellows.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. What is the social view of education? King, *Social Aspects of Education,* New York, 1912, Chap. I.
2. Possibilities of the public school as a social center. Ward, *The Social Center,* New York, 1914.
3. Some examples of primitive social education. Thomas, *Source Book of Social Origins,* Chicago, 1909, Part II; King, *op. cit.,* Chap. II.
4. Industrial education and national life. Washington, "Relation of Industrial Education to National Progress," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Jan., 1909, pp. 1-12.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIALIZED RECREATION

THE activities we call play are instinctive. Hence, the young of man and of animals are incurably playful. Natural selection established such activities because they had survival value. They appear in the young of some animals soon after birth. The young calf a few days old frisks about its mother. In other animals play appears later. Soon after they become strong enough to move about freely, playful activities appear. Since the child develops coördinated movements of its limbs later than the young of other animals, and since it learns to use its arms earlier than its legs, its play activities appear first in movements of the hands, expressions of its face and sounds of the voice. Some of the child's early play movements, apparently the outgrowth of earlier uncoördinated muscular movements, are experiments with its environment. It throws down its rattle to make a noise, plays with its dress and toes. Says Joseph Lee, "I think there is no more interesting thing than to see a baby find its hands for the first time."[1] It strikes its hands together, and before it can walk, jumps up and down in a playful way in the arms of its nurse. Later it laughs at the playful antics of older children and adults, and begins to imitate the play activities of children and others.

While the form of play changes with age, the adult also plays. This is true of both primitive and civilized. With the adults play, however, is often masked in deference to aversion to childish activities, to religious and ethical beliefs, and to traditions established by mode of life or social status. It is often supposed that Puritanism frowned on play. Certain games the Puritan condemned in reaction against the frivolous life of the aristocracy of his times, and later in conformity to established custom. But he found some equivalents in other social activities, such as religious rites and the excitement of theological discussion. Even his stern repression of play could not

[1] *The Home Playground*, Reprinted from *Proceedings of the Second Annual Playground Congress, Playground Extension Committee of the Russell Sage Foundation,* Publication No. 14, p. 4.

utterly crush out the urge of Nature. While Christianity has always reacted against "worldly" activities, the Church found a way in every age to give expression through appropriate means to the play impulse. They were seldom called play, but what were those pageants, May Day festivities, and religious activities, such as Passion Plays and feast day frolics, which accompanied, if they were not a part of, the religious ceremonies of all peoples? All that great body of pageantry, holiday customs, the frolics attendant upon fairs and markets, upon marriages and even funerals, upon trials of strength, and skill of arms, and in most countries upon even skill of hand and voice and brain, giving expression to the unusual in legerdemain, oratory, song, and the music of hand-made instruments of greater or less perfection were forms of play. The dances in a thousand medieval courts, the religious dances around a million smoking altars of primitive people, the ceremonies of court and temple, both pagan and Christian, the activities connected with all the great events of life are rooted in the same impulse to play. Joyous occasions, every one! Release from the strain and monotony of life was an outstanding characteristic. At birth of a child, at the time which marked the coming of that child to man's or woman's estate, the occasion which marked the consecration of the pubescent youth to the god of the tribe, and thus his consecration to its purposes, at marriage, and on the occasion of his being prepared by funeral rite and ceremony after death; in short, at every crisis from birth to death we find play.

THEORY OF PLAY

The history of the theory of play is marked by three distinct stages. They may be called the physical, the psychological, and the sociological explanations.

Physical Theory. Herbert Spencer gave us one of the first of these theories in his thought-provoking *Principles of Psychology*. Inadequate, like many of the ideas of that revolutionary thinker, it stimulated men to think out the problem which he had forced upon their attention.[1] Spencer said that the young of man and animal play because they have a surplus of energy, which in some way moves them to exert themselves in the seemingly useless activities of play. That theory survives to-day in the expression sometimes used as an apology for the playful spirit of childhood and youth that "he must work off some of his surplus energy." It is the "common sense" explanation

[1] The same theory was propounded by the German poet, Schiller.

of play. Really it can hardly be called a psychology of play, because it deals with an explanation which can be called psychical only by accommodation. It might better be called a *physical* explanation of play. While there doubtless is some such physical fact as Spencer's theory assumes, it does not explain psychically why the expenditure leads to play. Labor certainly works off surplus energy; yet work is not play.

Psychological Theories. A much more important theory is that of Karl Groos, who in his two books, *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man,* argues that since play is mimic work or mimic war, it is a preparation for life. He supposes that, since natural selection established them, they must be a preparation for life. Such a conclusion, however, does not necessarily follow. Such activities may once have had but may now lack survival value. Many vestiges are found even in the physical structure of man, which, we must suppose, once were functional, but which no longer serve a useful purpose. It is probable that some instincts survive which are in the same case. While the tendency to play may still serve a life-purpose, the form it takes probably is due to activities established in the struggle for existence, and may serve indirectly rather than directly to assist survival. Hence, Groos is wrong when he explains play as a preparation for life rather than survival of instincts once directly related to the struggle to live. It is because play-activities are no longer patently useful, that they have been frowned upon. Yet, although men have only reluctantly indulged it in the child, tolerated it in giddy youth and permitted it in adults only when it was called something else, play has persisted, because it was ingrained in the very nature of man by natural selection.

Later Groos added the suggestion that play is a kind of *katharsis* or purification.[1] It is means of expressing pent-up emotion, as when in fighting the boy relieves the emotion of anger, or in running from danger, the emotion of fear. As Patrick has pointed out, however, in spontaneous unrestricted play there is no such situation to be relieved. The relation of play to the emotions is usually on a different psychological footing. Play rests rather than purifies. Groos's use of Aristotle's medical term, therefore, is often inapt.[2]

Recently two other writers have added to and developed the psychology of play. Professor G. T. W. Patrick, of Iowa State University,

[1] "Das Spiel als Katharsis," *Zeitschrift für Päd. Psych. und Ex. Päd.*, Dec. 7, 1908.

[2] Compare Patrick, "The Psychology of Play," *Pedagogical Seminary*, Sept., 1914, Vol. XXI, pp. 469-484.

in a magazine article, and more recently in a book,[1] suggested that play was not always a preparation for life. He cited the fact that some games are not adapted to that purpose; indeed, entirely lack survival value. These plays, not to be accounted for entirely on the theory of Groos, he explains as survivals from old race habits, vestiges from a time when they were useful, and persisting because they answer to the psychological demand for rest on the part of the nervous organism. This rest is due, according to Professor Patrick, to the fact that being established by race habits, they are more or less automatic, and thus demand a minimum of attention to establish the coördinations necessary to perform the acts they demand. The nervous energy required for their performance flows along brain-tracks well worn by the habits of ages. That fact makes such actions pleasurable in their effects on the nervous centers, whether they are advantageous or not.

This theory has the advantage that it accounts for many games which are survivals from an earlier period of culture and are neither "mimic work nor mimic war." The new games which are not survivals from old race habits are as desirable as those which are, provided they involve actions which are similar to race habits and call for the same coördination.

Professor Addington Bruce, in an article on the "Psychology of Football," while adhering to Spencer's "surplus energy" theory, has added another suggestion of value. He criticizes Professor Patrick's theory by observing that if the rest theory were all there is to the explanation of play, then how account for the fact that people like to sit still and see games? He suggests that the *pleasurable emotion* resulting from the dissipation of energy either in play or in seeing play is an explanation necessary to account at least for the fact that people enjoy seeing games and probably also for the joy of playing.

This is a suggestion which is very significant, but Professor Bruce has failed to make the use of it which its importance demands. He has incidentally referred to the pleasurable emotions stirred in the player and the beholder by the dissipation of energy in the activities of play, yet he sees no significance in that aspect of the matter.

Professor Ross has added another suggestion. To him *play is the means whereby the player feeds his "famishing instincts."* [2] Bred in us by long ages of subjection to primitive conditions these instincts

[1] *The Psychology of Relaxation,* Boston, 1915.
[2] *Principles of Sociology,* New York, 1920, p. 607.

crave expression in activities simulating those which then gave comfort or thrill.

Psychologically, then, play is rooted in the emotions. Children and adults play because play stirs the emotions. Devising situations which simulate those connected with life-crises of the race, and solving them by exercising activities similar to those suited to the passing of the crisis in primitive life they get pleasurable thrills. Play, then, exists for its own sake. That it persists because of the joy it brings is not to deny that it contributes to activities which are biologically and socially useful, though not always as preparation directly for life activities. It prepares in many cases, however, for later life by promoting a sound physical development and that mental quickening which counts so much in the struggle for existence, and for that social coöperation which has played so great a part in survival of all the social animals in their struggle against inanimate nature, hostile animals, and other groups of men. As Lester F. Ward has shown, the activities of men are rooted in the emotions.

These theories all have elements of truth, but they are incomplete. The social element in play is not noticed.

The Sociology of Play. Before a complete explanation can be made, sociology must be invoked. Only when the psychology of the crowd is taken into account can we understand fully the emotional satisfaction to be found in play. Starting with the pleasure arising from the activities of play either actually participated in or shared in imagination, one can understand some of the play activities of children and of men. It is possible that such solitary games as those played sometimes by children and the few in which adults occasionally indulge could be explained by psychology alone. Nevertheless, is it not a fact that even these are played with reference to an imaginary partner or spectator? When such are left out of account there remain a great many games the attractiveness of which is unaccounted for. The suggestibility of people in crowds, the greater depth of emotion and therefore the greater pleasure experienced from collective plays must be taken into account. No doubt that our great national games owe much of their attraction to interstimulation. It is well known that social stimulation is necessary in order to get the best work out of the players. A team poorly supported by "rooters" is not so likely to win as one well supported. The emotions of a large crowd on the bleachers are exaggerated in comparison with those of a small one. Moreover, all sorts of artifices are devised by the man-

agers of the game to stimulate the players and also to help the onlookers to get the worth of their money. Bands play, colors are waved, songs are sung, yells and calls are voiced. What for? Simply in order to rouse the players to do their best and to gratify the crowd. By such means the emotional stimulation is increased and the pleasure augmented. Emotional response depends upon the sharpness and volume of the stimulus. The crowd provides both. This, together with the pleasurable thrills which arise from relapsing into the activities established in the habits of the race, makes the combat-games the source of the great emotional outbursts which characterize the great games and sports.

Moreover, consider how the social passion for ascendancy contributes to this emotional exhilaration. Found originally in the desire to overcome a prey or an enemy, the passion for ascendancy survives in the desire to beat. Hence, checkers, chess, cards, and other games between two people stir strong emotions in response to what Mallock has called "the passion for domination." In the games with spectators this desire is heightened by "so great a cloud of witnesses."

Furthermore, the pleasurable emotional results of mere muscular activity, cited by Patrick and Bruce, are strengthened by these social stimuli. In fact, in many athletic team-games most of the fun comes from the stimulus of the crowd. The game is largely an excuse for the social pleasure. The demonstrations connected with our sports are the emotional equivalents of certain outbursts characteristic of other days. How similar is the emotional excitement of a lynching mob to that of a football crowd! While the minor elements differ, the combative instinct and the social, or gregarious, instinct are present and active. The crowd-excitement has been called an emotional spree. While the exaltation of the "bleacher-fan" may be very much less desirable than that of the player, compared with the wild frenzy of battle with man and beast this modern equivalent in play has something to be said in its favor. It rests and re-creates. Something similar to the primordial refreshment of spirit occurs. Consider the dullness of men's lives once the necessity of defending themselves from the onslaughts of wild beasts and hostile men had passed away. Is it any wonder they sought to relieve monotony by emotional outbursts in religious revivals, in political debates, in barbecues, sexual orgies, and alcoholic debauches? Nowadays one constantly hears the complaint that there is but little interest in the old-fashioned political debates, that the ecstatic phenomena of religious revivals are rare.

No wonder now that people find their equivalent in games which give occasion for outbursts of emotional frenzy equal in intensity and satisfaction. Games produce the emotional equivalents of ancient gladiatorial combats, medieval pageants, and tournaments; of political barbecues, religious revivals, primitive social orgies, alcoholic "sprees" and religious persecutions.

THE SOCIAL RESULTS OF PLAY

This analysis throws light upon the social purposes which play serves, and so explains why it has continuously accompanied civilization. Play contributes to the social efficiency of the race. It breaks the prosy humdrum now connected with making a living. To the task of making a living it adds the joy of making a life. It rests the attention wearied by a certain task by allowing it to glide along grooves worn deep by old race habits. It supplies the joyous abandon once to be found in the hunt, the primitive way of making a living. It provides the creative gladness now so often denied the worker in the shop where division of labor is so completely realized that it is only by a stretch of the imagination too difficult for him to make that he can see as a whole the thing of which he is the maker of only an infinitesimal part. It provides the means of an emotional "spree" otherwise to be had only by means of sexual orgies, drugs or alcohol, or by experiences which too often he cannot share, like those of art or religion. It relieves fatigue, so frequent a phenomenon in our highly differentiated industry with its minute division of labor, concentrated attention, and high speed.

Moreover, play strengthens the intellectual processes. Language originated, we are told, in the cries accompanying the emotional outbursts incident to the chase or the games. There is no doubt that quick thinking is necessary to successful play. Making a decision on the spur of the moment, and rapid adjustment of means to ends, are a *sine qua non* of the successful player. Social approval and disapproval heightens the desire to succeed.

The practical bearing of this is seen when it is remembered that in some cities 50 per cent of the children have been found idle.[1] No wonder such children are dull in school, lag behind in their work, and later fail in the struggle of life! To be sure, some laggards are

[1] An investigation in Milwaukee made in 1911 showed that of the children seen on the streets, playgrounds, and parks only half of them were playing at anything.

such from congenital causes, and some children do not play or learn readily from undernourishment or from bad eyesight, defective breathing, adenoid growths and such like. Nevertheless, some perfectly normal children are subnormal in their development because they have never been stirred out of the lethargy of their uneventful lives by the splendid enthusiasm of play. Their minds, like their bodies, are asleep, so to speak, and await the touch of emotional pleasure which will cut the leashes that hold them bound.

Furthermore, play produces an excitement which breaks through the reserve that separates human beings from each other. True, this reserve protects a child from his fellows before he knows them well enough to be perfectly at home with them. It is one of Nature's selective devices. Nevertheless, it often stands in the way of socialization. Watch strange children on a playground. At first there is a restraint on free intercourse and happy play. Watch that reserve melt away in the rhythm of a game. Before the heat of the emotions aroused in play it disappears as frost before the rising sun. Painful reserve gives place to free intercourse and pleasurable coöperation. The same is true of adults. Whether it be a meeting of hostile tribes who have come together to make a peace, a gathering of new students from all parts of a state or nation for purposes of getting acquainted, or a convention of business men who have assembled to form a combine, or a commercial club, some elements of play are always introduced. In one case it may be a corborree, or a pipe of peace; in another "a smoker," a banquet, a dance, or a procession; yet always there is a form which has for its purpose the dissipation of that reserve which divides men from each other as by a Chinese wall and prevents coöperation.

Now, in our great centers of population, whither have come people from all countries of the earth, there is vast need of socialization. The middle wall or partition between Jew and Gentile still needs to be broken down. Religion now, as in the first century, may break it down; but religion may also separate people. In play that wall tends to crumble before pursuit of a common purpose. Play has no creed centuries old and entrenched in prejudice to keep high the wall of division. Race characteristics may keep men apart, but play arouses feelings which rush over these barriers of race, for it arouses feelings common to all races.

How important then that our cities at least should provide means of play for all the people! The folk dances will engender apprecia-

tion of the riches of culture and pleasure-producing means which all these nationalities possess. Under the excitement of common play we shall forget that they are "foreigners" and see in them fellowmen. Under the impulsion of the same common activities and pleasures they will cease to feel that we are snobs. Here we have one of the most powerful agencies of "Americanization" in a real sense. Here is an agency to secure more effectively that unity of thought, feeling, and purpose which will make us a strongly united people.

Moreover, play is needed very much in the church. Historically, the play element in religion has been a very important part. The pomp and ceremony of the historic churches are to many people the attractive elements.

Altogether aside from this aspect of the matter, however, there is the social need for play in the church. Healthful recreation is absolutely essential to the proper development of the young. Commercialized agencies provide what is often a poor substitute. If the church wishes to hold its young people, and to develop them under the best influences, it cannot ignore their recreation. While the church should not attempt to compete with commercial and public recreation, it should supplement these with play-activities adapted to its own purposes, and encourage constructive public and private recreation rather than merely oppose the bad.

Moreover, the church should still further use the play impulse in the work of building character. Perhaps a clever Tom Sawyer could make religious services as interesting as whitewashing a disagreeable old aunt's fence. Supplementing her present activities with a use of leisure time, appealing to the play instinct, could she not further develop personality in her adherents? Has not the church too often in our day ignored the splendid dramatic possibilities for her young people in those graphic stories of the Old Testament? Has she failed to profit by the recorded activities of those great teachers of men, the Old Testament Prophets, who constantly were resorting to symbolic actions? At once there occurs to the mind Jeremiah going about the streets of Jerusalem, like Diogenes with his lantern in the daylit streets of Athens looking for an honest man, or hiding his girdle by the Euphrates, or wearing a wooden yoke about his neck. Others who made use of "the acted parable" occur to the mind, for example Ezekiel, and the Master Himself. The latter congealed into symbolic actions, such as baptism, the last supper and feet-washing, which became established as sacred rites in the church, some of the things

He wanted remembered. None of its ceremonies are more impressive. Why has the church not learned from some of its most moving activities further lessons in making use of the play impulse? Youth forever dreams its dreams, fashions its ideals of future manhood and womanhood and recreates the world in the rhythm and excitement of play of some sort. As the youth playeth so he fashioneth his future and that golden age of humanity of which youth is forever dreaming.[1]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RECREATION

Organized play historically is traced back to the games of the classic Greeks. Study of primitive societies, however, indicates that everywhere play is one of the organized activities of community life. The religious dance, the ceremonies connected with events and seasons, among primitive peoples manifest a very close relationship to play. The play motive modified and adapted to the changing circumstances of life has continued from primitive times up to the present. Probably the only reason why we have had our attention challenged by the Greek games is because during the period of the dominance of the Christian church in Europe the play motive found non-athletic embodiment.

With the recent emphasis upon health it was but natural that attention should again be given to physical exercise. Moreover, the industrial revolution destroyed the ordinary folk games which had characterized American life in its early days. The games connected with the household and the simple community like the village and the small city were no longer possible. Consequently those who were interested both in physical development of children and in the pleasurable activities of games and sports turned their attention in the latter part of the last century to organized provisions for play both for children and adults.

The modern system of playgrounds originated with schools. To the American school from the earliest days there was attached a playground. This did not make provision, however, for others than those attending school. Boston seems to have been the pioneer in fitting up in 1868 a public playground in one of its school yards. In 1886 the Charles Bank Outdoor Gymnasium was opened in Boston. This gave a new impetus to public outdoor recreation. Up to 1900 nine

[1] The major part of the foregoing has appeared in *The American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1915, in an article by the author entitled "The Sociology of Recreation."

other cities had established public playgrounds.[1] During the next six years 36 cities established playgrounds. In 1906 was established the Playground and Recreation Association of America, which gave a great impetus to the movement. In the three years following its foundation 73 cities established playgrounds and from that time on until the outbreak of the War the movement spread at an accelerated rate each year. The rate of increase in 1914 and 1915 was ten times that which prevailed during the six years preceding the establishment of the association. In 1916, 432 cities had playgrounds. In 10 years the association had grown from 189 members to 5,000. Its income had increased from $2,164 at the close of its first year to $115,455 at the end of its tenth year. The 432 cities which had established playgrounds provided an investment of millions of dollars for the grounds and equipment. In 1916 it was estimated that 60,000 men and women were engaged in the conduct of these playgrounds.[2] Training schools for playground directors have been established in many of the universities of the country.

While these playgrounds have usually been started under private auspices such as Settlements, local Playground and Recreation Associations, Women's Clubs, Commercial Clubs, etc., after the demonstration has been a success the municipality generally takes them over.

In the development of the playground movement two types appear: one is the playground in connection with the large parks of our cities and the other is the small park and school yard playground which is usually a neighborhood institution.

Chicago has perhaps the most extensive system of playgrounds in the United States. Through its Park Boards it has not only developed play space in its large parks but has established the small park-and-playground in every congested district. These small parks are usually a block of ground with playground apparatus and a field house providing not only baths and indoor gymnasiums for the winter time, but clubrooms and offices for the playground officials. Frequently they also house branches of the public library and have auditoriums. Their control is in the hands of playground experts.

No less remarkable than the development of public playground

[1] Chicago 1893, Philadelphia 1894, Pittsburgh and Baltimore 1896, Hartford and New Haven 1897, New York City, San Francisco, 1898, and Albany 1899.

[2] Braucher, "Growth and Wealth of the Playground Movement," *The American City*, December, 1916, p. 645. Ross says that there are 4,000 supervised playgrounds in the United States and 9,000 professional leaders and supervisors. *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1920, p. 615.

facilities is the growth of interest in all kinds of organized sports. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., originally institutions for the development of the religious nature, have put on programs of recreation. Many churches in large cities, especially institutional churches, in the absence of public provision for recreation have undertaken to provide a gymnasium and recreation directors. The growth of college sports, golf clubs, tennis clubs, hiking clubs, bathing, athletic tournaments of all kinds point in the same direction. They indicate the demand for recreation of an active kind under trained leadership.

Another response to the increasing demand for recreation is the various forms of commercial play. Professional baseball draws its millions of people every year in the United States. Bowling alleys, pool and billiard halls witness to the same craving. The "movie" theaters to some degree are substitutes for the theaters of former days. Their cheap admission price puts them within the reach of all.

An explanation of the growth of demand for recreation is not hard to seek. In the simple life of our pioneer communities in this country most of the people lived on farms. They were clearing the forest, breaking land, thus satisfying their constructive instincts; in the woods, in the streams, and on the prairies were fowls, fish and animals, to satisfy their hunting impulses. They had a varied life in marked contrast to the life of the present day demanding concentration of attention and tense nervous activity. With the wild animals nearly gone and with the waters depleted of their fish, the means at hand in olden days for recreation are lacking. In our cities conditions are perhaps the worst. In our highly organized industry division of labor has reduced man's activities to a mechanical routine. In his work he does not follow his own impulses. He is part of a machine and driven according to the speed of the process in which he is engaged. There is lack of variety in his industrial activities. His attention is fatigued by the mechanical routine and lack of interest which single, simple operations inspire. Jane Addams has well said: "This stupid experiment of organizing work and failing to organize play has, of course, brought about a fine revenge. The love of pleasure will not be denied, and when it has turned into all sorts of malignant and vicious appetites, then we, the middle aged, grow quite distracted and resort to all sorts of restrictive measures. We even try to dam up the sweet fountain itself because we are affrighted by these neglected streams; but almost worse than the restrictive measures is our apparent belief that the city itself has no obligation in the matter,

an assumption upon which the modern city turns over to commercialism practically all the provisions for public recreation." [1]

Out of this situation has grown the demand for recreation. It is possible that the increased demand for stimulants and narcotics characteristic of the last few decades reflects the felt monotony of life and work. Greedy men have hastened to exploit this growing need of relaxation. In a report made by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation concerning recreation conditions in that city it is stated that there are about 26,000,000 paid admissions to the movies in Cleveland; 1,500,000, at the dance halls; 2,250,000, at amusement parks; and 500,000, at professional baseball. In addition lake excursion boats handle about 170,000 annually. There were at the time of the survey 443 billiard rooms, 160 bowling alleys, and about 50 genuine coffee houses in Cleveland. No one knows how much money the people of the United States, or a single state or even of a single city, spend on recreation. Without a doubt, however, in the aggregate it is an enormous amount.[2]

In addition to all of these agencies, public, private, and commercial, many factories have established recreational facilities in connection with their works, usually organized under the welfare department of the concern.[3] In a study by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics it was reported that in January, 1918, of 431 establishments in the United States studied by them 168, with a total of 838,000 employees, were providing recreational facilities. Of these 168, 40 per cent maintained playgrounds. It is probable that a great impetus to recreation in connection with industrial plants was given by the necessity of retaining men during the demand for labor in wartime.[4]

Influences of the War upon Recreation. The emphasis which was given to recreation in connection with camps and camp-cities drew attention in a most striking way to the claims of recreation as a preventive of immorality and crime.[5] Nothing could have advertised to the American people better the recreation program than the

[1] Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets,* New York, 1912, p. 6.

[2] *Cleveland Recreation Survey: A Community Recreation Program,* Cleveland, 1920, pp. 34-35.

[3] For a good description of recreation in connection with industry in Cleveland where the matter has been most carefully studied, see *Cleveland Recreation Survey: The Sphere of Private Agencies,* Cleveland, 1920, Chap. V.

[4] *American Year Book, 1918,* New York, 1919, p. 428.

[5] In 1917 out of 1,260 cities reporting to the Playground and Recreation Association of America only 7, 2 of which were in Canada, reported that the playground work had been discontinued, while 52 cities in that year inaugurated playground work. During the second year of the War, however, there were a

work done by the War Camp Community Service and kindred organizations in connection with training camps of the country and the camps of our soldiers over seas. What will be the effect of the experience of the soldiers and sailors in this recreation work upon the development of recreation in the communities to which they return remains to be seen. At the present time there seems to be an interest in the subject in many communities where none had existed before. The recreation program of Community Service, Inc., Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, and the Y. M. C. A. would indicate that the influence of the War was to increase interest in the recreation movement.

Churches and Schools. The social center movement in connection with public schools is another indication that the demand for recreation is finding a channel of expression. The growth of the community center movement, from the time when the Russell Sage Foundation published the book by Perry on the *Wider Use of the School Plant,* and when the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin placed on its staff an Adviser of Social Centers and promoted throughout the state of Wisconsin the establishment of social centers in the schools, to the present widespread interest throughout the country, has been continuous.

As the school has seen a revival of extra curriculum activities in the social center so the churches of the present day are beginning to see that the recreation interests of the children and adults are not foreign to their work. In the early history of our own country certain social activities in connection with churches furnished a species of recreation. That too few of them in the larger cities of the present time are giving attention to recreational activities is indicated by a study made in Cleveland published in 1920. Only half of the churches to which questionnaires were sent concerning their attitude toward recreation returned replies. Eighty of the 145 replying indicated their attitude toward recreation as a church function, and those favoring and those opposing were about equal in number. Says the survey, "Still a very meager list of all the churches shows any considerable number of play activities or facilities even of the kind which are easily supplied and regulated. Very few had developed a specialized personnel to attend to recreation." [1]

number of cities which discontinued the work owing to shortness of funds. However, in 1917 504 cities in the United States conducted playground work under leadership at an expenditure of $6,659,600. *Ibid.*, pp. 426-429.

[1] *Cleveland Recreation Survey: The Sphere of Private Agencies,* Cleveland, 1920, pp. 55-56.

The present stage of development of recreation in the United States is about as follows:

1. Commercial recreation is provided in all of our cities in the form of amusement and entertainment. Most of those attending are spectators rather than active participants. The forms which this commercialized recreation takes are chiefly professional baseball, movie theaters, pool and billiards, bowling, and dancing. The saloon has ceased to exist, the nearest substitutes being the parlor for soft drinks and the restaurant, which reach, however, quite a different class from that reached by the saloon.

2. Recreation by private agencies on a non-commercial basis is provided by innumerable clubs, settlements, private playground associations, golf clubs, card clubs, tennis clubs, lecture and musical clubs, etc.

3. Public provision for the recreation of the people is developing rapidly but has not yet been undertaken on any extensive scale except in the larger cities. In these places the recreation is becoming organized under more or less skilled leadership.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RECREATION

It has been claimed by the advocates of recreation that it promotes health and industrial efficiency; that it is a school of citizenship; that it cultivates democracy; that it is an educational agency; and that it prevents delinquency. Some of these claims have considerable basis in ascertained facts.

Relation to Health. It is generally assumed that recreation of every sort has a good effect upon health. The hypothesis that play is favorable to health rests, I think, upon the feelings of the people. Most people have experienced a feeling of rest and of well-being after play or other forms of recreation. It is possible that since play is the release of one's energies along the lines of race habit and since the expenditure of energy in this way is very much less than when we concentrate attention and strive to produce results in other ways, we experience a feeling of release and well-being which actually conduces to good health. All the studies thus far made, however, on the relation between recreation and health show only a high degree of probability. Corrective gymnastics are supposed to produce results among our university students, in our reformatories like Elmira, and in the army. How much of the good results is due to recreation and exercise and how much to regular hours and carefully regulated diet,

no one has definitely determined. There is evidence, however, that exercise promotes the activity of bodily functions and thus aids the process of waste elimination, quickens the circulation of the blood, aërates the blood through increased lung action and so conduces to a better state of bodily welfare.

Relation to Industrial Efficiency. It is said that recreation promotes industrial efficiency, because it promotes the re-creation of the organism's energies and produces a state of mind which is keen and alert. Again, life is made more attractive, and therefore men will covet efficiency in order to share more largely in a wholesome and happy life.[1] This claim is, however, as yet largely a faith, a faith held, however, by an increasing number of employers. There is, indeed, some scientific basis for the belief that whatever reduces fatigue promotes efficiency. Pauline Goldmark and others have shown the close relationships between fatigue and inefficiency.[2] If recreation relieves fatigue without a doubt it would have a beneficial effect upon the efficiency of the worker.

The Relation of Recreation to Citizenship. That play promotes good citizenship has been argued by a considerable number of the playground advocates, among them Joseph Lee and Victor Von Borosini. In the democratic play centers of our great cities the children of the foreigners and of the natives mingle together on the playground. The different nationalities on the playground learn to appreciate the good points in each other. If they play together their self-consciousness is curbed. Instead of scorn for the different classes, through play a common interest is developed. Says Borosini: "A certain amount of discipline is necessarily maintained at the playgrounds; self-consciousness cannot be indulged in, for everyone must have a chance. Bad habits, such as uncleanliness of mind and body, will disappear for fear of public exposure and scorn. The directors and social workers at the parks and recreation centers constantly try to improve the tone and standards of their patrons, young and old." [3]

Moreover, in play festivals where all nationalities and classes come together in the playground, as in the parks and field houses of Chicago, and all unite in a great festival, an appreciation of the other man's finer characteristics results.

[1] Braucher, "Play and Social Progress," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1910, p. 114.
[2] Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, New York, 1913, Chaps. IV, V, VI.
[3] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1910, p. 144.

Joseph Lee has suggestively outlined the way in which games promote good citizenship. In play the child is developing a social personality. Even the young child of two years playing with its mother is learning mutual intercourse and understanding, learning to subordinate his egoistic impulses to the wishes of another. A little later he enters into relationships with other children, learns to give and take. Through dramatic play in a circle of children or in a family he acquires the sense of "belonging." Playing mother or father, or teacher, he gains the sense of being a member of a family and of a democratic organization. Later still, comes a growth in self-assertion with confidence in his own powers, which is as necessary to good citizenship as to individual character. Through the contests to which this individualization brings the child in play with his fellows he comes to see that contest must yield to compromise, that for a game to be a success each must subordinate his individual wishes to the common end. Rules of the game then begin to appear and legislative functions develop through play. In the group games the individual comes to participate in a common purpose. The glory of the team triumphs over personal glory. He participates in a feeling of common responsibility and develops a feeling for the whole team. Says Lee, "The sport that best combines team play with the sense of rhythm is rowing in a crew. I wonder whether it is a coincidence that the democratic nations of the world have been the rowing nations?" Would that we knew.

At a certain stage of development in a boy the gang impulse appears. At first loyalty to the gang is the primary product. If this is wisely directed it develops into loyalty to even wider circles—the league of gangs, the community, the city and the state. In his games he learns these wider relationships and loyalties which make for good citizenship.[1]

These generalizations rest not upon scientific statistical studies but upon general observation. They probably contain a good deal of truth, but their verification demands further study.

Relation of Play to Democracy. The playground is superior to both the home and the school in that while in the home and the school, if control in the interest of a common purpose is *enforced,* the child cannot leave, while he may leave the playground. If he remains on the playground, therefore, he controls his personal wishes for the sake of coöperation. He develops self-control, not passive obedience. Self-control is necessary in a democracy as in no other form of society.

[1] "Play as a School of the Citizen," *Charities,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 486-491.

We have developed agencies of helpfulness like associated charities, trade unions and employers' associations unique in number and in power. We have a wider education than any people has ever known. We have made material progress such as the world has never seen. We are dependent upon others as no previous civilization has been. Political autocracy has decreased. Yet we have the exploitation of the many by the few. We have controlled mob action which is a menace to orderly government. Why? Because we have not learned self-control. Free play, in which self-control develops naturally, supplies the training necessary to real democracy. Properly managed a playground brings together different races, individuals with unlike capacities, personalities with opposed desires, and teaches them to coöperate in the pursuit of a common pleasure. It widens the sympathies, enlarges appreciation of the new and strange, forges ties of friendship and develops ethical standards, in an atmosphere of free association in common activities. Says Gulick, "Democracy must thus provide not only a seat and instruction for every child in the school, but also play and good play traditions for every child in a playground. Without the development of these social instincts, without the growing of the social conscience—which has its roots in the early activities of the playground—we cannot expect adults to possess those higher feelings which rest upon the earlier social virtues developed during childhood. The sand-pile for the small child, the playground for the middle-sized child, the athletic field for the boy, folk dancing and social ceremonial life for the boy and girl in the teens, wholesome means of social relationships during adult life—these are fundamental conditions without which democracy cannot continue, because upon them rests the development of that self-control which is related to an appreciation of the needs of the rest of the group and of the corporate conscience, which is rendered necessary by the complex interdependence of modern life." [1]

Relation of Recreation to the Educational Process. Play is an educational process. Students of the play function have pointed out that among primitive peoples play was one of the most important methods of education. They point to the ceremonies, religious dances, initiation events, festivals, etc., in connection with which were inculcated the ideals of the tribe; that among the ancient Greeks a great part of the process of formal education went on through the organized games. A very small part of the time was given to what we now call

[1] "Play and Democracy," *Charities*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 481-486.

education, and a considerable part to athletic exercise. Says Johnson: "The teachers of Athens were to a notable extent play leaders and these leaders must have realized that they were essentially moral leaders also, for a recognized end of the Athenian education was manhood. When the Greek youth came up for his final examination at the end of his schooling, the examination was in manhood, and the degree conferred was that of man, term in Greek synonymous with hero." [1]

Education may be either conscious or unconscious. In a sense all conscious action is education. In that case education is an incident of the activity. Says Robinson: "Such education gleaned from the parks is that which makes for broader public sympathy and wider interests, for finer appreciation of the good things of life; is that education which opens the public's eyes and ears to the beauty which surrounds them, which makes us less of the animal and more of the man, richer through the development of the resources within ourselves." [2]

Recently the Cleveland survey has attacked directly the problem of the educational value of the use of spare time. Professor Bonser of Columbia made a careful study of the use to which spare time is put by about 15,000 children in public and private schools of Cleveland, and schools for delinquents. On the basis of 500,000 facts collected from these children and about 300 men and women employees under 30 years of age, he found that the accelerant children were distinguished from the retarded children not in the amount but in the kinds of recreation each class respectively pursued. Those ahead-grade used leisure time in activities having a schoolish tinge, such as reading, going to the library and museum, while the behind-grade school children showed more constructive, experimental, adventurous tendencies. More of them worked during spare time and more of them were occupied with undirected time-consuming activities. In other words, there was found a concomitant or side-by-side variation between school progress and the kind of recreation in which the children engaged. By certain tests the endeavor was made to ascertain whether this variation was really causal or the result of a common cause outside of either school or recreation. Therefore examination to ascertain the mental ability of a considerable number of the children was made in order to ascertain whether school progress was affected by that factor. It was found that over one-half of the accelerant

[1] "The Fighting Instinct and Its Place in Life," *The Survey*, Vol. XXXV pp. 243, 246.

[2] Robinson, "Educational Value of Public Recreation Facilities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1910, pp. 134-140.

children were below median ability while half of the retarded children were above median ability. Moreover, in order to ascertain whether home conditions as indicated by the occupation of the father was the cause of the acceleration or retardation, a careful study was made of the matter and it was found that these circumstances did not modify the conclusions as to the close relationship between the kinds of activities engaged in and relative school progress.[1]

The Relation of Recreation to the Prevention of Delinquency and the Production of Wholesome Citizens. For some time it has been suspected that proper recreation was an important means for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. In 1907 Caroline Bergen, as a probation officer in a juvenile court, from her observation in connection with that work, came to an appreciation of the value of play for this purpose.[2] In 1908 Mr. Allen T. Burns, then dean of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, on the basis of a study of the effects of the Chicago playgrounds from records which the juvenile court supplied indicated that the influence of the *large* parks upon juvenile delinquency was negative.[3] On the other hand, the influence of the *small* playgrounds—seven of which were considered—on juvenile delinquency between 1900 and 1907, he found that, while in the city as a whole the decrease of juvenile delinquency amounted to 18 per cent. the decrease within a radius of one quarter of a mile of the small parks was 24 per cent. Considering the areas in which the playgrounds were possibly effective he says: "It appears juvenile delinquency has decreased 24 per cent in those areas while delinquency for the whole city decreased only 18 per cent." He concluded that the small parks with playgrounds seemed to show not only an influence in preventing juvenile delinquency but in securing better results in the after-care of juvenile delinquents who had been to court.[4]

In 1916 the Cleveland Recreation Survey, under the direction of

[1] *Cleveland Recreation Survey:* Bonser, *School Work and Spare Time,* Cleveland, 1918, p. 134-135. See also *Cleveland Recreation Survey: Community Recreation Program,* Chap. II.

[2] "Relation of Play to Juvenile Delinquency," *Charities,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 562, 565.

[3] The figures studied showed that while for the whole city in 39 per cent of the cases under the care of the court the treatment was successful. The percentage of successful cases within one mile of each of the six large parks was 46 per cent. Unable to isolate from other factors the influence of the parks upon the delinquent children, Mr. Burns concluded that it was impossible to say whether the parks had any decisive influence on juvenile delinquency or not.

[4] "Relation of Playgrounds to Juvenile Delinquency," *Charities,* Vol. XXI, pp. 25, 31.

Mr. Allen T. Burns, attempted to ascertain more precisely what is the relation between the use of spare time and character. Two studies were made, one on the relation of the use made of spare time to delinquency, the other on the relation of the use of spare time to good citizenship. These two supplemented each other, and provided a comparison between the spare-time activities of delinquents and of good citizens.

Mr. Thurston's study showed that while there is no factor always present in delinquency cases, there is a connection between delinquency and the habitual uses of spare time in three-fourths of the cases. On comparing his delinquent and the "wholesome citizen" it was found that while the delinquent used over 50 per cent of his spare time in desultory, unguided pursuits, the "wholesome citizen" as a child had used only seven-tenths of one per cent of his spare time in such ways. The study showed clearly that the boys and girls who went wrong did so because there was no adequate provision made for the constructive use of their leisure time. It showed also the close connection between delinquency and the use of the gullies and railroad yards which intervene between the homes on the bluffs and the boys' natural playground, the river and the lake. In those gullies and in the railroad yards, whither he had gone in search of adventure, the boy found the hoboes, who told to him "wonderful" stories of adventure on the road, thieving, vice, and crime, which incited him to crime. There he found the junk heaps from which he gathered the spoils which brought him spending money. Near them were the cars in which were valuables and the tracks along which was found the scrap iron, both of which could be converted into money. To these places of temptation he went because nearer home there were no places with similar appeals to his desire for adventure.

A similar perversion of natural desires was to be seen in the adult delinquents. The girls studied had not started out to do wrong, but to have a good time. In their quest for adventure and for the pleasure denied them in their homes or rooming places, or in their places of business, they found it in the associations to be made in dance halls. Said one of these girls, "All of us girls like to get out once in a while. We can't entertain company where we live because we only room there and have no place, anyway we can have more fun outside." No place to play, but places where temptation lurked! Immorality was the price these starved lives ultimately paid for the desire to "have a good time" to satisfy that passion to associate with

others in the activities which we call play.[1] In the places where they could find companions there were no wholesome influences, hence they went wrong.

My study attempted to ascertain what was the nature of the play life of 160 representative citizens of Cleveland from their childhood up to the time the study was begun. These 160 were chosen because they were "wholesome" people and represented fairly all classes of the population in that heterogeneous population. Out of this study came the facts that (1) their play life had been in childhood and youth rich and varied, (2) the opportunities for play had been ample in their own homes and in their immediate neighborhoods, (3) that they had enjoyed in their play wholesome leadership and (4) that their games had been, in contrast to those of Thurston's delinquents, not of the desultory, but of the constructive sort such as had engaged their active interest and participation.[2]

No studies have been made comparable to these in showing the close connection between the use of spare time and the development of character. They also threw a flood of light on the way in which recreation influences children and youth, and on the kinds of recreation which are constructive. They show that recreation is strongest for good or evil in the opportunity which it affords for the exercise of personal influences.[3]

A SOCIALIZED RECREATION PROGRAM

On the basis of our knowledge concerning recreation we may tentatively suggest a recreation program adapted to the production of good citizenship and so to the prevention of poverty and dependency.

Whenever possible a great deal of recreation should be provided for in the home. For young children such provision is imperative. At once, however, it becomes necessary that provision should be made whereby the proper persons shall have charge of it. If the mother cannot give the time necessary to develop the play life of her children she must have the opportunity to select the child's playmates. In congested sections of great cities, of course, this is almost impossible after the children become 8 or 10 years of age. In the country and in smaller villages if parents are awake to the importance of play and

[1] Thurston, *Delinquency and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918, Chaps. IV, VII.
[2] *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*, Cleveland, 1918.
[3] No studies have yet been made which show a direct connection between recreation and poverty and dependency.

know how to direct it, proper leadership can be provided either by themselves or by the selection of the child's playmates. The Cleveland study on *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time* showed that the most potent influence in childhood was other children. It is important, therefore, that the right kind of children be selected as playmates.

In tenement districts where play at home is impossible, after the children are able to leave the apartments, the city must make provision for play opportunities under competent leadership near enough to where the children live that they may take advantage of them. Because of the costliness of providing playgrounds in congested parts of the great cities, resort has been had to setting off certain streets as playgrounds. This provision is a makeshift, but is very much better than a busy traffic street with the hazard to child life and without competent direction.

All of our cities should at once make provision for small playgrounds scattered about where children live so that they may have opportunity to play. For adults and for children larger areas are necessary in order that they may have opportunity to express themselves among natural conditions such as were provided for our ancestors. Trees and water are necessary to give opportunity for indulgence in old race habits which form so great a part of recreation. So far as possible every lake front and every river bank should be a playground. Provision should be made for swimming, boating, and group games, both for children and adults.

More important than any of these physical conditions is the necessary leadership. While the leadership should not result in autocratic control and thus destroy the freedom characteristic of recreation, it should be suggestive and result in constructive activities. Under the impetus of open-eyed, expert leadership a large number of volunteer leaders of clubs, such as hiking clubs, skating clubs, and other groups engaged in physical exercise, may be interested in stimulating large numbers of people to use the available facilities.

We must endeavor to popularize active participation in play. Baseball and football, our two great national games, provide entertainment. There is some relaxation to be sure for the spectators in seeing a game, but as Dr. Luther Gulick has said, "If our boys are going to learn team play; if they are going to acquire the habit of subordinating selfish to group interests, they must learn these things through *experience*, and not from books or the 'bleachers' maintained by professional baseball. Such moral development comes only through activities which

are pursued with spontaneous and passionate enthusiasm."[1] All sorts of organized play in which each takes a part will supply this need.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Recreation in the rural districts. Curtiss, *Play and Recreation,* Boston, 1914, Part III.
2. The need of recreation in the city. Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets,* New York, 1912, Chaps. I, IV; Bowen, *Safeguards for City Youth at Work and at Play,* New York, 1914, Chap. II.
3. Recreation and Education. Johnson, *Education through Recreation: Cleveland Education Survey,* 1916; Bonser, *School Work and Spare Time: Cleveland Recreation Survey,* 1918.
4. Public recreation. Haynes and Davies, *Public Provision for Recreation: Cleveland Recreation Survey,* 1918; *A Community Recreation Program: Cleveland Recreation Survey,* 1918.

[1] *Popular Recreation and Public Morality,* American Unitarian Society, Social Service Series, Bulletin No. 10, Boston, p. 15.

CHAPTER XXXV

SOCIALIZED RELIGION

IN primitive society religion is a social product. The primitive man knows little of the nature of the world in the midst of which he lives. Harassed by the fear of unknown powers he began to interpret these unknown forces in terms of what he knew of human beings. He attributed to the forces of nature which he feared, traits of human personality, but conceived them as mightier and subtler than men. As he developed social relations, his conception of these beings or this being was in ever more complex terms. Moreover, since the practical question was how to come to terms with these forces, he invented devices of appeasing them analogous to the methods he used in placating other men.[1]

HISTORIC RELIGION AND SOCIAL REFORM

It would be worth while to study the more important religions and notice the relation of each to social reform. But since space does not permit, we shall confine our attention to the Hebrew and Christian religions.

Early Hebrew Religion and Social Conditions. The early Hebrew religion concerned itself with social relationships—the regulation of the family, the protection of women and children, subordination of children to parents, the modification of private revenge within the tribe, and many others. The Hebrews were a desert people and therefore their social relationships were rather simple. Consequently the social features of the legislation in the earliest Hebrew codes we have are comparatively simple. Moreover, since religion was believed to be the most important means of securing social welfare, these codes concern themselves chiefly with the relationship of the tribe to its god, Jahveh.

The Hebrew Prophets and Social Questions. With the settle-

[1] For a much more extended study of the social origin of religion see Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology,* New York, 1915, Chap. XII.

ment, however, of the Hebrew tribes in the land of Canaan and the development of agriculture and commerce, the social relationships became more complex. New problems arose which had to be solved. Hence, in the days of the great writing prophets, like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, religion received a social emphasis altogether unique. A large part of this emphasis grew out of the development of new social classes consequent on the rise of commercialism among a hitherto pastoral and agricultural people. Since they had had no experience in regulating these relationships between the rich and the poor, the noble and the peasant, serious problems of injustice and heartlessness arose. These prophets saw clearly that the ancient tribal solidarity was threatened. Since religion was interwoven with the ideas of tribal welfare, they challenged in the name of religion the injustices which had appeared and demanded that the rich consider the welfare of their less fortunate brethren. Space will not permit more than a very brief citation of examples.

Amos, in condemning the social injustice in Israel, threatens the punishment of Jahveh on the nation "because they have sold the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes." [1]

He describes them as those "who store up violence and robbery in their palaces," [2] "who turn justice to wormwood, and leave off righteousness in the earth," [3] and who "trample upon the poor and take exactions from him of wheat." [4] In contrast to the people's belief that ceremonial sacrifices are pleasing to their God, Amos represents Him as saying: "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them! neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let justice run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." [5] He condemns those in unsparing words, who "would swallow up the needy and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit? That we may buy the

[1] Amos 2: 6.
[2] Amos 3: 10.
[3] Amos 5: 7.
[4] Amos 5: 11.
[5] Amos 5: 21-24.

poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes; yea, and sell the refuse of the wheat?" [1]

Hosea likewise connects their historic worship of Jahveh with his demand for social justice. He represents Jahveh as saying: "For I desire goodness and not sacrifice and a knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." He charges that "there is no truth, nor goodness, nor knowledge of God in the land. There is nothing but swearing, and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery. They break out and blood toucheth blood." [2]

Isaiah describes the Judeans as a "sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it." [3] He represents Jahveh as saying: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. . . . Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." [4]

Micah sums up in the most succinct form imaginable his conception of the social nature of the Hebrew religion. He represents the Israelite who is seeking to find peace with his God as saying: "Wherewith shall I come before Jahveh, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" And the prophet answers him: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what does Jahveh require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" [5]

[1] Amos 8: 4-6.
[2] Hos. 4: 2.
[3] Is. 1: 4-6.
[4] Is. 1: 11-17.
[5] Mic. 6: 6-8.

Religion and Social Problems in Post-Exilic Judaism. The destruction of the Hebrew kingdoms, and the Babylonian exile, impressed some of these lessons deeply upon the thought of those who remained faithful to their ancestral religion. However, in the 500 years between the return from exile and the beginning of the Christian era there developed in the Jewish people an intense and fanatical devotion to certain elements of their religion—elements not closely connected with social justice. Ground between the upper and nether millstones of the great nations struggling for supremacy in western Asia, the Jewish people and their religion survived only by intense devotion to their God. As a result of this concentration upon faithfulness to Jahveh in the days of persecution, questions of justice among themselves were sometimes ignored. Consequently, the priestly and scribal religion which developed through the Persian, Greek and early Roman periods showed strange departures from the social ideals of the prophets we have just cited. Under Roman domination the old religious isolation had been broken down. Commerce had spread everywhere in the wake of Alexander's conquests and had developed under the Roman rule. This created a new and critical situation for the religious leaders who were endeavoring to preserve the Jewish religion from contamination by Hellenism. The religious observances prescribed by the religious leaders had for their aim the isolation of the Jews from the influence of other ideas. Since, however, most of the people were engaged in commerce and therefore had to come in contact with Gentiles, it was quite impossible for them to observe the ceremonies which the Jewish leaders had set up as a wall of protection. Consequently, the Pharisees despised the common people for not knowing the law.[1]

John the Baptist and Jesus on Social Relations. John the Baptist and Jesus gave a fresh emphasis to social religion. The message of John the Baptist was a call to repentance and to "fruits worthy of repentance." In answer to the inquiries of the multitude as to what they must do he said: "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise." To the collectors of Roman taxes he replied: "Exact no more than that which is appointed you"; to the soldiers who were moved to inquire what they must do: "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages."[2]

[1] John 7:49.
[2] Luke 3:8-14.

Jesus challenged the whole unsocial and sometimes antisocial attitude of the religious leaders of the Judaism of his day. He conceived his mission in social terms. Returning from the temptation in the wilderness to His home in Nazareth He went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day. When He was asked to read the lesson for the day He chose the passage from Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." [1] In order that those who heard Him should understand that these were his marching orders He said: "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

Moreover, His whole ministry was a ministry of social helpfulness. By His activities he demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that He understood this Messianic passage from Isaiah in a literal fashion. How large a part of the record of His ministry is a record of good deeds, the relief of suffering, the bringing of hope to the hopeless, inspiration to those who had been crushed by the social evils of their day! His voice is ever raised against the oppressor and for the oppressed. The bitterest words which fell from His lips were uttered against those who "bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers," who by casuistry had prompted the son to give the money wherewith he should have supported his old parents to the temple and then excused him for his unfilial conduct; and who "pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law—justice, mercy, and faith"; who "make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within are full of extortion and excess"; and who "build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous," and then persecute and crucify the prophets of their own day.[2]

Furthermore, when challenged by the disciples of John with the question as to whether He was the one whom John proclaimed as Messiah, what was His answer? Not argument; but, referring to what they had seen Him doing, he said: "Go and tell John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and

[1] Luke 4: 18-19.
[2] Matt. 23: 4-36.

the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them." [1]

Finally, in His picture of the last judgment the criterion He gave which determined the fate of those who were brought before the judge was whether they had fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, taken in the stranger, clothed the naked, visited the sick and prisoners.[2] Not theological doctrines, not ceremonial observance were the burden of His message, but unselfish service to one's fellows—doing justice, showing mercy, succoring the unfortunate.

Pre-Reformation Christianity and Social Reform. In a previous chapter reference was made to the charitable activities of the early Christians. Their concern for the poor and their widespread charity for those in distress, such as prisoners, widows, and orphans, have been cited. It is sufficient here to indicate that while Christianity in its 2000 years of history has sometimes failed to emphasize, as did Jesus and Paul, the fundamental principles of social righteousness, it has been, nevertheless, one of the most important agencies in social reform in the world. Not only did the church establish great Christian charities for the relief of the helpless, but during the Middle Ages the monasteries were refuges for the poor, the suffering, the widow, and the orphan. In the disturbed conditions of society in those days, these Christian institutions were the one universal refuge for the oppressed of Western Europe. While Kingsley's description of them may be somewhat idealized, nevertheless, there is truth in what he says: "And out of these monasteries what did not spring? They restored again and again sound law and just government; under their shadows sprang up towns with their corporate rights, their middle classes, and their artists. . . . While they taught men to note they had a common humanity, a common Father in Heaven, they taught them also to profit by one another's wisdom, instead of remaining in isolated ignorance. They, too, were the great witnesses against the feudal cause. With them was neither high born nor low born nor rich nor poor." [3]

Through the religious orders developed, during the Middle Ages, the church was the educator of society. These orders introduced scientific farming, they built roads, they drained swamps, they were the patrons of art and painting. In these organizations were supplied

[1] Matt. 11: 4-6.
[2] Matt. 25: 31-46.
[3] Cutting, *The Church and Society,* New York, 1912, p. 6.

many of the features of a modern free democracy. Along with the aristocratic element in the organization of the church and in the religious orders, there was an element of democracy which finally expressed itself in Luther's revolt. It was the democratic element which challenged the abuse of power by kings and princes and prelates. It is significant that in this revolt the appeal was chiefly to Jesus and Paul.

Attitude of Reformation and Post-Reformation Christianity to Social Justice. The Protestant Revolt was at bottom a reaction against social injustice. Many were the good Catholics who sympathized with the early efforts of Luther to reform abuses.[1] The social and economic conditions affecting especially the peasants in Western Europe were bad. The spark which set the Reformation under Luther into activity was his reaction against social abuses. While ostensibly the cause was a theological one, as a matter of fact the exploitation of the German peoples by the Pope at Rome was the subject of Luther's fulminations. He charges that the Pope lived in worldly pomp; that he exalted himself above the secular authorities; that cardinals were appointed in order to get the rich convents, endowments, fiefs, and benefices into the hands of Rome, so that even Italy, which he cites as an example of what Germany may expect, was almost a desert. Convents were destroyed, sees consumed, the revenues of the prelacies and of all the churches drawn to Rome. Towns were decayed, the country and people were ruined because the cardinals were used to draw thither the wealth of Europe. He charges that they are beginning the same process in Germany. Said he: "They begin by taking off the cream of the bishoprics, convents, and fiefs."[2] He exclaims, "What has brought us Germans to such a pass that we have to suffer this robbery and this destruction of our property by the Pope?"[3] He said that there were more than 3,000 papal secretaries alone, besides many other office bearers, all waiting for German benefices. He thought that Germany then paid more to the Pope than it formerly paid the emperors. Yet for all of this the Italians heaped nothing but shame upon the Germans. He says: "Do we still wonder why princes, noblemen, cities, foundations, convents, and people are

[1] See Luther, "Address to the Christian Nobility," Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, Philadelphia, 1885, pp. 15-92; Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1900, Vol. III, p. 25.
[2] Luther, *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

poor? We should rather wonder that we have anything left to eat." [1] In short, the chief charge laid by Luther against the Roman *curia*, whether it be true or false, was that instead of shepherding, it robbed the German people.[2]

While there is no doubt that Luther thus endeavored to secure the support of the German nobility by calling attention to the popish limitations upon the temporal power of the Emperor and the princes, and by appealing to the patriotism of the German people as against the foreigner, it is also true that the economic exploitation of the Christians of Germany by the Pope and the alleged expenditure of the money upon luxurious living by the Court of Rome, created great unrest among the Germans. The social conditions were so bad among the peasants that under the incitement of the gospel of freedom the Peasants' War occurred. Says Moeller, "Disturbances among the peasants had already commenced decades before the Reformation in which the religious question of the latter had no share at all. The condition and treatment of the peasants living in serfdom just in the territories of the church are in great measure responsible for them. . . . The end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century had already witnessed numerous explosions among the peasants and in the townships, but all of strictly limited area." [3]

Referring to the twelve articles of the peasantry, the foundation of the Peasants' War, Moeller says: "These articles put in front of an agrarian economic program the demands, that the congregation should be allowed to exercise the right of choosing and dismissing their ministers, since they are in need of 'pure' preaching of the Gospel, and that the tithe which they further are willing to give, should be appropriated by the congregation itself to the support of the parson, the maintenance of the poor, and as a reserve fund for the needs of the country. Also the succeeding socio-economic demands of their program at the same time appeared with a religious coloring, as founded on the Bible." [4]

James Harvey Robinson, speaking of this manifesto of the peasants, says that while it clearly shows the influence of Luther's teachings, "yet the revolt cannot be attributed to him, but rather to the general social and economic conditions which had produced a number of similar disturbances earlier." They demanded that they should be freed

[1] Luther, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-92.
[3] Moeller, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1900, Vol. III, p. 66.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

from serfdom; that they be relieved of the prohibition to fish and hunt and use the game for sustenance; that those who have game preserves should give them up unless they have acquired them by purchase; that the appropriation of the wood by the nobility should be done away with so that the poor folks could have the chance to cut wood; that the excessive services demanded of them, which they charged had been increased from day to day, should be lessened, and "that some gracious consideration be given us"; that the lord should not further oppress them, but that a just and proper agreement should be made between the lord and the peasant; that the holdings from which an exorbitant rent was exacted should have their rent readjusted "so that the people shall not work for nothing"; that they should be relieved from the burden of new and offensive laws, and be judged according to the old written law, "so that the case shall be decided according to its merits and not with partiality"; that meadows and fields which had been appropriated by individuals, but which had once belonged to the community, should be given back to them. In case they had been rightfully purchased, "some brotherly arrangement should be made according to circumstances"; and that the heriot should be abolished so that widows and orphans would not be shamefully robbed by means of it.[1] It was a struggle between the alien aristocracy and the inherent democracy of the Church.

In the post-Reformation period the same struggle was repeated. The state churches were compromised by their connection with the aristocratic ruling classes. The sects and an active minority in some of the state churches kept alive the agitation for justice. Writing of some of the sects, Rauschenbusch says, "We are accustomed to speak of the latter group as evangelical sects. . . . It is much closer to history to say that they were the first stirrings of Christian democracy, expressions of lay religion and working-class ethics. They heralded the religious awakening of the common people and their cry for the Reign of God on earth."[2]

Evaluation of the Social Influence of Religion. There have been times when both the Jewish and the Christian religions have quite forgotten their social functions. They have represented the exploiting, selfish, unfraternal attitude of society rather than the brotherly, pitiful, helpful attitude which the great prophets of Judaism and of Christianity promulgated. Again and again, however, in the history of both

[1] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Boston, 1906, Vol. II, pp. 94-99.
[2] *Christianizing the Social Order*, New York, 1919, p. 83.

Judaism and Christianity the social implications of religion have been voiced by prophetic souls. They have called the church from its selfishness to its social function. The cause of the poor and the oppressed has been pleaded by its representatives. It has built institutions for the care of the unfortunate in every age. While sometimes it has stood with the exploiters of the poor and the helpless and has even urged in some cases the acquiescence of the poor in their poverty and misery, pleading that God would reward them in the next world for their suffering in this, we must not forget that there have been other times when the church's voice has been unmistakably raised against the oppression of the helpless and the exploitation of the weak. This voice of protest it has raised sometimes when it meant turning the church against its own leaders and its most influential members.

Hence, when it is charged on the one hand that the church has abetted the oppression of the weak, only half the truth is told. When, on the other hand, the church is lauded to the skies as the protector of the poor, its failures are left out of sight. A just judgment recognizes the truth of both these statements. At certain periods the church has seemed to acquiesce in everything foreign to the genius of its Founder, and has sought to quiet the angry protests of outraged weakness. At other times the voice of the representatives of the church has been raised in the most effective protests against wrong in high places.

On the other hand, in certain periods it has glorified selfish almsgiving, and made begging a saintly virtue. Too often it has demoralized the poor by indiscriminate giving and for gifts condoned the sins of the rich and powerful; its leaders frequently have been the beneficiaries of oppression of the working people.

It is clear that the fundamentals of Prophetic Judaism and of Christianity are those of justice between class and class and between individuals. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man lie at the base of both. The Prophets of Israel and Judah conceived of just relationships in a coming state, at first in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, later in a Messianic kingdom, and then in the days of Jesus in an ideal society called the Kingdom of God. "Ye knew that they who are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you; but whosoever would become great among you shall be servant of all." [1] That was the teaching of the Founder of Christianity. The

[1] Mark 10: 42-44.

disciples were to pray, "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is done in heaven."[1] With such principles as the *Magna Carta* of the social interpretation of Christianity there is no doubt that the Church should endeavor to face frankly and earnestly the social problems.

These principles do not conflict with nor supplant economic and political methods of establishing the right, but enlist the religious motives of men to secure economic, political, and social justice.

The Kingdom of God and the Problems of Poverty and Dependency. The trouble with religion in the past is that too often it has lost its social basis. The Hebrew Prophets attached their teachings to an ideal kingdom. With Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, their religion expressed itself in terms of an intense patriotism. Believing that the religion of Jahveh, their ancestral god, was closely connected with the welfare of the nation, they preached social justice because only by each individual and each class controlling his selfish impulses in the interest of every member of the group could the nation survive. The danger they foresaw in the growing might of Assyria was immeasurably increased by the weakness of Israel and Judah because of the destruction of their social solidarity through the exploitation of the weak by the strong. Social injustice was rampant, and consequently in the face of the enemy Israel was weak. The rulers and rich exploited the common people; the ancient religious sanctions to conduct were weakened; the more numerous exploited had nothing to fight for, for those who should have been their protectors despoiled them. Instead of a firm faith in Jahveh in the face of impending danger noble and peasant, rich and poor, had lost faith in each other and in their god. Patriotism was dead with the religion which was its root.[2]

After the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian Exile, the dream of a restored kingdom under God arose, a kingdom more glorious than ever because God would raise up a new king different from those who had led them astray and would give the people a new heart and place His Spirit among them to lead them in ways of righteousness.[3] Gradually there grew up the dream of a King-Messiah, who would be all that their former kings had failed to be.[4] These hopes were to be realized in a kingdom of justice. Through the disappoint-

[1] Matt. 6: 10.
[2] Hos. 2: 14-20; 11: 1-4; Amos 2: 6-8; 3: 13-15; 4: 4, 5; 6: 1-6; Is. 1: 2-17, 24-28.
[3] Ez. Chaps. 36, 37, 43.
[4] Is. 42: 1-4.

ing years following the Restoration, that hope of a God-given Annointed One who should restore the kingdom sustained a heart-sick people.[1] At the opening of the Christian era the Pharisees cherished that hope of a Messianic kingdom with burning expectancy. Some of them held that if the Law were perfectly observed one day the Messiah would come. The pious poor people waited for the consolation of Israel.[2] The account of the Temptation of Jesus shows unmistakable evidence of the crassness of some of these hopes.[3]

The conception of a Messianic kingdom Jesus held. The vigor with which He held it, together with His belief that He was called to be the Messiah and to establish this kingdom, accounts for the intensity of his struggle in the Temptation. He refused to accept the crude political and magical beliefs current in His time about the nature of the kingdom and the Messiah.[4] He conceived of it as a spiritual kingdom. Its fundamental principle was brotherhood under God as a father. Its membership was made up of those who accepted the principle of brotherhood as an active principle in their social relations.[5] His kingdom was not of this world in the sense of being in nature like the other kingdoms in existence.[6] Yet, it was among the people then living.[7] It began as a small thing and grew by natural stages until it became great.[8] It spread as leaven through meal.[9] It developed as a plant, first the stalk, then the ear, and then the fully developed grain.[10] The members had a helpful attitude towards others.[11] Its standards were not forms and ceremonies, not correct theological doctrines, but social attitudes.[12] Justice, kindness and faith were the characteristics of its members.[13] It was concerned with the welfare of little children and lost women, with men who were the victims of a vicious economic system.[14] The only harsh words He spoke were concerning those religious leaders who had per-

[1] Psalms of Solomon, 17:36; 18:6, 8.
[2] Luke 2:25, 24:21.
[3] Luke 4:33.
[4] Luke 4:5-13.
[5] Luke 6:27-38, 46; 22:24-26.
[6] Jno. 18:36.
[7] Luke 17:20, 21.
[8] Matt. 13:31, 32.
[9] Matt. 13:33.
[10] Mark 4:26-29.
[11] Luke 9:1-6.
[12] Matt. 23:1-36.
[13] Matt. 23:23.
[14] Luke 18:15-17; Matt. 19:3-12; Luke 7:36-50; 19:1-10.

verted religion to selfish purposes.[1] His kingdom meant that just and kindly human relationships were placed above wealth and position.[2] It signified fraternity in the economic as well as other relations of life.[3] While it cannot be said that Jesus outlined any plan for the prevention of poverty and destitution, the fundamental principles he laid down concerning men's relations in the Kingdom of God imply preventive efforts. Those principles cut to the root of selfishness. They resolve class consciousness and class struggle into consideration for the welfare of the whole group and an endeavor to secure justice and opportunity for all. These principles, therefore, have a bearing upon the problem of poverty and dependency. They determine a pitiful and wise treatment of the poor and the destitute. They inspire adequate provisions for those who are the victims of misfortune and circumstance. As exemplified in His whole ministry, they teach the healing of the bodies and minds of men. They incite to honest labor, and to consideration of one's duty to his fellows, be they rich or poor. Through His example of preaching the gospel of hope and better living to all, Jesus certainly gave warrant to effort in a democracy to secure an adjustment of legislation and administration in the interest of a decent living and an abundant life.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION AND ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL WELFARE

It is difficult to generalize concerning the present attitude of religious organizations to social problems. Some organizations center their attention upon the life hereafter; others upon present social relations. Jew and Christian alike vary from congregation to congregation, and within the Christian church from denomination to denomination. They differ in their attitude toward fundamental democracy. The Protestant Church of Germany, for example, was a bulwark for the autocracy of the German Empire. Catholicism in Spain stood behind the despotism of that monarchy in the days of its strength.

On the other hand, in America the churches usually have been a bulwark of political democracy. Such studies as have been made, however, indicate that, as a whole, the Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are not concerned primarily with political reform, industrial questions, or social problems. The subjects of the sermons announced in our city papers do not indicate that a great amount of

[1] Matt. 23: 1-36.
[2] Matt. 19: 16-24; Luke 12: 13-15.
[3] Luke 16: 19-31.

attention is given by the Christian pulpit to the fundamental problems of the betterment of society. They are concerned rather with matters that touch either the hereafter or the duty of the Christian to live a pious and godly life, or to support the church. Often they are vague and without particular reference to conditions which touch the masses. So far as they are ethical at all, they concern themselves chiefly with the common decencies and customary honesty of individuals.

On the whole, the churches are "sidestepping" the social problems of the day. This is the more strange because Christianity is one of the causes of our social problems. The messages of Jesus and of the Hebrew Prophets have made people conscious of the wrongfulness of evil conditions. For example, Christianity was introduced into the Roman Empire where slavery flourished, and where the subjugation of women was an age-long phenomenon. The teaching of Jesus that "One is your Father, and all ye are brethren" was a doctrine which was bound to blast the institution of slavery. The teaching of Paul that "in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, bond or free" struck at the very foundation of these two subjections. While drunkenness held sway probably for thousands of years before either Isaiah or Paul thundered against it, it was not able to survive the new ethical impulse which the words of these courageous men stimulated.

Moreover, the lot of labor would be no "problem" were it not for the diffusion of the ideals of brotherhood in the Hebrew and Christian religions.

So with many other problems which perplex us. If religion is in part the cause of these problems, it cannot evade responsibility of their solution.[1]

1. **The Church and the Labor Problem.** One of the most perplexing problems is that of the relation between the laborer and his employer. It cannot be solved without the ideals of religion. If men are brothers, and One is their common Father, then the exploitation of one by another cannot continue without violence to that doctrine. Workmen cannot slight their work, employers cannot treat their workmen as they would not wish to be treated themselves. Men cannot be eye-servants, as Paul long ago said, if they are Christians, and masters must consider those who work for them with brotherly compassion and treat them justly, if we are all the children of God.[2]

[1] Commons, *Social Reform in the Church,* New York, 1894, pp. 8-10.
[2] Eph. 6: 5-9. Tim. 6: 1 and 2.

There cannot be a solution of this problem by the mere balancing of the selfish interests of opposing classes. Legislation is good, but without the appeal of a great religious ideal legislation is bound to fail. In the hearts of men the Christian ideal of brotherhood and of service must be established and the Golden Rule must reach farther within a man than the lips before labor and capital, both alike often selfish, both alike capable of mutual consideration, can be brought together in harmonious production. What waste is involved in our present methods of appeal to self-interest! Strikes and lockouts occur, suffering of large numbers results, both of the laborers and the consuming public, while investors suffer, all because religion has not permeated with its ethical ideals the relationships of men.

This doctrine is not new, nor is it confined to religious teachers and sociologists. As long ago as 1893 Professor Commons wrote, "I believe that there is but one solution for social problems. It is the bringing of the two extremes of society together, the wiping out of mutual misunderstandings, and the promotion of mutual acquaintance of each other's feelings, wants and hopes. In other words, it is the introduction of love into social relations. The present division of classes results in exclusiveness, ignorance of social conditions, and consequent hate. Both sides need to know by personal contact the conditions of the other." [1]

Certain writers leave the impression that all would be well for the world if the capitalist class had the right attitude toward labor. For example, Rauschenbusch, discussing the obstacles which bar men out of religion, says that the most effective argument against religion today is that it has been against the people. He adds, "The Spirit of Christ has been their most powerful ally, but the official church, taking Christendom as a whole, has thrown the bulk of its great resources to the side of those who are in possession, and against those who were in such deadly need of aid. This is the great scandal which will not down." Practically in all he has to say about a just social order he has his eyes on the evils brought about by the upper economic classes. I can find nowhere any emphasis upon the necessity of ideals of service among the working classes. Such a position is most natural, perhaps, since the Prophets and Jesus had most to say about the rich, and since the latter are the ones who have the upper hand in the struggle throughout history. However, when we are talking about social justice we must not forget that the workmen too, unless their

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

ideals have been socialized by the principles of an ethical religion, take advantage of any opportunity they have to slight their work, to be time-servers, reduce output and "make work." Social justice will not come until they, as well as the rich, are possessed by the ideal of loyal social service, of doing right by those who employ them. Both sides to the conflict between capital and labor must be touched by the ideals of justice taught by the Hebrew Prophets and Jesus, and their souls set on fire with the religious passion for social righteousness.

2. **Health and Disease.** One of the important causes of poverty and dependency is disease. Certainly the 100,000 needless infant deaths each year in this country, the great number of school children handicapped by remediable physical defects, the bad housing conditions in our cities, which breed tuberculosis, the loss of time of from a week to two weeks each year for the average laboring man because of sickness, cannot be without interest to the Christian Church if it follows the example of the Master who went about healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.[1] The Church has as great responsibility for the presence of preventable diseases in its community as any other institution that is supposed to exist for the welfare of the people. The trouble has been that the Church has not conceived that its mission is to deal with men's bodies. If the Church recognizes a responsibility for the health conditions of its community, what support it can lend to disease prevention and to health promotion!

What power the Church with its millions of members in the United States could exert did it apply Christian motives to the betterment of the social conditions which affect health! In the days of Jesus a large part of His ministry was healing the sick; a large part of His message bore on social living, which would promote good health, relief from worry and carking care, and a fellowship with others in the effort to live a wholesome and useful life. Says Cutting concerning the influence of the Church on the health of the decaying Roman Empire: "Pagan society was rotten to the core; the physique of the people rapidly deteriorating. Few children were born, and a phenomenal proportion of those who came into the world left it during infancy. But the Christians, segregated in towns and villages, and quarters of the great cities, were a moral, healthy, vigorous and cleanly people. They had large families, and the children grew up in sturdy

[1] Cutting, *The Church and Society*, New York, 1912, p. 2.

adolescence. . . . Infanticide, that had been shamefully prevalent, practically ceased; population commenced to increase." [1]

Possessed by other-worldly notions of religion, perfectly good Christians who have seen their loved ones die before their time have accepted the matter "with Christian resignation." Were the Church alive to its social responsibility, every untimely death would cause it to hang its head in shame and be the occasion for sincere heart-searching. The clergyman instead of preaching resignation to the decrees of an inscrutable Providence, would preach to his congregation repentance for permitting ignorance and neglect so to dominate the community.

If we may trust the Master's description of the Last Judgment, the question that will be asked when before Him are gathered all nations for judgment, will not be those which the Church has been in the habit of asking the applicants for membership, but, interpreted in terms of our life to-day, will be whether they have seen that no men who are willing to work go hungry and naked; whether they have visited the sick and have taken pains to see that men did not become sick unnecessarily; and whether they have neglected the prisoners whom our laws have condemned to the loss of freedom.[2]

What could not the Church do to set forward the program of disease prevention and the program of health education did it once awake to the fact that the Gospel includes concern for such questions?

3. **Poverty and Dependency.** In a previous chapter attention has been called to the efforts which the Church has made from its earliest days to ameliorate the lot of the poor and dependent. Throughout that entire period, however, the Church has been concerned largely with *alleviating* misery. It has done something to inspire in people a faith that would make them honest, self-reliant, and independent of support, although there have been times when it sanctified beggary. By its ameliorative measures it softened the asperities of social conditions and provided a kind of insurance against poverty and dependency by dealing with individuals. It has not, however, attacked seriously the problem of changing the conditions which produce poverty and dependency. A socialized religion will not only continue to ameliorate conditions and inspire individuals to self-help, but it will attempt to change the social and economic conditions which cause poverty. It

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.
[2] Matt. 25: 31-46.

will still build orphanages, and homes for the aged, improve the public institutions for the care of the dependent, and relieve the widow's need, but it will interest itself in the question of a standard of living and bring to bear upon menacing social conditions its mighty appeal. On the one hand it will discourage the indiscriminate giving which makes vagrants and paupers; on the other it will provide farm colonies for the incapable, the work-shy, and for the mentally and physically deficient.[1]

4. **Education.** The socialized church will not spend its energy railing at the "Godless schools." It will see the approach of the Kingdom of God in a school system which develops character and personal efficiency. It will not center attention merely on getting the Bible read in public schools. It will endeavor not only to promote through its own institutions Christian education but, broadening its conception of what is Christian, it will work to secure an educational system which develops every potentiality in each child to the highest degree of social usefulness. Perhaps the Church will come to recognize that health inspection in schools for the purpose of removing physical impediments to school progress, that recreation in the schools for the constructive guidance of children and youth in their play activities, that teachers with an ennobling influence, and that a curriculum adapted to prepare the students for the social life which they must live are not alien to the spirit of its Master. In respect to education, therefore, the Church's attitude should be positive and constructive. All development of the potentialities of childhood and youth it should consider religious.

5. **Social Legislation and Administration.** The Church too long has insisted that the machinery by which our life is regulated is outside her sphere of responsibilities. This is because her interpretation of religion has been too narrow. Even though it never mentions the name of God or invokes any dogma of the Church, a law may be essentially Christian if it promotes the ennoblement of life or secures justice. The socialized Church will take an interest in legislation because it will understand that men's lives are influenced by these laws. Not without good laws and their faithful administration can the Christian ideals of society be realized.

6. **Democracy.** The fundamental doctrine of the Jewish and Christian religions is the solidarity of all classes in society. The Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men both imply democ-

[1] Commons, *Social Reform in the Church,* New York, 1894, p. 43.

racy. While in her history the Church has been influenced, in her organization and often in her ideals, by the form of government in the midst of which she lived and so sometimes has become aristocratic, the Master and His chief apostles taught a fundamental democracy. Ever the poor and oppressed have had her sympathy. As Rauschenbusch says: "To get a really just estimate of the social value of the Church of the past, we must not measure it by the abstract standards of modern ethics, but compare it with the other social forces and organizations existing in the contemporary social order. We tacitly assume that if the Church had not used its power tyrannically, justice and freedom would have prevailed. On the contrary, some other social organization would probably have used that same power more tyrannically. In the Eastern half of Christendom the Church never had enough independence and vigor to wrestle with princes and emperors as it did in the West. Consequently the State used it as a mere tool without the courage or power to protest. . . . As compared with the despotic State, the Church was still the fulcrum for the lever of God. It kept alive the ideal of social organization ruled by Christ and within that organization the forces that were to revolutionize the world first gathered headway." [1]

The socialized Church will not be content until democracy has been achieved in society. The form which that democracy shall take will always be determined in part by the conditions of life, but the standard for judging the degree of its accomplishment will be that conception of brotherhood which the Master taught.

Some Promising Beginnings of Christian Activity in Social Welfare. That the modern church is not dead to its responsibilities for bad social conditions is indicated by the programs of numerous church bodies. Space will not permit citation of the attempts by local churches under the leadership of wide-awake pastors and laymen with a social conscience to study local problems of health, recreation, education, child labor and other social questions. It should not be forgotten that such organizations as the National Conference of Social Work—formerly the National Conference of Charities and Correction—have had a large number of clergymen among their officers and members and that these men have introduced into their discussions Christian ideals. The Jews have their own National Conference of Jewish Charities and the Catholics have theirs, in both of which the religious ideals and motives are applied to the solution of pressing

[1] Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order*, New York, 1919, pp. 80, 81.

social problems. It will serve the purpose of this chapter to cite the social service commissions of some of the churches and outline their programs.

A number of years ago the Delaware Social Service Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized, made a study and published a report on the labor conditions in the berry fields and canneries of that state.[1] In coöperation with the Child Labor Committee, it made a most interesting study of street trades, particularly the messenger and newsboy trades. This information became the basis in New York of legislation forbidding the employment of any person under 21 years of age in messenger service between the hours of 10:00 p. m. and 5:00 a. m.[2]

In 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized. It is a federation of 31 constituent denominations, including 140,000 local churches, with more than 18,000,000 communicants. It might be called the agency through which the Protestant Evangelical churches of the Nation speak and work together in matters of common concern. It operates through publications, addresses of its representatives, and through eight permanent commissions. Among these are the Commission on the Church and Social Service, the Commission on Temperance, the Commission on Christian Education, the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, and the Commission on the Relations with the Orient. The commission which interests us here most directly is that on the Church and Social Service. This Commission has for its purpose the development of social service commissions or committees in each of the constituent denominations. It issues a year book, and makes many investigations on social conditions. It has published pamphlets on its investigation of the South Bethlehem strike, the Muscatine (Iowa) button strike, of the Colorado and Michigan strikes, etc. With the American Society for Labor Legislation it has carried on a campaign to secure one day's rest in seven for industrial workers, encouraged the observance of labor Sunday, and has interested itself in legislation for the retirement of the aged employees of the Federal Government. This proposal has recently become law by the passage of the Old Age Retirement Law for Federal employees.[3]

[1] Cutting, *The Church and Society*, New York, 1912, pp. 133, 134.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 136.
[3] See Chapter XVII.

At the first meeting of the Council in Philadelphia in 1908, the following platform was adopted as its social platform:[1]

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life;
For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind;
For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change;
For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions;
For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality;
For the abolition of child labor;
For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community;
For the suppression of the "sweating system";
For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life;
For a release from employment one day in seven;
For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford;
For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised;
For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury;
For the abatement of poverty.

In 1915 the Executive Committee approved Rev. Charles Stelzle's paper which contains this significant sentence concerning the church's interest in health: "If it is commendable to heal those who are sick, it must be still more commendable to prevent sickness. Healing disease and conserving life are as non-sectarian as life itself. It is a Christian duty which appeals to the best that is in all men. . . . The church may and should work with boards of health, sanitary commissions, child-saving agencies, charity organization societies, civic leagues, and all other groups which have as their supreme purpose the conservation of human life." He added a detailed presentation of the forms which this effort to conserve human life should take. Among these were the prevention of the enormous death rate among babies, the reduction of child labor, securing a living wage for industrial workers, sanitation in homes and factories, enactment and enforcement of pure food laws.[2]

[1] Cutting, *The Church and Society*, New York, 1912, pp. 163, 164.
[2] *Annual Report of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*, 1915, N. Y., pp. 110, 111. In 1915 the Commission on the Church and Social Service reported that social service commissions were functioning in the follow-

In 1917 the Roman Catholic Church organized a social service commission of the Federation of Roman Catholic Societies.

During the war the National Catholic War Council was formed, which, following the armistice, announced a reconstruction program dealing with the problem of unemployment, the continuance of the United States Employment Service, and of the National War Labor Board, a minimum wage with the understanding that wages should not be lowered below the war basis, relief of women workers, equal pay for equal tasks, abolition of child labor, municipal housing, reduction of cost of living by development of coöperative stores, social insurance, collective bargaining, vocational training, and the development of coöperation and copartnership.[1]

The Southern Baptists' Convention had appointed a commission on social service. The yearly meeting of the Friends at Philadelphia had appointed a social order committee, and a department of social service had been organized in the Home Mission Board of the Friends in America. The Unitarians have long had a social service commission which has published an important series of pamphlets on social questions.

During the War increased attention was given to social problems by a number of the church organizations. For example, the work done by the Knights of Columbus, the Y. M. C. A., and the Y. W. C. A., the National Catholic War Council of the Roman Catholic Church, and the enthusiasm with which the local congregations of all churches entered into the work of the Red Cross for the dependents of soldiers and sailors and for the support of the various war camp activities for the men, laid new emphasis upon the social aspects of Christianity. No less important was the work of the Jewish Welfare Board in the War.

An enthusiastic but unfortunate experiment of united action on the part of the Protestant churches was the Interchurch World Movement of North America. It was launched December 17, 1918. Its main purpose was thoroughgoing coöperation between the Evangelical churches in North America in their entire educational, missionary, and social programs at home and abroad. It started a large number of studies on social conditions, the results of only one of which, that on

ing denominations: Northern Baptist, Congregationalist, Northern Methodist, Northern Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Reformed Church of the United States, the American Christian Convention, and the Disciples. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[1] *The New International Yearbook, 1919*, p. 346.

the Steel Strike, has yet been published because the movement collapsed financially.

These movements indicate the growing interest of the religious leaders of the country in social questions. A number of the important theological seminaries of the country are establishing professorships of sociology under one title or another. Some of them have close affiliation with universities in which their students may take sociological courses which count towards graduation. Many of the Sunday school publications are carrying studies on the social application of the lessons. An increasing number of classes are being held in the churches dealing with the application of the principles of Christianity to the social problems of the day.

The growing attention of religious people to social and economic questions betokens the feeling that religion may aid in the solution of these problems. It would be a pity if the potentialities too often lying dormant in the churches could not be turned to the service of social justice. Too often religious enthusiasm is turned in upon the individual's own subjective interests. In order to be vital, religion must link the awakened enthusiasm for good with the problems of life. The person possessed with religious enthusiasm may be a power for good if it can be directed to social purposes.

As Rauschenbusch has said: "Religion can turn diffident, humble men like Shaftesbury into invincible champions of the poor. All social movements would gain immensely in enthusiasm, persuasiveness, and wisdom, if the hearts of their advocates were cleansed and warmed by religious faith."

The next task of the religious bodies, therefore, is to link up the good-will and the passion for self-sacrifice and service, generated by religious enthusiasm, with the stalled engine of social progress. The clashing interests of selfish men cannot be reconciled by force. The dynamic of unselfish service and the ideals of justice must be invoked. For millions the religious motive could be directed to touch into life the ideals of service and regard for a brother's welfare.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The church and social questions. Mathews, *The Church and the Changing Order*, New York, 1913, Chaps. V, VI. Cochran, "The Church and the Working Man," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov., 1907.

2. The rural church and social problems. Nesmith, "The Problem of the Rural Community with Special Reference to the Rural Church," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. VIII, No. 6, May, 1903; Gill and Pinchot, *The Country Church,* New York, 1913, Chap. I; Fiske, *The Challenge of the Country,* New York, 1912.
3. The labor temple. Stelzle, *The Outlook,* July 22, 1911.
4. The social work of the Catholic Church. Kerby, "Social Work of the Catholic Church in America," *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Nov., 1907.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SOCIALIZED PROPERTY

IN a previous chapter we have given attention to the economic causes of poverty and dependency. We saw that lack of an adequate income affected the proper standard of living; that uneconomical methods of expending the income had a like effect. We endeavored to isolate as much as possible the economic factors in order that we might give proper weight to them in the consideration of the causes of poverty.

However, we found in our study of causes that there were three factors involved: (1) Individual capacity; (2) social conditions affecting individual efficiency, such as education, health, and measures of social control governing conditions surrounding the individual in every way; (3) economic conditions affecting income primarily, but indirectly affecting ability, and personal conditions like education and health through the lack of an income adequate to purchase housing, medical attendance, and educational opportunities. Here we are interested in the second and third factors. If poverty and dependency are to be prevented, those causes that lie in the economic conditions of society, including the industrial, we shall have to regulate in such a way that a minimum is provided for every member of society who is willing to work or else we shall find ourselves struggling with the age-old problem of inefficiency, ill health, and dependency caused by economic conditions.

These problems of personal ability, economic conditions, and social regulation are so intertwined together that it is difficult to deal with any one of them without always keeping in mind the others.

Industrial conditions which maim and cause to sicken certain of the workers do not act alone. Usually there does not exist the resistance in the individual which other individuals possess. Nevertheless, if our industries are so conducted that large numbers of men are injured, direct measures must be taken to see that the loss does not fall entirely upon the worker. These industrial conditions are tied

up very closely with our theories of property and economic relationships.

THEORIES OF PROPERTY IN THEIR BEARING ON POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

In general there are three theories of the nature of property.

1. There is the individualistic theory. According to this theory a man has a right to use his property as he pleases. It is his by right of possession. He may do with it what he pleases even though it leads to injury of his fellows or himself. Its advocates, however, have recognized that the theory thus baldly stated has certain limitations, for, unless one be a Robinson Crusoe without his man, Friday, there are always certain limitations upon the use of one's possessions.

2. There is the social theory of property. Property may be private in its nature, but it is intrusted to the individual by society for the public good.

3. The third theory of property is a socialistic theory. According to this theory all the instruments of production should be in the hands of the public. Consumers' goods remain in the hands of private individuals.

Upon these three theories are founded three different social policies toward private property. The first is the *laissez faire* of economics. The idea is that self-interest is the motive power moving men in their economic relationships, and when each pursues his own self-interest, he will inevitably clash with another. Those who are inferior in strength in any such conflict will be eliminated. The strong competitor will crush out the weak one, then will expand his own business in line with his own self-interest, and society will profit by the superior efficiency of the victor. If contestants are equal in strength, the self-interest of each will be limited by the clash between them and a compromise will result which will allow both to produce in a way that will give society the greatest returns.

The results show that the difficulty with the theory arises when one party to the conflict resulting from the pursuit of the self-interest of each is weaker than the other. The weaker party must suffer. If through that suffering he comes to want, society must either let him perish, or, in response to humanitarian sentiments, keep him alive at its own expense.

The third policy, that of state-owned productive property, grows out of the abuses arising from the first. Its representatives insist that

in the institution of property lies the root of our present troubles. They propose ultimately to remove ownership of the productive property from private hands and substitute other motives for those of gain and accumulation.

In actual practice we have a mixture of all three of these theories. We have private property, with the least degree of social control compatible with the welfare of society. We have, however, such regulations of the use of private property by the owner as seriously modifies the view that it is his own and with it he may do as he likes. Dr. Ely, taking only two of the important countries for example, has shown that this theory is established in the court decisions of both England and the United States. He sets forth what he calls the social theory of property which is that private property is established and maintained for social purposes. Such is the theory held by the courts, the theologians, and the economists.[1] It limits what the individual may do with his property by consideration for the social welfare.

The social theory of property offers the greatest hope of those readjustments which are necessary to obviate the injustices of our present system. It leaves private property with the individual as a trust. It does not destroy the motives of private gain. It limits, however, those motives by concern for the public good, backed by the sanction of justice, ethics, and religion.

Moreover, it is imbedded in our federal constitution and in our state constitutions in the public welfare clauses and the provisions on the police power. As interpreted by the highest tribunals in the land, the police power of a sovereign state provides for the use of private property for the general welfare. As Dr. Ely says, "The police power is the power of the courts to interpret the concept of property, and, above all, private property; and to establish its metes and bounds. . . . It is essentially the power to interpret property and especially private property and to give the concept a content at each particular period in our development which fits it to serve the general welfare. The police power means the general welfare theory of property." [2]

Application of the Social Theory of Property to the Prevention of Poverty and Dependency. It is this theory which gives the public the right to tax for the support of paupers. It is conceived to

[1] See *Property and Contract in Their Relation to the Distribution of Wealth*, New York, 1914, Vol. I, p. 6.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 206, 207.

be for the welfare of the State that people should not starve; therefore the State taxes those who have in order that those who have not may be supported.

The theory is applied also in our provisions for education. The child, according to the individualistic theory of property, is under the control of the parent. However, our social theory limits that and the State steps in and compels the child to attend school even though the parent may need the results of his labor. The same theory demands that children shall not be neglected by their parents. It taxes the well-to-do of the community who may have no children in order that all children may receive an education.

Its application is seen in public health measures. The State taxes for the support of public health; through quarantine in the interest of general welfare it limits what one may do with himself, his children, and his property.

It appears again in the regulation of industry. If we strictly adhered to an individualistic theory of property, industry would to-day be as unregulated as it was in the early days of the industrial revolution when women and children were worked unreasonable hours under conditions that destroyed them. Step by step, however, we have proceeded to regulate their hours, the conditions under which they work, and the wages which women are to receive. Furthermore, property is socially limited in workmen's compensation laws, and in restrictions on combinations in restraint of trade. The efforts to control monopolies and trusts are the result of the theory that industry should be conducted not merely for the benefit of the owner, but in the interests of the public.

There are those who believe that industry as organized at present has within it an essential contradiction. This has been most recently stated by Tawney. He calls those societies founded upon the rights of property rather than upon the obligations of property acquisitive societies. He calls them such "because their whole tendency and interest and preoccupation is to promote the acquisition of wealth." He says, "By fixing men's minds, not upon the discharge of social obligations which restricts their energy because it defines the goal to which it should be directed, but upon the exercise of the right to pursue their own self-interest, it offers unlimited scope for the acquisition of riches and therefore gives free play to one of the most powerful of human instincts. . . . It assures men that there are no ends other than their ends, no law other than their desires, no limit other than

that which they think advisable." [1] The rejection of the idea of social purpose inherent in the seeking of each individual's self-interest, "produces industrial warfare, not as a regrettable incident, but as an inevitable result." [2]

Centuries of slavery resulted in the habit of labor, but it left the laborer without initiative, and, except in rare cases, without managerial ability. Centuries of mastery have established traditions of control and management of a labor force. These traditions were given philosophical background when the *laissez faire* political economy obtained vogue in England. Moreover, since industry in that country was undergoing transformation from home and shop industry to the factory system, the conditions in industry were favorable to an increase of control over laborers. Individual relationships between man and master were broken. It became more difficult for the laborer to become a master after a few years' work. Moreover, England was developing its great foreign trade and consequently it was natural to lay great emphasis upon increased production. The welfare of the workers became subordinated to production. Hence, it was quite easy for the theory to grow up that the great desideratum was quantity production and cheapness of production costs. Since the laborer could not save his labor from one day to another and sell it in double amount the next day, he was at a disadvantage in bargaining power. He was forced to submit to conditions which he felt to be unjust in order to earn a living for himself and family. The old considerations of his welfare, operative when the master worked with him in the same shop, were greatly weakened. On the other hand, regard for the employers' interests suffered a similar eclipse. He was working for a man with whom he had no intimate relationships. Often he did not know his employer. His product was merged in the mass, and consequently he could not be held personally accountable for the quality and quantity of product. The result on the part of the employer was a loss of the old sense of responsibility for the welfare of the employees, while on the part of the employee there was a like loss of sense of responsibility for product. The consequence was that there grew up a deep chasm between the interests of the employers and the employees which has given us our problems of capital and labor, our labor strikes and lockouts, and greatly increased the amount of dependency and poverty.

[1] *The Acquisitive Society*, New York, 1920, pp. 29-31.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

This chasm society has been trying to bridge by legislation to protect the laborer in his hours and conditions of work, to protect women and children who suffer most because of their weaker position in the field of labor, and to place upon industry the expense of accidents and sickness incident to large scale production. It has led to the organization of labor for the protection of its own interests, and to an emphasis upon the social concept of property. This concept has not yet worked out its implications. Among laborers it has gone a very little way in emphasizing his responsibility for the kind and amount of product. The respective interests of labor, of capital, and of the consumer have not yet been fully reconciled. Under our classical economic theory it was held that a balance of self-interest would reconcile these conflicting interests, but experience has shown that such a delicate balance is impossible with men constituted as they are and without a social imagination which would place a curb upon their selfish interests. It is beginning to be felt that the holders of property on the one hand must come to feel a sense of obligation to handle capital in the interests of all concerned—capital, labor, and the public —and that, on the other, labor must appreciate that it must consult not only its own self-interest, but also the interests of capital and of the consuming public. How to get that development of social conscience which will reconcile these conflicting interests is the problem.

We have tried to bring about that reconciliation by legislation. That plan has thus far largely failed. It is coming to be perceived that a conscience must be developed by education of all classes in social idealism. Some believe that the full fruition will not come without the aid of a social religion of justice and good will. Just now there is a growing number who believe that making the laborers shareholders in the industry in which they work will enlist their interest in the business in which they are engaged; and that enlisting the self-interest of the employer in the welfare of the laborers will solve the problem. About as far as we have gone in respect to the latter is to establish compensation laws which will lead employers to see that the introduction of safety devices pays, and that mutual benefit associations among the men, and club rooms, recreation and "welfare" measures make workers more contented. This policy has been stated thus by Mr. Gary, head of the Steel Corporation, one of the largest employers of labor in the United States, "Above everything else, . . . satisfy your men if you can that your treatment is fair and reasonable and generous. Make the Steel Corporation a good place for them to work

and live. Don't let the families go hungry or cold; give them playgrounds and parks and schools and churches, pure water to drink, every opportunity to keep clean, places of enjoyment, rest and recreation; treating the whole thing as a business proposition, drawing the line so that you are just and generous, and yet at the same time keeping your position and permitting others to keep theirs, retaining the control and management of your affairs, keeping the whole thing in your own hands, but nevertheless with due consideration to the rights and interests of all others who may be affected by your management." [1]

This states clearly the principle on which welfare work is usually conducted in connection with industries. It is frankly paternalistic, and is looked upon by both the companies and the workers as "good business." Many of the employees, however, especially union workers, insist that it is a substitute for higher wages and industrial democracy.[2] That there is some truth in this is indicated by the findings of the Interchurch World Movement investigation of the steel strike of 1919. That report shows that for years over one-third of all productive iron and steel workers had received wages below the level set by government experts as the minimum of subsistence standard for families of five, and that the earnings of 72 per cent of all workers were and had been for years below the level of minimum of comfort for such families.[3] This corporation had no machinery for the handling of daily grievances, for the adjustment of difficulties. As the words of Mr. Gary quoted above show, the companies keep all matters, even welfare work, in their own hands.[4] In 1918, the Steel Corporation earned enough above dividends to have doubled the wages and salaries and yet have left over $14,000,000 as surplus. In 1919 it could have doubled the salaries and wages and have had left about $13,000,000 surplus.[5]

We have not yet fully faced the question as to what will happen if a plan should be worked out by which worker and employer should combine against the public. We have been tacitly holding to the theory

[1] *Bulletin No. 8, United States Steel Corporation, Bureau of Safety, Sanitation and Welfare*, New York, 1920, p. 3.

[2] *The Interchurch World Movement Report on the Steel Strike of 1919*, New York, 1920, p. 127. "The bulk of the employees—the unskilled and the semi-skilled—have had simply no experience of the company houses, 'welfare' and pensions, and their percentage of stock profits do not impress them."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12. The figures given in Chap. IV, "Wages in a no-conference industry," are for 1918 and 1919 only.

[4] See also *Ibid.*, Chap. V.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

that if that conflict is resolved, competition between producers will result in the public getting the utmost for their money. Yet there is monopoly which kills competition between producers and makes the public pay the bill. Our attempts at curbing trusts and monopolies in the interest of the consumer have not had very large results. The Standard Oil Company is a case in point. To a large extent its policy has had important results in satisfying the employees, but the public is left unprotected, except through the slight fear of potential competition.[1]

In certain monopolized industries it is claimed that earnings are sufficient either to pay higher wages or to reduce the price, or both. For example, the newspapers reported late in 1920 that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana had issued a stock dividend of $150,000,000. It has been claimed that this was for two purposes: (1) To obviate payment of income tax on cash dividends, and (2) to hide the monopoly profits. In 1918, the Steel Corporation, after paying dividends of $96,382,027, and setting aside $274,277,835 for federal taxes in 1919, yet had a surplus of $466,888,421. In 1919 the undivided surplus was $493,048,200.93.[2] One, of course, must remember the necessity in business of providing by means of a surplus for slack times and expansion in busy times. Yet it would seem that consumers of monopolized products in such cases are paying more than a fair price for the commodities. It must be remembered, too, that while in our modern business world such monopolies are not universal by any means, their size and control over the fields they cover enable them to control output. It is also possible that the large scale on which they carry on industry makes for economies impossible in competitive industries, so that the price per unit of product to the consumer is not greater than under a competitive system between small industries. That, however, has not been clearly shown. At any rate, with the economies possible in large scale production with a practical monopoly as in the two industries cited, the surpluses show that a lower price per unit of product with the same wage scale is possible.

The fact stands out clearly that the social conception of property is subordinated to the will to make profits for the owners of industry.

[1] Says John B. Clarke, "The three parties just named—employers, organized employees, and applicants for places—are not the only parties whom the dispute affects. The public has a vital relation to it, and in a true sense its interest and rights are supreme." *Essentials of Economic Theory*, New York, 1907, p. 473.

[2] *Interchurch World Movement, Report on the Steel Strike of 1919*, New York, 1920, p. 13.

It is also clear that if industry does not pay laborers at least a subsistence wage, and if it requires hours which produce undue fatigue, denies men proper recreation and time with their families, then health is undermined, the worker is old at 40 and is thrown upon the human junk-heap, children are denied educational opportunities and are forced to begin work at too early an age and certain moral problems for children and youth are sure to arise. The result, then, in the words of Goldsmith is that "wealth accumulates and men decay." The difficulty is not, however, with the indictment but with the remedy. Everyone recognizes that industry produces some bad social results. The question we face is, can these results be obviated without producing other evils equally deplorable? If so, what is the practical machinery?

Meanings of "The Socialization of Industry." Three suggestions have been proposed to obviate the difficulties to be found in industry as conducted at present. These are (1) state socialism, (2) private industry subjected to public control, and (3) such a change in the attitude of men as will result in their working for the public rather than their own private gain.

1. **Socialism.** There are varieties of socialism. It is difficult to generalize about them all, except that they agree that capitalistic production, resting on the desire for gain, is bad. Ownership of the instruments of production should be removed from private hands, or at least controlled in the public interest. Where it should be lodged not all agree. The Marxian socialists, represented by the Russian soviets, place the control in the hands of the workmen and peasants. The domination of capital is replaced by the domination of the proletariat. In English Fabian socialism, represented by the Webbs, it is contemplated that at least during the transition from capitalism to socialism some of the instruments may remain in the hands of private individuals, and profit-making so far remains the object of production. Only a half dozen or so will have to be nationalized, owing to the enlarged spheres of local government and consumers' coöperative movements.[1]

As to motives, the socialists are quite generally agreed that the desire for gain should not control as now; that in its stead there should come the joy of creative work, regard for the welfare of children and women, and desire for the general welfare. There would still re-

[1] Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, New York, 1920, pp. 278, 323. To get the whole scheme one should read the whole book.

main the fear of punishment by the controlling body, of loss of job, and the desire to be of the greatest service.[1] The result would be that workers would receive then what they produce; their hours would be set at the number consonant with the welfare of themselves and their families; educational facilities would be provided in number and kind which would prepare children for the greatest possible service to society; health would be conserved; and thus dependency, crime, and poverty would be eliminated. The workers would have their share in the management of industry, and therefore could determine to a greater extent than now conditions of labor, hours, and wages. Each person would still own what are known in economics as consumers' goods. It is claimed that economic advantages would result, such as the apportionment of land, labor, and capital, to the economic needs of society; the elimination of duplicate plants, expensive advertising, competitive selling, and harmful goods. Thus an immense saving of productive power would come about, and there would result either a greater amount of goods produced or shorter hours of labor. It is also claimed that certain moral results would follow. Instead of self-interest dominating men's activities, as now, men would work for the love of activity, for the desire to contribute to the common welfare, and the esteem of their fellows. All men would live as brothers, it is claimed, working at the common task of society, and each having his share of the product.

Unfortunately, human nature would probably have to undergo a most marked change to produce these results. How many would work for the motives depended upon by the socialists? Most of us, who indeed love activity for its own rewards, often need the spur of necessity to drive us on, especially to uncongenial tasks. Who would select those despised occupations which nevertheless are quite necessary to human welfare? What effect such a plan would have on men's regard for property may perhaps be indicated by people's treatment of public property like parks and public buildings. Men generally do not regard the public welfare to such an extent that they will labor hard just for the general good. They lack the socialized imagination. Too often they do not possess even the breadth of vision to pursue their own true interests. How much less, if they lacked the spur of want now active? Nor can we believe in view of men's undeveloped sense of duty that under socialism would a sense of duty to the public actuate them to a like regard for industry, which is so often lacking even

[1] Brailsford, "Russian Impressions," *The New Republic*, Dec. 22, 1920, p. 104.

under the spur of personal and family need. Moreover, it is a question whether the desire for public esteem and approbation would produce that activity in the interest of all, when we see that under the lash of necessity and of the strong disfavor which now is the lot of the industrial slacker and the exploiter so many people are willing to resort to dishonest economic practices and are prone to become dependent upon the product of others' labors and frugality for sustenance. Even in the army and navy rewards must be supplemented by stern discipline to secure results, and the amount of work done by men is much less than in private industry.

If, however, it be claimed that some regimentation of the people would be necessary and social direction would be invoked to force the lazy to work, what would become of our boasted democracy, when men were drafted for certain occupations for which an insufficient number volunteered, and when men were told by their brothers just how much they must produce in a given time? Tyranny would be only less palatable when enforced by a directing majority of their own class than when exercised by a despot or an autocracy. Furthermore, even should men become so transformed by unselfish ideals, when they become so socialized that socialism would work, the evils of our present system would probably no longer exist. Our present evils are the results of an undeveloped sense of social responsibility. Had we a sense of responsibility, adequate to the success of socialism, we should not need socialism.

Even greater are the administrative difficulties of the socialistic economic system. Who would determine just how many and who should follow each occupation? Who would determine, and how would it be done, just how much of the joint product of industry should go to the workers as consumers' goods and how much to the capital necessary to carry on production and care for the social needs of the socialistic state? How would value be determined? How would the amount of goods to be produced each year be calculated? What should be the standard according to which each person would receive consumers' goods? How would it be decided how much of each kind of goods should be produced? How much labor, time, and energy should be devoted to producing necessities, how much to experimenting, and how much to the spiritual needs of men? Under the present system, with all its faults, these questions are answered automatically by the process of the market in response to the individual demands of buyers. In the face of such obvious and fundamental difficulties, are we

not justified in suggesting that some more practical plan for socializing industry must be devised if we are to expect any diminution in the amount of poverty and dependency incident to the industrial organization of society?[1]

2. Private Property under Public Control. Even the most confirmed believers in privately owned industry among the students of the question of property hold that certain kinds of industry should be publicly controlled to the degree necessary to secure their use in the interests of society as a whole. On the other hand, there are certain people who have socialistic leanings who believe that some industries are not a menace to society even without public control. For the purpose of illustrating these two positions let us take Professor Richard T. Ely as representing the first and Mr. R. H. Tawney the second position, as these two writers have given us the most recent books upon this question.

Dr. Ely believes that the question as to whether public property is better than private property cannot be answered categorically. What we must consider is whether for particular classes of economic goods, and also frequently for particular places and in given periods of time, one or the other is better. Therefore, he classifies property in what he calls "property subjects," such as "common property" and "property in severalty," and "property objects." Common property grew out of the common use of property in primitive or early civilized societies, such as the common pastures and forests, and which survives in such a park as the Boston Common. Out of this type of property developed also public property, such as tracts of forest land in Germany, and property owned by a private corporation but used in common by its members, such as a golf club. In the course of economic evolution property in severalty also has developed out of common property. In a certain stage of development one of these best serves social purposes and in another the other. Then we have another classification into public property and private property. This is especially important in modern society, while the other classification is important historically.

His second great classification is "property objects." In this class are "property in human beings" and "property extraneous to and exclusive of human beings." This distinction has lost significance because

[1] Seager, *Introduction to Economics*, New York, 1906, pp. 525-531. The socialistic experiment now being conducted in Russia may answer some of these questions. Until we get more light on how the system works, we can only raise such questions.

we are growing away from property in human beings. Again, he classifies property as "property in corporal things," "property in personal services" and "property in relation to persons and things." Another classification which he thinks is important historically, but which has lost its importance in modern times is that of "property in mobilia," such as things which can be moved, and "property in immobilia," such as land. Finally, he distinguishes between "property in enjoyment (consumption) goods," and "property in production goods."

Whether enjoyment goods shall be privately or publicly owned depends upon (1) the degree of ripeness in a given society for collective use, (2) upon the relative cost of the enjoyment of them when one or a few use them, or when many use them, and (3) upon conditions of time and place. Illustrating the first is the fact that in Central Africa there is probably not sufficient development to warrant a public library or public art gallery; of the second, that in a large city in the United States where capacity for enjoyment has developed in the people many believe it wrong for great works of art to be the private property of an individual; and of the third, that in the South, because of the antagonism between whites and blacks, there are few public libraries.

His discussion on production goods is too lengthy to be summarized here, but he endeavors to show that to determine whether even production goods should be publicly or privately owned depends likewise upon the nature of the different kinds and the social results of their use.[1]

In general, however, Dr. Ely believes that there are good grounds for the maintenance of private property, even when large amounts of it are held in private hands, but it must be so regulated by taxation and other means that its distribution will be as wide as possible and that it will serve social purposes and not contribute to wasteful luxury and individual idleness.[2]

In some cases public property produces the best results; in others, private property. The criterion of judgment is their respective effects upon the welfare of the people. But so far as we have private property we must have public control in such a way that the benefits of private property will be conserved and that the evils of private property will be limited and gradually eliminated by modifications in the

[1] Ely, *Property and Contract in their Relation to the Distribution of Wealth*, New York, 1914, Vol. I, Chaps. X and XI.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Chaps. VI, XII, XIII.

methods of acquiring private control over property, and by taxation of incomes and inheritances. Thus, equality of economic opportunity will be secured without sacrificing the great benefits of private property.

Mr. Tawney represents another approach to the same problem. Although some would dub him with that epithet, he is not a socialist. He sees most clearly the evils which grow out of certain large corporate industries under private ownership—chiefly, the divorce of ownership from active participation in the management of the business, with consequent emphasis upon profits rather than upon service to society. He does not object to private ownership of industries if it does not involve loss of function in managing the business. He says, "For it is not private ownership, but private ownership divorced from work, which is corrupting to the principle of industry; and the idea of some socialists that private property in land or capital is necessarily mischievous is a piece of scholastic pedantry as absurd as that of those conservatives who would invest all property with some kind of mysterious sanctity." [1] Mr. Tawney, however, seems to accept the socialist fallacy that "the man who lives by owning without working is necessarily supported by the industry of someone else. . . ." He believes in the nationalization of land and capital only that it may be parceled out to small owners who shall use it, not by committing its management to others, but by using it themselves.[2] He recognizes that such an arrangement is much more easily managed with land than with capital. With respect to the latter he suggests that the owners of shares in large industries be limited to a guaranteed return upon their investment sufficient to attract an adequate supply of capital. Above all he insists on such a reorganization of industry as will place responsibility upon the workers, manual and brain workers, and thus develop professional standards as the motives of activity and the means of subordinating the desire for gain to the esteem of one's fellows in service of society. To do this in the large "capitalistic" industries he asserts that their nationalization is a necessary step, because it would destroy the desire for dividends. The evils of bureaucracy he would obviate by control through local councils composed of representatives of the workers, the consumers, and the state.[3]

[1] *Acquisitive Society,* New York, 1920, p. 86.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 117.
[3] Lack of space prevents more than this brief statement of his proposal. One should consult the book for details. Unfortunately Mr. Tawney deals concretely only with the building trades and coal mining to show how his plan would work out.

The difference between Dr. Ely and Mr. Tawney is clear. Both agree that industry under *laissez faire* does not produce only good social results. There arise maladjustments when each man seeks only his own selfish interests in some lines of industry. Mr. Tawney emphasizes more strongly the evils which are incident to large scale production under a system of profits. He believes that profit-seeking crushes professional spirit, while Dr. Ely, recognizing the evils which arise, yet believes that by limiting men's self-seeking propensities the present system produces results that are for the general welfare. If one has the historical approach to the problem, he must see that there is much more hope of securing social results by proceeding step by step in the endeavor to eradicate the evils incident to our present system by measures which conserve the values resulting from the competitive system and yet limit men's self-seeking in the interests of the whole of society. If there were no hope of improving our social machinery so that the evils should be lessened, we should have to agree with Mr. Tawney, or even with the socialists, in demanding an overturn of our present system. But experience shows that mankind has not made progress by breaking with the past, but by experiments in social adjustment based upon the present system in accordance with new ideals of justice.[1] Men must be educated in the mass to appreciate new values. The professional sense cannot be brought about by a mere change in economic machinery. Along with changes in organization must go the growth of idealism, of an appreciation of social values. The socialization of industry does not mean, therefore, a radical readjustment of social organization merely, but the development of juster ideals. When those ideals are once possessed by men in general, when men come to see that they have not only rights but also responsibilities, the evils of the present system—indeed of any system—will be very much reduced. Machinery will not produce desired results. Radical change sacrifices too much. What we need now is, first, education of the people to recognize clearly both the evils produced by our present system of industry, and its values, and to devise methods of eliminating present abuses in the interest of the general welfare. Such methods are suggested by Dr. Ely in legislation limiting autocracy in industry, in taxation measures which promise to give a more just distribution of wealth, and limitations upon excessive profits;

[1] The Webbs recognize that the changes they desire must come slowly along lines of historical development. Their book, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, is the most carefully worked out scheme yet proposed.

by Commons and Ryan in the cultivation of industrial goodwill, regulation of hours and wages under the police power in the interests of a decent standard of living; and by others in the cultivation of a state of mind in laborers, employers, capitalists, and the general public which consults not only class interests but the welfare of all.[1] Socialization of industry will become a reality, not by pursuing any one of these lines of approach to a solution, but by an integration of them all in the interests of welfare of all classes.

PROPERTY IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL WELFARE

Economic and social conditions, which produce poverty and dependency, are admitted by all to be undesirable, because they result in evils which imperil our civilization. They affect our democracy, they menace the home, and they touch the welfare of the individual and of society. They breed class conflicts and destroy social unity and threaten loyalty to the whole group. It is probable that some dependency and poverty are inevitable "costs of progress." No practical scheme has yet been devised which promises relief from the dependency and poverty incidental to poor native ability. A selective death rate which cuts off the naturally incapable is our only hope of a better race so long as we can devise no method of preventing the birth of physical and mental incapables. But the poverty and dependency incident to lack of proper education, unjust distribution of wealth, unequal taxation, autocratic control of industry, ruthless exploitation of our fellowmen in the interest of profits and lack of opportunity for ability to achieve, are subject to social control.

Every study made of the causes of poverty and dependency indicates that the factors subject to social betterment are the most important. The inefficiency, hopelessness, ignorance, and ill-health back of so much of our poverty and pauperism are largely due to social and economic maladjustment. Produced by social maladjustment they are subject to human control and are capable of adjustment. To believe that they cannot be changed by legislation and education is not only to fly in the face of experience, but to despair of human nature. To attempt to cure them by destroying the organization built up on the basis of past experience is to undertake the double burden of reorganizing our whole social structure and at the same time of cutting the ties of habit which bind us to much which experience has shown is good. These evils,

[1] See Commons, *Industrial Goodwill*, New York, 1920; Ryan, *A Living Wage*, New York, 1906, for details.

like many others, have grown up under all kinds of political organization—Prussian autocracy, the limited monarchy of England, and the democracy of the United States.[1] Experience in England and the United States seems to suggest that readjustment on the basis of our present organization is not hopeless.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. The socialist's indictment of private property in production. Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto,* in Bullock, *Selected Readings in Economics,* Boston, 1907, p. 668.
2. A criticism of classical socialism. "Schäffle's Criticism of Socialism in its General Economic Aspects," in *Ibid.,* p. 681.
3. A social theory of private property. Ely, *Property and Contract,* New York, 1914, Vol. I, Chaps. V, IX, XII.

[1] We do not yet know enough of the results under the soviet government of Russia to enable us to judge the results of that radical reorganization on the basis of domination by the proletariat class. Did we know present results, it would be unfair to judge it on the basis of so short an experience. Those who have studied it sympathetically are not optimistic. See Bertrand Russell, *Bolshevism: Practice and Theory,* New York, 1920.

CHAPTER XXXVII

EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION

IN charitable relief as in every other line of social endeavor administration is of the greatest importance. The author's experience in private relief agencies and in the supervision of public relief indicates that only by good administration can the most carefully thought-out plans and carefully devised laws be made effective. Unfortunately laws do not administer themselves. Few are fool-proof. They must be put into operation by administrators who know how to get results and will apply the laws to get the best results.

Because we have had a scarcity of good administrators much of our charitable effort and our public relief measures have been ineffective. It is quite possible that even the laws of Elizabeth would have greatly diminished begging and promoted rehabilitation of those degraded by indiscriminate charity had wise men always been charged with administering them. The famous Hamburg-Elberfeld System of charitable relief described in a previous chapter, was highly centralized. Although it used untrained people as almoners, the district superintendents and the central committee with an executive at the head of the whole system made it a success. The almoners worked under the supervisor of a district, who in turn was supervised by the committee of nine. If the committeemen had vision and resourcefulness, they could impose their ideas and methods upon all of those beneath them in the organization. Mistakes were corrected. Methods were criticized and changed in the light of their results. The whole system of relief and prevention was coördinated in the hands of the committee of nine.

Good administration also accounts for the success of the Charity Organization Movement. Combining a high degree of centralization with a rather democratic control and the use of large numbers of volunteers, the movement succeeded only because of the inspiring and efficient administration of the Board of Directors and the Executive Secretary.[1]

[1] Bosanquet, *Social Work in London, 1869-1912,* London, 1914, Chaps. IV and V.

In public relief, experience has shown the same thing. The states in which public charity has done best are Indiana and Massachusetts. How shall we explain that fact? Two items are important: First, in both administration is centralized in a state board, which board has broad powers for the supervision of the public charities of the state, and in Indiana, of the county charities. Second, the character of the administrators in these two states is very remarkable. It has been their leadership more than anything else that has given distinction to the public care of dependents in these states. In Indiana they have had but three secretaries of the board since its organization. All of these have been men of great prominence in the National Conference of Social Work.

These three examples are sufficient to indicate the enormous importance of good administration in charity work. Where it is lacking the best intentions will not be realized.

ELEMENTS OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION

What are the fundamental conditions of good administration in charitable work? Very much the same as are necessary in any good administrator. The laws must be so drawn that administration will be easy; the personnel of the administrative body must be carefully selected.

1. **The Law.** Legislatures have not yet been able to devise laws in which every detail of administration can be set forth. The situation is very similar to that of the writer of a medical textbook or of a book for those who are in training to be social workers. The books on the practice of medicine cannot foresee every eventuality which may arise in connection with the case. Hence, the student of medicine supplements his study of texts with an internship in a hospital where he receives training which the book cannot give him, and learns to adapt principles to the particular case he is treating. The student preparing for social work owes much to Miss Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*. Yet with its detailed analysis of the process, it cannot take the place of the training which one gets handling cases under an experienced case-worker. Much more difficult than the writing of a textbook is the writing of laws so detailed and foresighted that every contingency which may arise in their administration will be provided for. A parallel may be drawn between the first efforts to protect labor and our laws for the administration of public relief. In both, the legislature attempted detailed regulation instead of making a gen-

eral law and allowing discretion to the administrator. This was natural, of course, in early days when there were no trained administrators. The legislature simply cannot cover every contingency. We are getting good administration in our laws on labor, taxation, health, schools, dependents and criminals only as the legislature passes general laws creating administrative bodies into whose hands large responsibilities are placed. The laws will define, of course, in a broad general way the powers and limitations of the administrative board. The legislature is competent to provide in the law for certain general policies. The administrative body must be left to devise the machinery by which these general policies will be given effect. If experience has any lessons to teach in administration it shows that only in this way is efficient administration possible.

2. **Research.** Experience has indicated also that good administration must be based upon a continual study of conditions and the results of different measures. Few are the precedents to guide boards in their work. Those they do have are not always adapted to the conditions in their section of the country. Consequently, before sound methods of administration can be laid down by a board, conditions as they exist must be studied. For example, let us suppose that a State Board of Charities is given authority to supervise the child-placing organizations in a state. Before it can lay down any rules applying to these institutions it must endeavor to ascertain how numerous they are, what are their difficulties, how these organizations are doing their work, what defects, if any, are to be found in their activities. In Wisconsin before the "Mothers' Pension" Law was enacted the legislature had the State Board of Control make an investigation of the need of "mothers' pensions" in the state. The Industrial Commission is constantly studying the field over which it has been given authority by the legislature, to ascertain where regulations in industry are needed. If the law has authorized them to regulate the industry, after a study of the facts regulations are passed by the board which have the force of law. In Massachusetts and Indiana similar powers are given to the boards of charities. Under these general laws they lay down certain regulations, hold conferences with the people concerned in the administration and thus carry on an educational campaign to remedy the weaknesses and evils in the care of the state and county wards. Good administration, therefore, must rest upon the sound basis of fact. Regulations may be untried but the conditions which they are attempting to remedy must not be unknown.

3. **The Administrators.** Important as are the two factors previously mentioned, the most important of all is the personnel. Some people have native executive capacity; others lack it. All the training in the world alone will not make good administrators out of those who lack the natural capacity. People with a natural talent for organization and administration must be sought out.

The native talent for administration includes many qualities. The administrator *must be able to analyze carefully a situation;* otherwise he will be forever tilting at windmills instead of trying his power against real enemies. The capacity to analyze things will enable him to select the salient features in a bad situation and attack them; to understand the really important factors in a somewhat complex situation and place the main emphasis upon an effort to control that factor.

He must have a degree of *tact.* Administration is impossible unless one can handle others without exciting distrust or animosity—the vested interests which will be opposed to his measures, the selfishness of office holders, the pride of opinion of men and women long intrenched. If he has the capacity, he will devise a method of dealing with all of these in a way that will allay hostility and secure coöperation.

He must have *virility,* which usually means capacity for leadership, either by the force of his personality or the weight of his opinion. He must command respect for his measures. This list is not intended to be exhaustive but will suggest the native capacities a good executive should have.

A good administrator is *trained.* That does not mean that he is always well educated. If possible he should have a wide acquaintance with the principles of politics, economics and sociology; he should know the history of charitable institutions; he should have a capacity to appreciate the culture of a people; he must be trained in his particular field. So varied have become the duties of our state boards dealing with the dependent and defective classes that the suggestion has been made of having the board composed of specialists in various fields. It is almost impossible for any one man to know all that is worth knowing about the care of dependent children, the treatment of the defective classes, the conduct of poorhouses, and the fundamental principles of effective public outdoor relief. The suggestion of specialists on the board has been made in order to provide for a council to assist the executive in the varied duties of his office.

He will be *experienced.* Skill cannot be obtained without the training which experience provides.

To the degree that such a preparation can be given to the administrators of our charities they will succeed. Such persons are no less needed as the executives of local charities than of a state board. Social work with dependents requires that peculiar combination of native talent, good training, and experience noted above, if the work of these local organizations is to succeed.

The schools of social work and the universities are engaged in the task of selecting such talent and encouraging it to take up the training and get the experience necessary for such tasks. In the hands of the administrators lie the destinies of our weaker brethren. They are the skilled physicians of the lives sometimes distorted by bad heredity, sometimes stunted by bad conditions, frequently handicapped by lack of opportunity. Only their skill can make these defective lives happy and useful; make the poor, crushed with the burdens of life, take hope; rehabilitate those whom the "arrows of outrageous fortune" have deprived of the prospect of achievement. Into their hands is committed the leadership of the benevolent people of their community. Upon them depend the education of public sentiment and the development of public opinion concerning the care of the dependent classes. To them must we look for leadership in legislation which will remove the conditions which handicap and thrust down into poverty and dependency hosts of our population.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Efficient administration in state boards. Tilley, *Proceedings, National Conference of Charities and Correction,* 1914, p. 411.
2. The training of administrators. Lee, "Providing Teaching Material," *Ibid.,* 1920, p. 465.
3. How are the administrators of charitable and penal institutions selected and trained in your state?
4. The English system of poor-law administration. Aschrott and Prescott-Thomas, *The English Poor-Law System,* London, 1902, Part II, Chap. III.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

POPULATION AND POVERTY

THE problems growing out of population were first thoroughly treated by Robert Malthus in his *Essay on the Principle of Population.* Doubtless Malthus's interest in the poor laws was excited by their results in encouraging growth of population among the baser elements of the population in the period between 1750 and 1834. Says Aschrott, "From the middle of the last century (the eighteenth), or rather towards its last quarter, we find a retrograde movement in poor law administration." [1] During this period poor-relief legislation departed from the repressive character it had hitherto possessed. A mistaken sentiment of humanity combined with the desire of political popularity produced a laxity in the administration of the poor laws which was subversive of sound policy. The so-called "Allowance System," which consisted in granting poor relief in the home in aid of inadequate wages crept gradually into poor law practice. While several laws were passed which were aimed at the correction of abuses, in 1832 the Commission of Inquiry found that to a very large degree the poor laws were operating to destroy the independence of the English laborer and were putting a premium upon an excessive number of children in the families of the most dependent and idle men, and were breaking down morals through subsidizing illegitimacy. The workhouse had been abandoned, idle people were supported in their home, and repressive measures against able-bodied idlers were lacking in the practical administration. Says Aschrott, "Every inducement to make provision for the future was destroyed. Industry and skill in labor were only so much presented to the parish, which paid in accordance with a fixed scale, without regard to the results of the work. There was, moreover, a direct incentive to recklessness, especially in bringing children into the world. . . . In the case of girls, it tended to produce an increase of illegitimate births. Debauchery became a lucrative trade. It was not enough that, in this fashion, morality, the proper estimate of the dignity of labor, and the strength and

[1] *The English Poor Law System,* London, 1902, p. 16.

skill of the existing generation were impaired; but, further, the demoralizing influence operated on the children reared in such circumstances, and thus, in constantly widening circles of the population, notions of right and wrong were obliterated. . . . The good workman could only be disheartened at seeing that the lazy and careless man obtained a better living than was earned by all his own industry and skill. . . . By the Allowance System wages were lowered indirectly as well as directly, since the additional payment for each child was a distinct incentive to early marriages and to over-population." [1]

THE THEORY OF POPULATION

Malthus lived at a time when it was believed that a large population was desirable. The government of England wanted a large population to provide an army, a notion which we have seen regnant in modern Germany and which has been shared by many other ruling classes. The employers of England wanted a large population that they might have a plentiful supply of labor for their factories, again a phenomenon not peculiar to England.[2] Moreover, the interest of Malthus was challenged by certain theories of human equality and ultimate perfectability prevalent in his day. The particular incitement to consider the bearing of population upon this doctrine was the publication in 1793 of an essay by Godwin which he called *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness.* It was to this essay that Malthus replied in 1798 in his original *Essay on the Principle of Population.* His approach and his treatment excited so much interest that between that date and 1828 he issued six editions, each of which added further considerations resulting from his study and the criticisms called forth by his work. In the fifth edition he devotes three chapters to various systems of equality. His quarrel with them is that they supposed that society may be perfected without reference to the control of population. For thirty years with British bull-dog tenacity Malthus labored on successive editions of the *Essay,* correcting statements which led to misunderstandings, further clarifying his own thought and adding new arguments suggested by criticism and by his own further studies. The fundamentals of his original position, however, were unchanged.

Summary of Malthus's Theory of Population. While in the first edition he drew the melancholy conclusion that a perfect state of

[1] *Op. cit.,* pp. 30, 31.
[2] Haney, *History of Economic Thought,* New York, 1911, p. 193.

society is not to be hoped for in the light of universal evidence that population tends to outrun the means of subsistence, so that vice, famine, and war are needed to hold it in check, in the later editions he recognized the factor of "moral restraint" upon the passions, and thus weakens his argument against the perfectability of society. Yet, in his preface to the second edition Malthus says, "To those who still think that any check to population whatever would be worse than the evils which it would relieve, the conclusions of the former essay will remain in full force; and if we adopt this opinion we shall be compelled to acknowledge that the poverty and misery which prevail among the lower classes of society are absolutely irremediable."

His general conclusion is that in all societies of which we have knowledge there is a tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence. His explanation of this tendency rests upon: (a) The strength of the sexual passion which in countries in which population is free to expand results in doubling the population at least in a quarter of a century; (b) the inability of mankind to increase means of subsistence forever in a like ratio. In other words, while population tends to increase in geometrical ratio, the means of subsistence increases at not more than an arithmetical ratio.[1] It must he observed that while the geometrical ratio for the increase of population and the arithmetical ratio for the increase of food supply were suggested by Malthus, these ratios were not intended to be exact, and the essential of his theory is to be found in his statement that, "It is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it."

Now, the tendency for population to outrun the means of subsistence raises up checks. Wars of expansion kill off large numbers and so prevent births. Undernourishment and want raise death rates. Moreover, when population so increases that it is difficult to make a living, many marry later and postponement of marriage often leads to vice, which again checks population. Or, if postponement of marriage does not result in vice, fewer children are born, so again growth of numbers is checked.[2]

Subsequent Modifications of the Theory. The theory of Malthus was based upon what has become known as the "law of diminishing returns" as it applies to the cultivation. He saw clearly that it is impossible by means of adding labor and fertilizer to land to increase

[1] *Essay on Population*, Bk. I, Chap. I.
[2] *Op. cit.*, Bk. I, Chap. II.

its return to any considerable degree after a certain point in such intensive treatment has been reached. He would not have denied, of course, that it is possible to expand manufactures. But it is food of which he is thinking primarily; hence his conclusion.

Malthus has been severely criticized for minimizing, if not overlooking, some important factors which would materially delay population in the race with subsistence. Agricultural improvement, indeed, he did consider. His error lay in minimizing the extent of the possibility of improving agricultural methods, and in failing to anticipate that the improvement would continue in so many lines and with such great ingenuity. Such improvements do not affect the principle of population Malthus laid down; they only give subsistence a temporary advantage in the race.

Malthus did not recognize the possibility of the great development which has occurred in means of transportation, so that foodstuffs from the ends of the earth are imported into a nation in exchange for its manufactured products. In this way any country which has good communication with others may have a population much in excess of that possible to be sustained from her own soil. But, again, this consideration only internationalizes the operation of the principle. Since a time must come at last when every fertile acre is producing, poorer land must be resorted to and then the amount of manufactured product required to purchase the food will be greater, so that manufacturing cannot support on as high a standard of comfort as many as when the cost of each unit of subsistence was less.

Malthus did not appreciate the decisive influence of the factor of "moral restraint," which he recognized in the second edition of his work. Later studies have indicated that men are influenced by social and economic considerations which lead them to limit voluntarily the size of their families to a greater extent than Malthus ever anticipated. The maintenance of a standard of living for not only themselves but also for their children certainly operates to limit the size of prudent families. It is, of course, a serious question how far it is effective in the lowest economic classes. It has been pointed out, however, that prudence need not operate in all classes of society to bring about a very decided limitation in the numbers born. If only a large part of the married are foresighted, not only will the number of births be lessened, but those who control the size of their families will set the standards of life, and in the long run check the fecundity of the lower classes.

Hence, while we may not ignore the principles enunciated by Malthus, we need not take as gloomy a view as he took of the immediate future. On the other hand, we may not ignore the ominous fact that so far prudential considerations control the upper classes of society more than the lower, with the result that just those classes grow most rapidly which are least able to support large families. That there must be a controlled increase of population in the classes most likely to fall over the poverty line, if dependency is not to increase, cannot be gainsaid.[1]

BEARING OF THE THEORY OF POPULATION ON POVERTY AND DEPENDENCE

Even without over-population there will be some misery among the defective elements. Unless civilized society reverts to the barbarous practice of killing off the idiots, the insane, the crippled, and the aged, there will be dependents. The number will be smaller, however, than in a society in which competition is severe. In a society in which the means of subsistence are relatively abundant, the burden of these helpless upon the capable will be less than in one in which life is made hard by the pressure of population.

When the struggle becomes severe, a great number of dependents will tend to lower the standard of living for all. Malthus set forth how the presence of a large number of paupers operates to degrade the honest workers.[2] Very much later Mr. Charles Booth observed the same thing. He says, "In an early volume ('Poverty,' Vol. 1), I pointed out how great a burden to the community the poverty of the poor constitutes. Thousands of the lowest class are in every way wasteful. Though badly fed and clothed and housed, a considerable section is not self-supporting; what they earn is badly spent; and in spite of earning very little, they are comparatively unprofitable servants. In place of contributing to wealth they are a drain upon it.

"I further pointed out that those most injured by the depressed poverty of others, were those who are themselves only a little removed from the same condition; whose own life is dragged down by their unfortunate or weak or worthless neighbors—by the burthen they constitute on the rates, by their competition in the labor market, by their ill-regulated conduct in their homes and in the street, and by the irresistible appeal of extreme distress that makes itself felt nowhere more strongly than on the character of those who are themselves poor.

[1] Seager, *Introduction to Economics*, pp. 286-294.
[2] *Essay on Population*, Bk. III, Chap. V.

Humanly speaking, the existence of this class, constituted so largely of the inefficient and worthless, may be inevitable, but economically their services are not wanted at all. The work of the world could be performed better and more cheaply without them; what they do could be easily done by the classes above in their own partly occupied time; and the money so earned be better spent." [1]

Therefore, if the struggle for existence is not to become in the end so intense that the weaker will pull down into dependency the economic classes just above them, and if the altruism of the strong is not to be destroyed by the excessive burden of dependents to be borne, society must by some means control both the numbers and the quality of the population. Otherwise, selfishness will be intensified and the picture painted by Malthus will become a reality. We cannot suppose that society will allow the number of the dependent to increase *ad infinitum*. Already we hear grumblings about the cost of supporting the dependent and defective which leaves less to spend upon education and the general welfare. In both England and the United States the burden is becoming oppressive.

METHODS SUGGESTED TO CONTROL POPULATION

Various methods have been suggested for the control of numbers. In general these suggestions may be divided into two general classes—those which propose that society wash its hands of the incapable and let them perish, thus decreasing the population, and those which suggest certain social limitations upon the birthrate.

Population Controlled by Nature. Strange as it may seem, Spencer, Bagehot, and Huxley have no thoroughgoing proposals for the limitation of population. Spencer and Bagehot were strong in their condemnation of the legal and charitable efforts to care for the poor. All three picture the struggle for existence, pointing out its good results in the survival of the fittest, in developing intellect, and in producing progress. Yet, even Spencer, who opposed so strenuously the poor laws and looked askance at charity, nowhere says that elimination of the poor is the method by which population is to be limited. He stopped short of that conclusion. He assumes that there will be "never ceasing pressure of population," but his only theory of how through that struggle population will be lessened is the supposition that through it there comes about a greater strain upon the nervous

[1] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Final Vol., London, 1902, pp. 206, 207.

system, increased brain power, and draws the conclusion that "the particular kind of further evolution which man is hereafter to undergo, is one which, more than any other, may be expected to cause a decline in his power of reproduction." [1]

Bagehot thought that "The most melancholy of human reflections, perhaps, is that, on the whole, it is a question whether the benevolence of mankind does most good or harm. Great good, no doubt, philanthropy does, but then it also does great evil. It augments so much vice, it multiplies so much suffering, it brings to life such great populations to suffer and be vicious, that it is open to argument whether it be or be not an evil to the world. . . ." [2]

Yet he nowhere argues that the control of population be left to the positive checks of Malthus, but adopts Spencer's theory that with increased strain on the nervous system comes decreased fertility in man.

Huxley is convinced that "So long as unlimited multiplication goes on, no social organization which has ever been devised, or is likely to be devised, no fiddle-faddling with the distribution of wealth, will deliver society from the tendency to be destroyed by the reproduction within itself, in its intensest form, of that struggle for existence the limitation of which is the object of society." [3] Yet, Huxley believes that society "will secure a fair amount of physical and moral welfare" to the laboring population, and praises the work of such philanthropists as Lord Shaftesbury.[4] Thus, he goes farther than either Spencer or Bagehot in recognizing that society may limit the struggle for existence in the interests of the working classes and of society in general.

Limitation of Population by Social Measures. Scientists and economists thus agree that population must be limited, if misery is not to result. On how such limitation is brought about by social measures the scientists give no hint. Malthus in the first edition of his essay in 1798 held that it actually is brought about by the positive checks, while after 1803 he added the prudential check.

John Stuart Mill, the English economist, summarized the discussion of the limitations of population, and suggested certain economic and social checks which escaped the attention of Malthus. In no way minimizing the influence of the positive checks to population in backward societies, Mill emphasized the voluntary limitation of births. He

[1] Quoted in Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*. New York, 1898. pp. 198, 199.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 189.
[3] *Evolution and Ethics*, New York, 1896, pp. 211, 212, in his essay on "The Struggle for Existence."
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

says, "The starvation does not take place in ordinary years, but in seasons of scarcity, which in those states of society are much more frequent and more extreme than Europe is now accustomed to. In these seasons actual want, or the maladies consequent on it, carry off numbers of the population, which in a succession of favorable years again expands, to be again cruelly decimated. In a more improved state, few, even among the poorest of the people, are limited to actual necessaries, and to a bare sufficiency of these; and the increase is kept within bounds, not by excess of deaths, but by limitation of births." [1]

How is the limitation of births brought about?

1. Partly by prudent or moral self-restraint. Given a certain standard of living to which laborers are habituated, they see that by having too many children they and their children will have to fall below that standard. They, therefore, by prudent regard for economic consequences voluntarily limit the number of children in their families. Mill cited in his edition of 1848 Norway and parts of Switzerland as the countries in which this prudential limitation had been most effective in controlling the birth-rate. Mill very interestingly points out the results of such prudence. He says, "The average duration of life is the longest in Europe; the population contains fewer children, and a greater proportional number of persons in the vigor of life, than is known to be the case in any other part of the world. The paucity of births tends directly to prolong life, by keeping the people in comfortable circumstances; and the same prudence is doubtless exercised in avoiding causes of disease, as in keeping clear of the principal cause of poverty." [2]

2. Mill cites some countries in which marriage is not permitted until the contracting parties have prospect of comfortable support. "Under these laws . . . the condition of the people is reported to be good, and the illegitimate births not so numerous as might be expected." [3]

3. Lack of housing facilities for newly married couples. Mill says that in England in the eighteenth century "the growth of population was very effectually repressed by the difficulty of obtaining a cottage to live in." It will be interesting to see what effect the present scarcity of houses will have upon the marriage and birth-rates. Is it possible

[1] *Principles of Political Economy*, Ashley's edition, New York, 1909, p. 159.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 160.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

also that the prejudice against letting a house to a family with children may help to lessen the birth-rate?

4. Certain customs operate in some countries to control population. For example, in Norway and in some parts of England once it was the custom to engage agricultural laborers for a year, or a half year, at a time. Until one of the laborers with his family vacated the cottage in which he lived it was impossible for another man to get married because he had no place in which to live. In some countries of Europe it was once the custom for a woman, before marriage, to prepare enough clothing to last her for many years. This custom delayed marriage in many cases.

5. Multiplication of wants which influence self-restraint. To-day we cannot depend upon the customs mentioned above, or upon the legal restraints to marriage, except for defectives. However, experience has shown that there are numbers of people who for the sake of living better themselves, and providing their children with opportunities of education and position denied to themselves, do limit the size of their families. It is the poorly paid classes of our laborers, hopeless to do anything better, either for themselves or their children, who multiply without restraint. If you have a society in which there is a chance to rise in life, and access to influences—educational and social—which create the desire for better houses in which to live, better food to eat, better furniture, more means of recreation, and some of the comforts or even luxuries of life, you bring into action prudential birth-control. Therefore it is not accidental that increase of opportunities for education lessens the birth-rate. It is conceivable that a period of full employment with high wages might have a very good effect in habituating numbers of people to a standard of life much higher than that to which they had been accustomed, that their tastes would rise sufficiently to bring into operation self-control in propagation. How much effect the present efforts to promote popular education by lectures, by providing visiting housekeepers to aid women in their own homes in a new pride and efficiency in home-making, by increasing public recreation facilities so that the laboring classes may have physical enjoyment in association with their neighbors, and by organizing classes in settlements and in the social centers of the schools and churches, will result in raising of the standard of life among the poorer classes, we do not yet know. It is possible, however, that we may find that it pays even from the standpoint of the control

of population to provide such things for those who cannot provide them for themselves.

6. The growing political and industrial freedom of women may have some influence upon the marriage and birth rates. Statistics do not yet enable us to say just what factors have produced the constant decrease in the birth-rate which every modern industrial society has shown in recent years. We know that the birth-rate has steadily fallen in the United States since the first census. We also know that with the entrance of women into industry and with growth of the higher education of women, divorce has increased. It is possible that woman's greater economic freedom may augment celibacy. It may result in limiting the number of children of some who do marry. We do not know.

Certain Subsidiary Measures. Certain other measures have been suggested. Some are of subordinate importance, because they are limited in their promised benefits to a certain country, others are of questionable value, if all that they entail be taken into account.

One of these is the *restriction of immigration.* In a country like the United States, which has received so large a proportion of its present population from other countries, the matter is of importance in this discussion. Earlier, when the country had much free land to be developed, immigation may have been a boon, although Francis Walker doubted that immigration had been a benefit to the United States in the long run. At any rate immigration hastened the economic development of this country.

The country, however, is filling up and approaching the saturation point. Poverty is increasing among us. Except in periods of unusual industrial activity, the number of dependents rises from year to year. Hordes from countries where the laborers have lower standards of living are crowding to our shores, and displacing workers already here. As Gidding has said, if those who are displaced could be placed in higher economic positions, if the organization of industrial society in the United States could keep pace with the displacements made necessary by new processes, the problem would be less.[1] As shown by the attitude of organized labor to the subject, the laborers in the United States are feeling keenly the stress which immigration entails. Moreover, under the law of diminishing returns, and the arrival in large numbers of immigrants with lower standards of living, it is difficult to maintain a standard of life which will act as a stimulus to ambition and

[1] *Democracy and Empire,* New York, 1901, pp. 86, 87.

hence keep down the birth-rate. Released from the operation of the prudential considerations induced by hard economic conditions in their own lands, these immigrants exhibit here an enormous fecundity. True, they tend to be influenced in time by the higher standards of life here, and in the second and third generation, limitation of family appears. In the meantime, however, some of them have sunk into dependency, while the population pressure they have contributed to makes harder the lot of all labor.

It has been urged that we should encourage their coming because it does result in higher standards as compared with the standards they have had in their own countries. Is it not possible, however, that the United States will do more to raise the standards of the people in these countries from which they come, if it makes sure that the conditions here be such that high standards here may not be lowered, than if it pursues an immigration policy that degrades American standards of living, especially since experience shows that emigration does not reduce the pressure of population in the countries of Europe from which they come?[1]

Birth Control has been suggested as an effective method of cutting down excessive population. Holland and some of the other countries of Europe are experimenting with the subject. In most of the states of this country, however, and in many countries of Europe to spread the knowledge of contraceptive methods is unlawful. Furthermore, it has been felt by some that such methods are immoral. To some minds they are analogous to abortion, which is a crime. To others such methods contravene the Christian religion. Others think that the spread of knowledge concerning contraception would result in an increase of immorality. Still others point out that a knowledge of such methods of preventing birth is possessed by the higher economic classes of society and is leading to what is known as "race-suicide." Into the controversy which has raged over the question it is unnecessary to enter here.[2] The point in connection with our subject is that it is a method, which, if carefully guarded, would tend to decrease excessive births without the evils now attaching to abortion. Avowedly it involves less self-restraint than voluntary control in the marriage relationship. It is much to be preferred to deferring mar-

[1] Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1920, pp. 36, 37.

[2] For a discussion of both sides of the controversy see Knopf, "Birth Control," *The Survey*, Nov. 18, 1916; Ryan, "The Catholic Church and Birth Restriction," *The Survey*, Mar. 4, 1916.

riage in order to limit offspring.[1] Artificial restriction of birth is now taking place even in states having laws forbidding the giving of information on the subject. Some believe that it would be much better that physicians should have the right to give advice on the matter rather than to have the matter in the hands of ignorant charlatans exploiting contraceptive methods for gain.

Prudential restraint should be mentioned here, although in the present state of morals, it probably would not operate effectively among the poor, who have the largest families and whose numerous children are of the greatest concern in a program for the prevention of poverty and dependency.

Measures to Limit the Propagation of Defectives. One is on quite a different footing in discussing the social limitation of births among defectives. There is less doubt here in the minds of most men. While the average number of children growing to adulthood in families of normal mentality is 3.4, the average among mental defectives is 4.4. If they are left unrestrained it is only a question of time when defective stock will swamp the mentally normal.

With such people it is socially desirable that increase should be checked. With those who are from defective stock yet have enough intelligence to appreciate argument education will help to solve the problem. Some do, and more would, if its importance were brought to their attention, refrain from having offspring. Moreover, since, as Goddard has shown, many of the feeble-minded are under- rather than oversexed, under proper tutelage many of them could easily be kept from marrying and having children. Furthermore, if an enlightened public conscience can be developed on eugenics, negative and positive, much greater control over the defective both by public opinion and by legal measures would probably occur. For the worst sterilization promises a way out.

For the defective with vicious tendencies segregation is necessary during the child-bearing period for women and probably for life in the case of men. Colony care and carefully regulated parole, experience seems to show, will care for the others. The important thing is that they do not propagate. Here certainly there will be no debate on the desirability of limiting births. If the increase of the defective could be prevented, perhaps 25 per cent of our present chronic dependency would be eliminated in the next generation.

[1] The history of the movement is traced by Professor James A. Field in "Publicity by Prosecution," *The Survey*, Feb. 19, 1916.

That there are considerable numbers of people on the border line between mental normality and defect every investigation shows. It is probable that these compose a large part of that class described by Mr. Charles Booth in his studies of London quoted in the first part of this chapter and referred to by Professor Giddings when he says, "Modern civilization does not require, it does not even need, the drudgery of needle-women or the crushing toil of men in a score of life-destroying occupations. If these wretched beings should drop out of existence and no others stood ready to fill their places, the economic activities of the world would not greatly suffer. A thousand devices latent in inventive brains would quickly make good any momentary loss. The true view of the facts is that these people continue to exist after the kinds of work that they know how to perform have ceased to be of any considerable value to society." [1]

Conclusion. No one knows now just how the population can be so accurately proportioned to the natural resources of a country and to the stage of organization of effort that the adjustment will be perfect. Fortunately such perfect adjustment is not necessary to remedy the disparity between population and subsistence. Even if we did know what the proportion should be, the last war has certainly taught us that in times of unusual industrial activity the number of laborers, even including the poorest, will be too small. In times of industrial depression, the number, even of the best laborers, will be too great.

Since it is not possible to diminish the number of laborers in accordance with the demands of industry, if the population problem is to be adjusted, there must be stabilization of industry. If that is achieved the checks to population already discussed will operate to reduce the number of people in a country to the level of its industrial development. If industry is stabilized, and the population is regulated to the demand, the amount of poverty and dependency will be very greatly decreased. Once the adjustment of numbers to subsistence resources is close enough to insure that capable stock is not degraded in its standard of living and that defective strains are prevented from propagating, then the struggle will be between the more capable elements of the population and the struggle will give a spur to the development of the better abilities. Those elements of the population will increase with whom prudential checks operate. Whatever measures be ex-

[1] *Democracy and Empire,* New York, 1901, pp. 82, 83.

pedient population must be controlled both as to numbers and as to quality if poverty and dependency are to be prevented.

TOPICS FOR REPORTS

1. Population and dependency. Fetter, "Population or Prosperity," Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems,* Boston, 1916, p. 219.
2. The significance of the declining birth-rate. "The Declining Birth Rate," Wolfe, *Ibid.,* pp. 79-117.
3. Eugenics in the control of the birth of defectives. Wolfe, *Ibid.,* Chap. IV.
4. The restriction of immigration. Fairchild, in Wolfe, *Ibid.,* p. 387.

CHAPTER XXXIX

SCIENCE AND THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

INTER-RELATIONS between Philanthropy and Sociology. Sociology is in part a science and in part a philosophy. It is concerned with the problem of ascertaining how human relationships were established—the causes, forms, processes, and products; with the development of social forms, ideals, and organizations—causes, processes, and results; and with an evaluation of social products in terms of an ideal of human welfare or progress. As a science, it must patiently gather facts which throw light upon origin, development, and results. On the basis of these facts it philosophizes. That is, sociology endeavors to interpret the facts in generalizations as to tendencies, similarities and differences in their occurrence. For example, if the sociologist finds that a certain form of the family arises amid certain industrial conditions and is able to show that there is no concomitant set of circumstances other than the industrial, he infers a high degree of probability that the industrial conditions and the form of family are closely related. He cannot be certain that one has caused the other to appear, however, unless he can find that that form of the family never develops unless those industrial conditions are present. If he discovers that when one is found the other also is always present, then the question to be determined is whether one causes the other, or whether both are the product of some other factor. If he is unable to find societies in which the inter-connected phenomena—in the example, the family and industrial conditions—are isolated, or if they are combined with other social features, but without modification of either family or industrial activities, he cannot reach absolute certainty concerning casual relationships. If, however, one factor varies while the other remains unaltered, he will suspect that one does not cause the other.

Now in human society, so varied are the influences producing change, it is often very difficult to determine causation. Moreover, the difficulty of isolating phenomena, of varying the quantity of one

factor while leaving the other unchanged is enormous. Hence, social cause and law are very difficult to establish. In some cases it may be done by a wide comparison of the societies to be found in different parts of the world. In others it may never be possible. In any case, absolute certainty is remote; only a fair degree of probability is possible.

Social theory, therefore, as yet must be largely in the nature of hypothesis to be verified by patient research.

BEARING OF SOCIAL RESEARCH ON SOCIAL THEORY

In certain fields of sociology, however, research and experiment are more promising than in others. Where there is a wide variety of social forms comparative study will reveal some relationships more or less constant. In such fields as the treatment of poverty, dependency, crime, and defect, experiments are being made in our highly organized societies. With these experiments can be compared not only the results of others in the same or different countries, but modern experiments can be compared with historic experiments. For example, if it can be shown that indiscriminate charity raises up a crop of beggars, while discriminate relief, coupled with service, lessens pauperization, then experience has furnished a general principle of social policy. Also, if experience shows that severely repressive measures do not lessen the number of crimes committed, or do increase recidivism, it is clear that this treatment has failed and other policies must be tested before society can feel that it has discovered the principle of effective social treatment. Again, experiment has shown that children best develop socially in normal family life rather than in institutions. This discovery has resulted in the corollaries that children whose natural families have been disrupted should be placed in families, rather than be kept in congregate institutions; that probation for children is usually better than reformatories, especially for first offenders; and that children should be cared for by so-called "mothers' pensions," when poverty is the only problem in a disrupted home with the mother still living. Thus, the speculations of general sociology, psychology, and political science provide hypotheses which the social technician can test out in experience.

On the other hand, the testing of general principles by their application to particular social problems throws light back upon the generalizations of pure sociology. For example, experience in the treatment of the pauperized family has confirmed Spencer's generalization

that domestic institutions vary in strength with the economic arrangements of the society in which the family exists. Spencer deduced that if the parent is relieved of responsibility by the state or by philanthropy, some parents will desert their children. The experience of the social worker has confirmed the theory. On the other hand, Spencer believed that social progress is made only by allowing the weak and helpless to succumb in the struggle for existence. Social technology, however, has discovered that when we allow children and unprotected women to struggle with adverse circumstances, not all the incapables are wiped out. Some of them become parasitic by adapting themselves to the circumstances and survive in a socially useless and sometimes menacing mode of life, while some naturally capable are prevented from developing normally. Thus, the hypotheses of general sociology meeting the test of experiment are confirmed or exploded.

Hence, the study of methods of dealing with poverty and dependency has a direct bearing upon sociology. Social technology supplies in such fields the touchstone of experiment upon which all science rests. It takes the suggestions of the sociologists which have any bearing upon its problems and tests them by the results of their application, just as the mechanical engineer takes certain principles of physics and tests them in the field of applied mechanics.

Social technology cannot try out all the offerings in the general field of sociology. It can only test those which admit of being applied in the field of social adjustment. It proves them by applying them to the problems of poverty, dependency, defect, and crime, and reports the results. It modifies, confirms, or rejects in accordance with the findings of experience.

SCIENCE AND PHILANTHROPY

Social policies in the treatment of poverty and dependency antedated the birth of science. Very clearly in social development the group was forced to give attention to its needy members. When the blood-bound group was the chief social organization, the needy were helped by the family or the whole group. Until social and economic classes appeared dependency in the modern sense did not exist. In early historic societies, such as the early Assyrian and early Hebrew, various arrangements existed to provide for the support of the dependent. Slavery, polygamy, concubinage, remarriage, and adoption of children, were rough measures for the care of those who to-day would be called dependents. The relentless exposure of defective children was prac-

ticed. The aged were often killed. The insane and feeble-minded were outlawed or killed as possessed of some strange, occult and socially dangerous supernatural power. In these ways, the abnormal were exterminated. Thus, by a rough method, which probably often destroyed the sound with the unsound, the defective germ plasm was wiped out.

Even in these early societies, however, we see the beginnings of more humane treatment. So much more rapid was the development of humane sentiments, especially under the influence of kinship and religion, than the growth of science that man came to interfere seriously with a selective death rate. The result was an accumulation of defective paupers. As we have seen, the Church added the religious motive in the pauperization of large numbers. When the conflict was between a ruthlessness, which let the capable perish with the incapable, and a charity which was indiscriminate, the Church and the moral sentiments inclined to the latter. It has remained for modern philanthropy to resolve the difficulty.

No realm of thought is immune from the infection of ideas in other realms. The great changes in knowledge and speculation characteristic of the last century and a half have affected the theory and practice of philanthropy. Before modern economic and scientific principles were worked out, philanthropy was possessed of proper impulses, but it lacked scientific discrimination.

Economics and Philanthropy. The early English economists made serious attacks upon the English Poor Laws. England had developed her public poor law system earlier than any of the countries on the Continent. Adam Smith gives very little attention to them. His only reference to their working is a criticism of the law of settlement which interfered with the free movement of laborers and so accounted for differences in wages in neighboring parts of England. With his belief in freedom of movement for laborers naturally he criticized these provisions.[1]

The most serious attack upon the poor laws of England was made by Malthus in his celebrated *Essay on the Principle of Population.* Interested as he was in the limitation of the population so that the individual would be able to secure for his labor a return adequate to self-support, Malthus saw that the poor laws of his day resulted in pauperizing the lower class workers. He saw them degraded from

[1] *Wealth of Nations,* 5th Edition, Book I, Chapter X, Part II, Dublin, 1793, Vol. I, pp. 139 ff.

the spirit of independence, which he thought all people should have. He says, "The poor laws of England tend to depress the general condition of the poor in these two ways. Their first obvious tendency is to increase population without increasing the food for its support. A poor man may marry with little or no prospect of being able to support a family without parish assistance. They may be said, therefore, to create the poor which they maintain: And, as the provisions of the country must, in consequence of the increased population, be distributed to every man in smaller proportions, it is evident that the labor of those who are not supported by parish assistance, will purchase a smaller quantity of provisions than before, and consequently more of them must be driven to apply for assistance.

"Secondly, the quantity of provisions consumed in workhouses by a part of the society that cannot in general be considered as the most valuable part, diminishes the shares that would otherwise belong to more industrious and more worthy members, and thus, in the same manner, forces more to become dependent. If the poor in the workhouses were to live better than they do now, this new distribution of the money of the society would tend more conspicuously to depress the condition of those out of the workhouses by occasioning an advance in the price of provisions." [1]

He declared that, hard as it may appear in individual instances, dependent poverty ought to be held disgraceful. He believed the poor laws did not make it disgraceful. He held that they were "a set of grating, inconvenient, and tyrannical laws totally inconsistent with the genuine spirit of the constitution." He felt persuaded that if they had never existed in England, "though there might have been a few more instances of very severe distress, the aggregate mass of happiness among the common people would have been much greater than it is at present." He believed that they created "wide-spreading tyranny, dependence, intolerance, and unhappiness."

So thoroughly convinced was Malthus that the poor laws were entirely vicious that he advocated their gradual abolition. He held that the poor had no *right* to public support and that if society were left undisturbed the natural affections of men for their wives and children were such that he could not believe that "there are ten men breathing so atrocious as to desert them." [2]

[1] Malthus, *The Principle of Population,* last edition, New York, 1890, Book III, Chapter VI.
[2] *Ibid.,* Book IV, Chapter VIII.

Malthus believed in the charitable care of the dependent poor if the care was discriminating and personal. He says, "The discretionary power of giving or withholding relief which is to a certain extent vested in parish officers and justices, is of a very different nature, and will have a very different effect from the discrimination which may be exercised by voluntary charity."[1] He held many principles which the best charity workers of the present time hold with reference to the way in which aid should be given. He contended that what is given to the poor under the poor laws is not charity, that any charity that is forced from the giver in any way does harm to both the giver and the recipient. "But it is far otherwise with that voluntary and active charity, which makes itself acquainted with the object which it relieves; which seems to feel, and to be proud of, the bond that unites the rich with the poor; which enters into their houses, informs itself not only of their wants, but of their habits and dispositions; checks the hopes of clamorous and obtrusive poverty, with no other recommendation but rags; and encourages with adequate relief, the silent and retiring sufferer laboring under unmerited difficulties."

The attack of Malthus was the most thorough-going and trenchant of any of the English economists. McCulloch later attacked vehemently Gilbert's act because it repealed the law authorizing parishes, if they thought fit, to refuse relief except in the workhouse, and its plan for supplementing wages from the poor rates. He also attacked the poor law amendment act of 1834, passed upon Senior's report of the poor law commission appointed in 1832. This act centralized the supervision of relief in a central board in London instead of leaving the responsibility for relief upon the propertied classes of the various parishes.[2]

McCulloch differs from Malthus in thinking that charity is even worse in its effects upon the poor than the reception of help from the poor rates. He says, "It is idle, indeed, to talk about the independence of a man who is receiving charity; but it may be doubted whether an individual supported by the poor's rate can fairly be regarded as being in such a predicament. He is merely sharing in a public provision made by the state. . . . It may, therefore, be fairly presumed that the decent pride and independence of the poor will be more likely to be supported under a system of this sort than if they

[1] *Op. cit.*, Book IV, Chapter X.
[2] McCulloch, *Principles of Political Economy*, Edinburgh, 1864, pp. 368-395.

are obliged to depend, in periods of distress, on the bounty of others." [1]

He calls attention to another matter which shows that certain of the classical economists were not the outspoken enemies of philanthropy which they have sometimes been painted. He says, "An individual is unfortunate, perhaps, or he may not have been as thrifty or as prudent as he ought—but is he, therefore, to be allowed to die in the streets? It is proper, speaking generally, to do nothing that may weaken the spirit of industry; but if, in order to strengthen it, all relief were refused to the maimed and impotent poor, the habits and feelings of the people would be degraded and brutalized by familiarity with the most abject wretchedness; at the same time that, by driving the victims of poverty to despair, a foundation would be laid for the most dreadful crimes, and such a shock given to the security of property and of life as would very much over-balance whatever additional spur the refusal of support might give to industry and economy." [2]

A further indication of the fact that the classical economists were not hostile to poor relief in general is the fact already referred to, that Senior, with the assistance of Mr. Chadwick, wrote the Report of the Commission of Inquiry on which the great law of 1834 was based.[3] They were opposed only to specific methods of relief.

Bagehot, the banker and economist, represents more closely than the later economists the position of Malthus on philanthropy. He says, "The most melancholy of human reflections, perhaps, is that on the whole it is a question whether the benevolence of mankind does most good or harm. Great good, no doubt, philanthropy does, but then it also does great evil; it augments so much vice; it multiplies so much suffering; it brings to life such great populations to suffer and to become vicious, that it is an open argument whether it be or be not an evil to the world; and this is entirely because excellent people fancy that they can do much by rapid action, that they will most benefit the world when they most relieve their own feelings, that as soon as an evil is seen 'something' ought to be done to stay and prevent it. One may incline to hope that the balance of good over evil is in favor of benevolence; one can hardly bear to think that it is not so; but anyhow, it is certain that there is a most heavy debit of evil, and that this

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 373.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 369.
[3] Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, London, 1910, Art., "Poor-Law History," Vol. III, p. 156. See also John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, edited by W. J. Ashley, New York, 1909, pp. 365, 366.

burden might almost all have been spared us if philanthropists, as well as others, had not inherited from their barbarous forefathers a wild passion for instant action." [1]

The economists had not a little to do with the reform of the English poor laws. The service was reciprocated by Lord Shaftesbury and others of his time when the factory acts, which were generally opposed by the English economists, were put through the English Parliament largely at the instance of the philanthropists.[2]

This conflict between the economists and the philanthropists has now almost died away. The charity workers are conscious of the evils of indiscriminate philanthropy. They recognize that there are certain economic principles which must not be ignored by the administrator of charity. But some who administer our poor laws have very imperfect conceptions of the fundamental nature of economic society and perhaps even less of the principles of modern charity. On the other hand, the modern economists have recognized certain social principles in the treatment of the poor which were not clearly seen by Malthus.

Psychology and Philanthropy. Between psychology and philanthropy there has been no such conflict as between economics and philanthropy. Psychology developed later than economics, and, moreover, it has not come so directly into contact with a witless poor law. Nevertheless, psychology might have criticized at some length the attitude of charity towards certain paupers. Until recently charity workers have been too prone to ignore that pauperism and poverty resulting from abnormal mental conditions. How often has the poor-law official and the charity worker proceeded on the assumption that the economic adjustment of a dependent family was all that was required! How frequently, as we now see, is the inability to make a living and make a home due to mental defect of one kind or another! Psychology, therefore, has thrown a great light upon the problem of poverty and dependency in those cases in which mental disease or defect is a factor. Charity has profited by it, and public poor relief is beginning to write into the law provisions based upon an appreciation of the rôle of mental conditions in producing dependency.

Moreover, social psychology has suggested to the social worker that even in the family where mental defect is not the main factor it is

[1] Bagehot, *Physics and Politics,* No. 5, Works, Hartford, 1891, Vol. IV, p. 566. He has been called the "Darwinian" in politics. McIntosh, *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd,* New York, 1899, Chap. XII.

[2] Gibbons, *Industry in England,* New York, 1906, pp. 404-406.

important in rehabilitation to consider the mental habits and ideals which economic depression and dependency induce. How often it is necessary to change the mental presuppositions and habits of mind which have established themselves in the poor! Something of that sort lies at the bottom of the contention of Malthus that dependency must be held disgraceful. Mental factors are kept in mind when social workers agree that relief should include only the necessaries, that the condition of the dependent must not be better than that of the independent laborer, if pauperization is to be prevented. On the other hand, mental principles are at the front of the contention of McCulloch and of modern social workers that dependents and those on the border of dependency must be inspired with ambition and hope rather than be confirmed in despair. Mental considerations lie at the foundation of the institution of the friendly visitor, who creates a neighborly bond between the poor and herself and tries to inspire the poverty stricken with her attitude towards life and its problems.

As psychology develops a science of human motives and a technique of guidance based upon a scientific knowledge of the emotions, the intellectual processes and of the ways in which the will is molded, more help will be available for the social worker. Such knowledge will condition her methods and assist her in dealing with the problems of human conduct among the poor and the dependent. How little we yet know scientifically of the human mind in all those complex and delicate interactions which determine conduct! How much the social worker, that physician of deranged social life in home and community, needs all the help she can get from psychology, only those know who so often stand baffled before the difficult problem of rehabilitating the family and the individual.

Biology and Philanthropy. One searches the early English biologists in vain for an expression of opinion on methods of poor relief. One might suspect that Huxley would stand for a policy that would allow the poor to perish as a means of selecting out the undesirable elements in an over-abundant population. But read these words of his: "Any full and permanent development of the productive powers of an industrial population, then, must be compatible with, and, indeed, based upon, a social organization which will secure a fair amount of physical and moral welfare to that population; which will make for good and not for evil. Natural science and religious enthusiasm rarely go hand in hand, but in this matter their accord is complete; and the least sympathetic of naturalists can but admire the

insight and the devotion of such social reformers as the late Lord Shaftesbury, whose recently published 'Life and Letters' gives a vivid picture of the condition of the working classes 50 years ago, and of the pit which our industry, ignoring these plain truths, was then digging under its own feet." [1] The whole passage from which this is taken should be read if one wishes to see clearly how Huxley reconciles Science and Philanthropy.

When Huxley and his colleagues were writing, the theory of heredity was in its infancy. Since that time, Weissmann's and Mendel's investigations and speculations based upon them have become a part of biological thought. The development of biological theory in its bearing upon social problems, from the early radical to the later moderate, is sketched by J. Arthur Thomson in these words: "Needless to say, many of the inquirers who have become impressed by the facts have not been backward in making practical suggestions, which might be arranged, if one had time, on an inclined plane. Some, more trustful in natural selection than in any human device, have taken up an extreme *laissez faire* position, which, as human society is constituted, is quite untenable. . . . Others, going to the opposite extreme, have advocated what may be called surgical methods for both sexes to a degree that is more than Spartan. Between these two extremes we find all manner of suggestions. We need only refer to the marriage examination and certificate system which is being increasingly discussed—to much profit, it seems to us—in Germany; the segregation schemes which suggest that those obviously unfit who have to fall back on the state (i. e., the relatively fit citizens) for support should forfeit the right to reproduce, for which, again, there is much to be said; and the wise and gentle constructive eugenic proposals with which Mr. Galton has made us all familiar." [2]

Among American biologists there is to be seen the same cautious attitude. Says one, "There is one grave danger connected with the administration of our humane and commendable philanthropies toward the unfortunate, for it frequently happens that defectives are kept in institutions until they are sexually mature or are partly self-supporting, when they are liberated only to add to the burden of society by reproducing only their like." [3] Another writes, "It is the personal duty of every member of society to aid in affording the opportunity

[1] *Evolution and Ethics*, New York, 1896, p. 217.
[2] *Heredity*, London, 1912, p. 533.
[3] Walter, *Genetics*, New York, 1914, p. 253.

and providing the proper stimuli to insure that out of the many possibilities of behavior which exist in the young at birth, those forms are realized which are best worth while to the individual and to society. And while we recognize that improved environment alone cannot correct human deficiencies we must nevertheless not relax our efforts to get cleaner foods, cleaner surroundings, cleaner politics, and cleaner hearts.

"Why go on alleviating various kinds of misery that might equally well be prevented? When one squarely faces the issue, surely the absurdity of our present practices cannot but be evident to even the most thoughtless!" [1]

Philanthropist and biologist have come together in concerted effort to solve the problem of dependency, each recognizing the point of view of the other, and each contributing his part to the program of treatment and prevention. The biologist has supplied the facts and theories which explain why some people are dependent, and has suggested the methods by which hereditary defect which produces some of the dependent may be cut off. The social worker and the sociologist, having studied the experiments in social institutions and the laws which have been followed in treating dependents, undertake so to order our social measures that the hereditary factors in dependency may be controlled. The knowledge of both biologist and sociologist is still incomplete. Further experience must be had before we can be sure that we have discovered the best ways to abolish pauperism due to defect. The hopeful aspect of the matter is that biology and sociology are working hand in hand on the problem.

Medicine and Philanthropy. Between the doctors and the philanthropists there has been no such conflict as between the economists and the philanthropists. Modern medicine, however, since the formulation of the germ theory of disease, has modified philanthropic practice. Prevention has become a dominant note in both medicine and philanthropy. The study of the causes of illness has led the physician to recognize both the inherent weaknesses of the individual and the factors to be found in living and working conditions. It was quite natural, therefore, that the physician should bring to the problem of poverty and dependency caused immediately by illness his knowledge of the hygienic factors in human life. Moreover, his contact with social workers is so close that he can sympathize with their difficulties.

[1] Guyer, *Being Well-Born*. Indianapolis, 1916, pp. 337, 338.

This puts them on a friendly footing and enables the doctor to educate the social worker without exciting hostility.

On the other hand, the practising physician has come to recognize in recent years the important part which the social worker bears in the treatment and prevention of disease. This recognition is to be found not only in the department of social work established in connection with hospitals, but in the coöperation with organized charity in charitable cases.[1]

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PHILANTHROPY

Spencer was outspoken against public poor relief in England. He says, "When under the new Poor Law provision was made for the accommodation of vagrants in the Union Houses, it was hardly expected that a body of tramps would be thereby called into existence who would spend their time walking from Union to Union throughout the kingdom. It was little thought by those who in past generations assigned parish pay for the maintenance of illegitimate children that as a result a family of such would by and by be considered a small fortune, and the mother of them a desirable wife; nor did the statesmen see that, by the law of settlement, they were organizing a disastrous inequality of wages in different districts, entailing a system of clearing away cottages, which would result in the crowding of bedrooms, and in a consequent moral and physical degeneration." [2]

His animus is connected with his political philosophy. He does not believe in English poor relief because it subverts his theory of the functions of the state. That his opinion did not arise primarily from the evil results the poor law produced is shown by his words in his essay replying to Huxley's position in the latter's essay on *Administrative Nihilism*.[3] Here he argues that sympathy for one's fellows has led to charities and other voluntary means of help for the unfortunate very superior to the poor laws before their reform in 1834. Spencer combines the *laissez faire* political economy, the politics of Bentham, and the philosophy of the "natural selectionists" in science, and draws conclusions as to government, in this case as related to the relief of the poor, based upon the premises of Malthus and the theory of the

[1] Cabot, *Social Work; Essays on the Meeting-Ground of Doctor and Social Worker*, Boston and New York, 1919, Introduction; Cannon, *Social Work in Hospitals*, New York, 1917, Chapters 1-6.

[2] Spencer, *Essays, Scientific, Political and Speculative*, London, 1858, "Over Legislation," p. 321.

[3] Essay on "Specialized Administration," *Recent Discussions in Science, Philosophy, and Morals*, New York, 1873, pp. 272, 273.

"struggle for existence" made famous by Darwin, Huxley, and himself. He held that the function of government was to protect society from external foes and to limit itself to the establishment of justice within its borders. Consequently, he was much opposed to the extension of governmental activities for the control of private business enterprises and of charitable work. He believed that if private initiative were left alone, all of the needy would be cared for by the active sympathy of private organizations. Since his day, however, the *laissez faire* theory in government as in economics has been exploded. Experience has shown that by perfecting governmental machinery much can be done to guide private initiative and to protect classes unable to protect themselves. Consequently, in recent years, whether for good or ill, governmental control of private activities has very greatly increased. Mr. Charles Booth said at the end of his great work: "With regard to progressive administration, still shaping its ideals and fretting against restraints, the day of reckoning and disappointment is not now, and, though it will surely come, there is in that no reason for holding our hands. The failures may be many, and the success that can be won may take some unexpected shape, but at least the effort to attain it must be good in stimulating the consciousness and vigor of common life."[1]

Governmental control has been growing very rapidly in poor relief and certain aspects of charity work, as we have noticed in a previous chapter. In the control of private charities dealing especially with helpless humanity it has become absolutely essential to protect the wards of the state.

Furthermore, in some of the most advanced countries and the most progressive states of the United States the government has instituted agencies for the comparative study of legislation and administration. The purpose is to secure a knowledge of experiments in social control of poor relief and charity in order that previous mistakes may not be repeated. Such study has saved the taxpayers' money and has suggested better methods of the treatment of the dependent.

Moreover, since many of the conditions which produce dependency are state-wide and others are even nation-wide, the power of the government has been invoked to undertake preventive measures. This may be seen in our public health departments—city, state, and national—and in our public schools.

[1] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Final Vol., London, 1902, p. 203.

Thus, the new movements of modern life have touched philanthropy and government in the care of the dependent in many ways. The great movements in science, politics, economics, and religion characteristic of the last half century have reacted upon philanthropic thought and practice. Consequently, modern charity is possessed of an entirely new spirit and follows quite new practices. Based upon the observation of facts, full consideration of the psychology of human relationships, and taking into account the results of modern science in every field, it endeavors to help the unfortunate members of society to readjust themselves to normal relationships and to bear their part in the work of the world. Its purpose is no philosophical dream of human perfectability such as Plato and Godwin advocated, but an adaptation of our knowledge of all human relationships to practically improve the delicate social adjustments on which human independence and happiness so much depend. In its philosophy it is meliorative; it uses methods which have been approved by experience; it refuses to be turned aside from its task of helping distressed human beings with the best methods it has been able to discover. It will not be diverted by doctrinaire discussions of socialism, communism, or any other "ism" aiming at social perfectability. One foot is placed firmly upon the solid ground of individual case work, the other is upon the equally solid ground of the improvement of social machinery slowly and gradually as experience shows the way. Mr. Charles Booth has said: "While the whole of life might well be lifted on to a higher plane, we cannot dare to wish that the struggle should be avoided. And light breaks through the darkness. Destitution degrades, but poverty is certainly no bar to happiness. If we permit our minds to dwell upon the masses in London who exist under its disabilities, we may think also of the thousands of poor but wholesome homes; of husbands and wives happy in working for each other and rejoicing in their children—of whom in this world it may be said, 'Of such are the Kingdom of Home'." [1]

[1] Booth, *Life and Labour of the People of London,* Final Vol., London, 1902. p. 201.

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QUESTIONS

Chapter I.

1. What do you understand to be "the costs of progress"?
2. Wherein lies the importance of poverty and dependency?
3. What are the causes of poverty and dependency?
4. What is involved in a study of poverty and dependency?

Chapter II.

1. What gave rise to the problem of poverty?
2. What were the early methods of approach to the problem?
3. What is the modern method of approach?
4. Why is it necessary in human society to consider other factors than "natural selection"?

Chapter III.

1. What types of dependents are there?
2. Define pauperism and classify paupers.
3. Define poverty.
4. What is meant by "a standard of living"? "Standard of life"?

Chapter IV.

1. Distinguish between primary and secondary poverty.
2. Give figures indicating the extent of poverty in Great Britain; in the United States.
3. Give figures indicating the extent of pauperism in Great Britain; in the United States.
4. Give figures indicating the cost of pauperism.

Chapter V.

1. What were some of the early explanations of poverty?
2. Give the explanations of poverty on the basis of individual fault.
3. In what sense is the individual responsible for his poverty?
4. What are the explanations of poverty on the basis of economic maladjustment?
5. What is the modern theory of poverty?

Chapter VI.

1. Discuss the various factors under physical environment that may produce poverty.
2. What do you understand by "social solidarity"? "Social inertia"?
3. What conclusions are we entitled to draw relative to the inheritance of ability? Of the lack of ability?
4. What are the classes of inheritable incapacity which affect poverty and pauperism?
5. What proportion of pauperism is due to inherited defect?

Chapter VII.

1. Give figures indicating the extent of preventable loss from death and sickness in the United States.
2. Show the relation of adverse industrial conditions to poverty.
3. Indicate the bearing of unemployment on the problem.
4. What other factors affecting the income promote poverty?
5. What are the factors affecting both income and expenditure?
6. Show how traditions, customs and habits affect expenditures.
7. Show the effect of ignorance of the elements of domestic economy.
8. What is the minimum expenditure necessary for adequate food?
9. Is the remedy for inadequate expenditure to be found in higher wages?

Chapter VIII.

1. Discuss price fluctuations and under-production in their bearing upon poverty.
2. What are some salient facts in reference to the inequitable distribution of wealth and income?
3. Upon what does a nation's permanent economic welfare depend?
4. How does immigration affect the pressure of population?
5. What is the effect of the birth rate?
6. Discuss the six conditions of marital relationship which may involve domestic disharmony as a maladjustment bearing upon the production of poverty and dependency.

Chapter IX.

1. What is the significance of democracy?
2. In what ways may political maladjustments be manifest?
3. Does the poor man ever get an equal chance with the rich man before the law?
4. In what ways may government expenditures be wasted? What bearing has this on poverty?
5. Of what importance is a tariff policy in this connection?

6. What is the effect of war?
7. How may unwise philanthropy produce pauperism?
8. Give figures illustrating the economic burden of unwise philanthropy.
9. What is the significance of the statement that "any community can have as many paupers as it is willing to support"?
10. How does industrial instability induce poverty?
11. Show how a faulty educational system may lead to poverty.

Chapter X.

1. Give illustrations of ways in which adverse physical conditions are being modified by man to his advantage.
2. How may society control hereditary defects?
3. State eight socio-economic conditions productive of poverty and pauperism and indicate how they may be modified by social action.

PART III

Chapter XI.

1. To what extent did charity prevail among the Jews?
2. What forms did charity among the Romans take?
3. How did the Christian and pagan societies differ in regard to poor relief?
4. According to Tertullian how were the contributions of the early Church expended?
5. Why was the danger of pauperization less in the early Christian societies?
6. What were the early Christian ideals of benevolence?
7. Were these departed from in the later history of the Church?
8. In what particulars did these early poor relief policies prove inadequate?
9. What gave rise to and what superseded the parish system of poor relief?
10. What rôle did the monasteries play in the development of poor relief? The hospitals?
11. Were there any other agencies in this period engaged in poor relief?
12. Summarize the characteristics of relief during the Middle Ages.
13. What constructive efforts were developing?

Chapter XII.

1. What was the basis of the English Poor Law?
2. What conditions prevailed which resulted in an increase of dependency prior to the passage of the first important poor law in England?
3. What were the three principal English phases in the development of the poor relief system?
4. What was the effect of the statute of 1536?

6. Upon what practice was the relief of the poor in the early colonies based?
7. Account for the diversity of outdoor relief policy among the States of the United States. What is the unifying element?
8. What is the prevalent attitude toward outdoor relief? What is the theory on which outdoor relief is carried on in most of our states?
9. Give figures indicating the extent and cost of public outdoor relief in England and Wales; in the United States.
10. What are some of the methods of administration of outdoor relief in the United States?
11. What are the arguments in favor of public outdoor relief? Those against?
12. Outline the Hamburg-Elberfeld System of outdoor poor relief. What principles explain its success?
13. Describe the Indiana system of outdoor relief.
14. What are some of the principles to be observed in outdoor relief?

Chapter XIII.

1. Describe the institutions which served as precursors to the poorhouse.
2. When and how was the responsibility of providing poorhouses in England placed upon the local authorities?
3. What has been the development of the poorhouse in the United States?
4. Indicate some outstanding facts as to the character of the inmates of our poorhouses?
5. What have been the conditions of success of the poorhouse in the United States?
6. What outstanding elements have marked the failure of the poorhouse?
7. What are some of the principles of successful poorhouse management?

Chapter XIV.

1. How do the fields compare in which private and public relief agencies each predominate?
2. Give the arguments for and against each method.
3. What principles should underlie public and private coöperation?

Chapter XV.

1. What constitutes a public subsidy? How did these subsidies arise? Give statistics showing the extent and trend of such today.
2. What are the arguments for and against public subsidies?
3. What are the principles which should govern in dealing with subsidies?

Chapter XVI.

1. Trace briefly the history of the development of state boards. What is their extent and character?

2. What are some of the functions of state boards?
3. What are the arguments for and against state supervision of private institutions?
4. State the advantages and disadvantages of the different kinds of state boards. Evaluate these arguments.
5. What further developments in administration and supervision are desirable?

PART IV

Chapter XVII.

1. What can you say as to the extent of dependency due to old age in Great Britain? In the United States?
2. How is this dependency provided for?
3. Contrast the historic with some of the present methods of caring for the aged poor.
4. Discuss the efficacy of the following methods:
   Savings for old age,
   Almshouse,
   Homes for the aged,
   Outdoor relief,
   Care by relatives,
   Boarding out,
   Insurance,
   Industrial pensions,
   Public service pensions,
   Old age pensions.
5. What are some of the outstanding characteristics of the old age pensions in Europe? In Australia? In Great Britain?
6. State and criticise the arguments against non-contributory old age pensions.
7. State the arguments in favor of non-contributory old age pensions.
8. Outline a rational policy for providing for the aged dependent.

Chapter XVIII.

1. Give figures indicating the number of insane in Great Britain; in the United States.
2. Indicate the social factors affecting the incidence of insanity and the extent to which these operate.
3. What was the prevailing attitude toward the insane and the treatment of the insane from antiquity through the Middle Ages? What exceptional means of treatment were sometimes employed?
4. Characterize the four periods in the history of the treatment of the insane.
5. How did England treat the insane prior to the nineteenth century?

6. What was their treatment in America prior to the nineteenth century? How were they cared for throughout the first part of the nineteenth century?
7. What gave rise to the humanitarian treatment of the insane?
8. What has been the history of the institutional structure and surroundings? Of "occupational therapy"?
9. What are the four methods of judicial commitment in the United States? What other methods of commitment are employed?
10. What policy should be adopted in the care of the various classes of the insane? Is a system of parole to be recommended? Boarding out? Out-patients department?
11. Wherein lies the importance of hospital social service?
12. Contrast America's and Australia's policy as to temporary detention.
13. What three varieties of state boards dealing with the insane are there?
14. Outline a program for the prevention of insanity.

Chapter XIX.

1. What is the nature of epilepsy? Its cause? What is its social importance?
2. What percentage of almshouse inmates are epileptics?
3. What is the extent of the disease in Europe?
4. What is its extent in some of the different American states? As revealed by army statistics?
5. What provisions in the United States are made for the care of epileptics?
6. What was the early treatment of epileptics? From what does the modern treatment date? Describe the Bielefeld colony.
7. What has been the policy of care in England?
8. What has been the history of institutional care of epileptics in the United States? Describe Craig colony.
9. Wherein lies the inadequacy of present provisions for their care?
10. What advantages render the colony system the superior one? What results have been accomplished by colonies?

Chapter XX.

1. Name and describe the three classes of the feeble-minded.
2. To what is feeble-mindedness due?
3. Define feeble-mindedness.
4. What figures indicate the extent of mentally defective persons in Great Britain? In the United States?
5. What is the relation of feeble-mindedness to social problems?
6. What was the method of treating this class in early society?
7. Describe the development of the modern treatment.
8. What are the present provisions for the care and treatment of the feeble-minded?

9. What three general characteristics must mark any program for the treatment and prevention of feeble-mindedness?
10. Outline a model commitment law.
11. Discuss the following methods of treatment; segregation; sterilization; parole under supervision; colonies; training.

Chapter XXI.

1. How were destitute children cared for in early times?
2. What four methods came to be used in England and early America?
3. What four types of private orphan asylums existed prior to 1850? What new types were founded after 1851? What are some of their functions and results? What is the rôle of the day nursery?
4. What has been the history in brief of public care of dependent children?
5. What has been New York State's experience with subsidized children's institutions?
6. Briefly characterize the present seven systems for the care of dependent children. What has been Massachusetts' experience in boarding out and placing out?
7. Evaluate these different systems.
8. What were the principal conclusions of the 1900 White House Conference on dependent children?
9. What are the standards for the care of dependent children as published by the Children's Bureau?

Chapter XXII.

1. What studies indicate the bearing of illegitimacy upon dependency?
2. Trace the development of the treatment of the illegitimate child from early times through the foundling asylums?
3. What motives led to the establishment of foundling asylums?
4. What methods of care grew out of the failure of these institutions?
5. What principles should regulate the care of illegitimate children?
6. What preventive measures for illegitimacy should be put in operation?

Chapter XXIII.

1. What has been the development in mothers' pensions legislation during the last decade? What is their extent today?
2. State the attitude of private agencies towards mothers' pensions.
3. What are the theories and reactions back of the movement? What was lacking?
4. How do the laws vary as to recipients of the aid?
5. What are some of the conditions under which aid is granted?
6. What are some of the noteworthy provisions in the mothers' pensions laws of Denmark and New Zealand?

7. What are some of the outstanding tendencies in the administration of mothers' pensions legislation?
8. State the arguments for and against mothers' pensions and evaluate these.

Chapter XXIV.

1. Name the classes of drug addicts.
2. What are the conditions producing the drug habit?
3. Account for the failures in the social treatment of drug addicts.
4. Outline an adequate social treatment of the drug addicts.

Chapter XXV.

1. Show the relation of ill health in extent and cost of dependency and poverty.
2. Indicate the changes in the conceptions of the nature of disease and in the social measures for its treatment.
3. Indicate the history, growth, and limitations of the following institutions providing for treatment for the sick: hospitals; dispensaries and clinics; medical social service; health centers; convalescent and rest homes.
4. What is the drawback connected with free treatment in hospitals and dispensaries and how may it be overcome?
5. Show the importance of social service in medical treatment.
6. What would constitute a preventive program?

Chapter XXVI.

1. Define "the disabled." What is the extent of this class of dependents?
2. What have been the various attitudes towards the cripple? Describe the early attempts at healing.
3. What should be our purpose in treating the disabled?
4. What treatment should the disabled child receive? The disabled adult?
5. Describe the present three systems of caring for the disabled.

Chapter XXVII.

1. How were the ex-soldier and the ex-sailor cared for in early times?
2. What was the development for their care in France? In England?
3. What was the origin and nature of the pension system in France? In England?
4. Trace the essential features in the pension policy of the United States from 1636 to 1916.
5. What provisions were made for soldiers' and sailors' dependents?
6. What is the extent of soldiers' homes and the requirements for admission to them?

7. What were the outstanding features of the War Risk Insurance Act and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act?
8. What were the essential provisions for dependents in the War Risk Insurance Act?
9. What was the nature of the organization and work of the Red Cross for the dependents of soldiers and sailors?
10. What are the essential provisions for the care of the disabled man himself?

Chapter XXVIII.

1. What are the classes of the unemployed?
2. Classify the causes of unemployment with their principal subheads.
3. Discuss fluctuations in the demand for labor as a cause of unemployment.
4. What bearing has the labor policies of industries on the problem?
5. Indicate the outstanding characteristics of the physical and mentally unfit which render them unemployable. To what extent does mental defect enter in here? What other personal inefficiencies need also to be considered in this connection?
6. Discuss the social causes of unemployment.
7. What are some of the natural causes?
8. What are the chief social effects of unemployment?
9. Discuss in detail the seven outstanding methods of dealing with the problem of the unemployed, indicating the difficulties and advantages in each method.
10. What should an adequate social policy for the prevention of unemployment involve?
11. Indicate the chief features of Wisconsin's proposed unemployment prevention law.

PART V

Chapter XXIX.

1. What is meant by the term "socialized"?

Chapter XXX.

1. What are the essential principles of the Charity Organization movement?
2. What was the origin of organized charity in England? When and under what conditions was organized the first association? What difficulties did it encounter? What was finally effected? When was case work introduced?
3. What were some early attempts at organized charity in the United States? What two types were established? How many societies exist in the United States?

4. Indicate the variety of activities of a modern Charity Organization Society.
5. What developments in policy may be noted?
6. What are its fundamental principles?
7. What has been its effect in general upon private relief societies? On public outdoor relief?
8. What are public welfare departments?
9. What work has organized charity accomplished?
10. What coöperative social agencies have been developed?
11. What are the functions and purposes of the central councils of social agencies? Of the federations and community unions?

Chapter XXXI.

1. State the origin and first appearance of the social settlement idea.
2. Name the three ideals motivating social settlements.
3. Define a social settlement.
4. Describe the growth of social settlements.
5. What social movements have they influenced?
6. On what grounds have they been criticised?
7. What is the future field for settlements?

Chapter XXXII.

1. Wherein is our present health program inadequate?
2. Indicate the growth in health education and health agencies.
3. What significance has voluntary health insurance?
4. Describe the essential features of the German and English compulsory health insurance acts. What have been some of the results of the British system?
5. Describe the health insurance movement in America.
6. Give the arguments for and against compulsory health insurance for American wage-workers.

Chapter XXXIII.

1. On what lines would you suggest the remoulding of our educational system to overcome "the ignorance of the educated"? What should be the aim of education?
2. What were some of the early forces working in the United States towards universal education?
3. Trace the influence of Rousseau, Basedow, Pestalozzi and Fellenberg on this movement. Likewise that of Mann and Froebel.
4. What are some of the most recent tendencies in education in the United States?
5. Describe the six types of trade or industrial schools.
6. Name and describe the three outstanding elements in an education calculated to do away with dependency, and indicate their present limitations.

Chapter XXXIV.

1. Give the three theories of play.
2. What are some of the social results of play?
3. What has been the development of public recreation? What are some of its latest expressions?
4. Describe the social functions of recreation.
5. Outline a socialized recreation program.

Chapter XXXV.

1. Trace the historical aspects of socialized religion as revealed in the Old and New Testaments.
2. What was the attitude of pre-Reformation, Reformation and post-Reformation Christianity towards social reform and justice?
3. Evaluate the social influence of religion. Indicate its influence on the problems of poverty and dependency.
4. Indicate present-day religion's responsibility to some of the major problems of social welfare.
5. Name some of the latest promising beginnings of Christian activity in social welfare.
6. What is the next social task for the religious bodies?

Chapter XXXVI.

1. What three principal factors are involved in the consideration of the causes of poverty?
2. What are the three theories of property? Criticise the social policies connected with these.
3. Discuss the various ways in which the social theory of property is applied to the prevention of poverty and dependency.
4. Discuss the three meanings of "the socialization of industry." How may this best be made a reality?

Chapter XXXVII.

1. Illustrate the importance of good administration in charity work.
2. What are some of the elements of good administration?

Chapter XXXVIII.

1. State and criticise the Malthusian theory of population.
2. What is the bearing of the theory upon poverty and dependency?
3. What were the theories of Spencer, Bagehot and Huxley?
4. How may the limitation of population by social measures be brought about?

5. What has immigration to do with the problem? Birth control? Measures to limit the propagation of defectives?
6. What conclusion is inevitable as to the bearing of the population question on the problems of poverty and dependency?

Chapter XXXIX.

1. What is the rôle of sociology?
2. Illustrate the bearing of social research on social theory.
3. What social policies in the treatment of poverty and dependency antedated the birth of science?
4. Discuss the conflict between the early English economists and the philanthropists.
5. What light has psychology thrown upon the problems of poverty and dependency?
6. What has been the relationship between biologists and philanthropists? Between philanthropists and doctors?
7. With what entirely new spirit and practices is modern charity possessed? Characterize its purpose, philosophy, and methods.

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